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POETRY AND ITS CRITICISM AMONG THE ARABS

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In Arabic the word for poetry is "*Shi'r*" which means to perceive, to understand and to know. The poet is called *Shá'ir* because he perceives and understands things which are not perceived by others. It was thought by the Arabs that the poet had under him certain supernatural spirit who inspired him with poetic thoughts and enabled him to attract and lead people by means of his poetry, according to his own will. For in the pre-Islamic Arabian Society the poet held the highest position of the leader of the people and commanded the greatest respect. In their Society unlike the Greek Society and the ideal state of Plato, the poet was a necessity and not a mere luxury which could be dispensed with.

The early Arabs being illiterate but proud and easily irritable people ignorant of the art of writing, needed some powerful persons with ability to persuade and command at the time of danger and perpetuate and immortalise their golden deeds of courage and hospitality, for the posterity. This great social and tribal need was fulfilled by the poets. For the poet, as it has been rightly said, was "a defender of honour of his tribe, a guard of their name, a preserver of their noble deeds and a reciter of their glory." The Arabs, therefore, honoured him immensely. "When there appeared a poet in a family of the Arabs" as Dr. Nicholson says, "the other tribes came to him and congratulated him and feast was got ready; the women joined together and played on lutes just as they did at bridals and the men and the boys congratulated one another."

Such was the position of the poet in early Arabian Society that it could be hardly equalled and never surpassed by that in any other Society. The poet also on his part, maintained his own position as well as the high prestige of his art with great care. Until the advent of al-Nábigha no Arab poet composed a poem for the sake of personal gain or wordly advantage as Goldsmith, and Sir Walter Scott did and Dr. Johnson practised and also advocated. He defied the Chiefs and royalties and refused to sing their praises at their command. He never eulogised any one but for actually praiseworthy qualities possessed by him. Imraul-Qays who is accepted as the greatest poet of pre-Islamic Arabia, never praised any one excepting one or two persons who had fought with him certain battles for his sake. Zuhayr praised only those who possessed praiseworthy qualities. Salama b. Jandal being asked by Banu Tamím to glorify them replied: "First do glorious deeds then I will sing them."

This high regard by the Arab poets for their art continued till the time of al-Nábigha who was the first to sing the praises of the Chiefs for the sake of rewards, on account of which he lost the respect of his people. He was followed by al-Ḥuṭayyi'a and al-A'sha who degraded the noble art of poetry to the position of money-making machine which consequently degraded the position of the poets themselves in Arabian Society.

The high regard for the art of poetry among some high minded Arab poets, however, continued till the early Abbasid period. Jamíl, an Umayyad poet, being asked by the Caliph Walíd b. 'Abdal-Malik to recite a poem in his praise, boasted of his own greatness. Yazid b. Ummul-Hakím being requested by the ferocious Hajjáj to eulogise him, sang the glory of his own father and thereby lost a lucrative job. Al-Farazdaq was ordered by Sulaymán, an Umayyad Caliph, to recite a panegyric of him but the poet indulged in [illegible] praise. 'Umar b. Rabíá never admired a king or a chief. Labid a well-known poet rebuked his daughter for having expressed a desire for reward in one of her poems. Ibn Mayyáda wrote a poem in praise of al-Manṣur the 2nd Abbasid Caliph, but realising the high honour of the art gave up the idea of reciting it to him.

About the nature of the pre-Islamic Arabian poetry which served as a model for the future, it has been rightly said that "It is a poetry which makes it its main business to depict life and nature as they are with little addition of phantasy." "No poetry" as Sir Charles Layall remarks "better fulfils Matthew Arnold's definition of it as a "criticism of life." "No race has more completely succeeded in

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drawing itself for all time in its grandeur and its limitations, its best and its worst. It is in this sense that the poetry of the pagan Arabs is most truly their history. In it the men of old live their very life and have found for themselves an expression the power and faithfulness of which those who understand it best, are least able to exaggerate."[1]

The verse of Zuhayr ("Of all the verses which thou hast made, the fairest in praise is that whereof, when they hear, men say—yea that is the truth!") is a true witness of their ideal in song; what a poet said in his rhymes he had experienced himself; what commends him to his hearers, what commends him to us, is the accuracy and truth with which he drew for them which he and they knew, and joined their mind and life of every day to the choicest words and noblest form of utterances which their speech permitted.[2]

Arabic poetry of the pagan period at least, as regards its length and also method of treatment, falls into two divisions: (1) The fragments (the Qiṭ'a) or occasional pieces and (2) the Ode (Qasída). It has been remarked by certain Arab authorities that the Arabic poetry began with Rajaz (an irregular iambic metre usually consisting of four or six feet) and fragments, and by and by developed in the form of the Ode which is its highest developed form. The fragments have no fixed method of treatment, whereas the Ode has a highly developed technique and fixed and rigid method of treatment which is followed by almost all the poets since the time of Imru'ul-Qays down to the modern period. Unless it be a Marthiyya, or lamentation over the dead, the poet must begin by mentioning the ruins of the deserted dwelling places and their relics and traces, he should then speak of his love and longing and of his sorrow and suffering due to it, in connection with which he may describe the charm and the beauty of his beloved, his journey on a camel or on a horse (in her persuit) and their swiftness, comparing them with the wind or with the eagle. depicting them and other wild beasts, he shows his great skill, en power of observation and intimate acquaintance with their bits. The main object or theme of the poem however, thus reached, y be a panegyric of his own tribe, or of himself or of some other rson, the description of some scene of travel or war or revelry, a ire, a pleading or a warning to the enemy. Having said what he s to say he ends abruptly, sometimes by some wise precepts, sometime by the description of a far-reaching storm. This is the general plan followed by most of the poets in their Odes. There are exceptions. But the exceptions are rare.

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[1] Ancient Arabian Poetry, pp. xviii-iv.
[2] *Ibid.*

The later Arab critics like Ibn Qutayba and others[1] have trie to explain the motive which induced the Arab bards to evolve an strictly follow this general plan.

According to him every Qasidaha has three distinct parts: (1) The introduction which deals with love matters and is technically called Tashbíb or Nasíb. (2) Then follows the Khurúj, *i.e.*, line or lines in which the poet passes from topic of love to the main theme. These lines are technically known as "Takhallus." (3) After the main theme follows the conclusion which the critics call al-Intihà' (*i.e.*, the end).

With regard to each of these parts there are general principles laid down by the critics and generally followed by the poets. The opening line of an Ode according to them must be such as may attract and please the hearer and the addressee. For it is these lines which serve as the key to the whole poem. They strike the ear first and produce the general impression about the poet and his command on the Art. They must be sweet and facile, dignified and chaste. The poet should scrupulously avoid in them any words or expressions that may jar the ear or suggest any evil thought to the addressee or to the hearer. Several examples of the negligence of this principle by some celebrated poets have been cited by the critics. This negligence has spoiled some of the poems which are otherwise excellent. The concluding lines of a poem however are, according to the Arab critics extremely important. "All is well that ends well" they say. For it is the concluding lines which remain in the mind of the hearers, after the previous ones evaporate in thin air. Th end should not be abrupt leaving the people in expectations and the mind dissatisfied. The poet must, however, be careful to keep the balance and proper proportion in the various parts. A long ti some introduction to a short main theme is as much to be condem as a disproportionately short introduction to an exquisite long po or an abrupt ending of an excellent piece of poetry.

The main theme of a poem may differ according to the ta and choice of a poet. It is not possible to exhaust their list. B the principal themes generally treated by the Arab poets, have be classified by the Arab critics of poetry as follows:—

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[1] Kitabush'-shi'r, Ed., De Goeje, pp. 14-15. Kitabu'l-'Umda, p. 164.

(*i*) Panegyric, (*ii*) Satire, (*iii*) Elegy, (*iv*) Lyric and (*v*) Descriptive.[1]

Each of these classes has its own general basic principle which if neglected the beauty and excellence of the poem is bound to suffer. In (*i*)—Panegyric the poet must deal with the essential qualities of the person concerned, according to his profession and position in the society. He should attach no importance to mere accidents in life. It is no praise for a king to say that he possesses the most valuable jewels or his palace is the largest and most beautiful in the world. If he is to be praised he must be praised for his own qualities which may befit him as a king.

Wisdom, bravery, justice, chastity, nobility of character, generosity, mental resourcefulness, judgment, etc., which constitute the essentially good qualities of man should form the main subjects of treatment in a panegyric. But in choosing the particular qualities the poet must keep in mind the profession and the position of the individual concerned in the society. For it is obvious that the qualities which a minister must possess are entirely different from what is required by a commander of an army, those necessary for a musician are different from the requirement of a dancer and those of a king must be different from those of a vagabond. And there are quite a number of poems of the pre-Islamic Arabs which celebrate well-known vagabonds of that period. In no case should a poet however, attribute to his hero the qualities which he actually did not possess.

(*ii*) In Satire the object of the poet must be to show that the individual concerned is devoid of the essentially good qualities and suffers from their contradictories. As a rule the Satire must be short because the objective of a Satire is better served by a short poem than by the long ones. The object in writing a Satire is to bring the person concerned into desrepute and to defame him in public eye. And the more widely a poem is circulated, and the longer it is remembered the better is served this purpose. And who can doubt that short poems can be more easily remembered and circulated than the long ones?

(3) The Elegy should follow the general principles laid down for the Panegyric except that it should clearly and explicitly show that it referred to a dead person and not to a living one.

(4) The Lyric poetry differs from the other classes of Poetry both in its language as well as ideas and method of approach. Its language

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[1] Naqdush-shir.

must be soft and sweet and delicate and attractive. The lover must appreciate the beauty and charm of his beloved, give expression to his sorrow and suffering at his separation from her and show his complete submission to her. Bravery and self-respect has no place in lyric poetry so far as the beloved is concerned.

According to the Arabian critics the pagan Arab had no aptitude for this class of Poetry. His harsh and stiff nature and his irritable unyielding tempe rament made him entirely unfit for composing a proper Lyric. As a matter of fact his love consisted of mere passion. Of pure and real love he had neither any experience nor any idea. The greatest pagan Arab poet, Imru'ul-Qays, in his master-piece of poetry, addressing his beloved says, "If you do not care for me, leave me alone, for I do not care for you either." As a matter of fact the ideal lover according to Pagan poetry of the Arabs, as Ch. Lyall says was one who was always ready to fling off a love that began to grow cold. And this attitude only showed as an Arab critic says[1] that the pagan Arab never experienced real love.[2]

(5) In descriptive poetry the poet should attempt to represent and paint the object described in such a fashion as to make the hearer feel as if he saw it with his own eyes. Arabic poetry abounds in the description of natural objects and scenery—the desert, the hill, the camel, the horse, the eagle, a storm, etc. And the Arab poet shows his powers of keen minute observation and his skill and power of description in these valuable jems of poetic art.

In dealing with these and other themes different poets follow different lines showing their varied experiences, each of them unfolding his own individuality in his own peculiar fashion. Many of these varied method of approach and treatment have been described and discussed in detail by the critics, like Ionu'l-Mu'tazz, Qudama b. ja'far, Ibn Rash'iq, al-Mar-zubani and others.

According to these Arab critics poetry consists of four main elements : (1) Ideas or thought, (2) Words or expression, (3) Measure and (4) Rhyme.

I will leave out the last two of them. They are complicated, dull and technical matters. But I will discuss here the opinion of the Arab critics about the first two of these elements of poetry.

The Arab critics say that the expression used in poetry must be easily pronounceable, simple and not bombastic or unfamiliar. They must be free from ugliness and should not be jarring to the ear. They must possess the glow of eloquence. They must be in keeping with the main theme of the poem. About the ideas the principal points stressed by the critics is that every single idea should be in consonance with the main subject matters of the poem.

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[1] The Mufaddali-y'at, Vol. II, p. 5, N. 3.
[2] Naqdush shir, p. 145.

The relation between the ideas and the expression are extremely intimate and close like that between the soul and the body. The ideas are the soul of poetry and the expressions are its body. If the ideas are sound and the expressions are weak and defective the poem also will be defective just as a person with sound mind but defective limbs is known as sick. Similarly if expression are sound and happy but the ideas are defective, the poem also will be defective just as the people sound in body and suffering from mental ailments are known to be unwell. Thus if the ideas be entirely faulty and unsound the poem will be without any purpose and meaningless in spite of the flow of words and rhetorics of expressions just like the soulless dead body without having any use and purpose. In the same way if the expressions are thoroughly defective, the poem will convey no sense, for one cannot see a soul without body.

The poets differ in their attitude towards these two constituents of poetry. Some of them attach greater importance to ideas, others, care more for chaste and happy expressions. The majority of the critics are of opinion that it is the choice of words and the method of treatment and mode of expression which is of the greatest consequence. For ideas are often common among the master poets and the most ordinary of them. A large number of examples are cited to illustrate this assertion.

Poetry according to the Arab critics, however, is an art like carpentry, smithy; architecture, etc., and just as in the case of every other art, the materials are supplied by nature and the work of the artist consists in giving it a proper and suitable shape, so in the case of poetry also the ideas are aroused by nature and the work of the poet consists in giving them proper and suitable form of expression. From this general principle they deduce two corollaries:—

(1) A poet should not be criticised for expressing the ideas of any particular type. The obscene and immoral ideas, for example, if they are properly and poetically expressed, do not affect the excellence and mastery of the poet, just as the mastery of a goldsmith in the art of making gold ornaments, is not affected by the bad quality of gold used provided he gives suitable and desired form and finish to the ornaments he makes. Imru'ul-Qays the greatest poet of pre-Islamic Arabia, has

expressed a good many immoral ideas in his poems. Still his mastery of the art of poetry has not been questioned. For neither poetry is Ethics, nor the poet is necessarily a moralist. He is just a poet and as long as he does justice to his art he must get the credit for it.

(2) A poet is not precluded from giving expression to two contradictory ideas in two different poems, or according to some critics in different parts of one and the same poem provided these contradictory ideas are not in contravention of the main theme and objective of the poem itself. Poetry according to these critics is not logic, and its law against self contradiction does not apply to poetry. As a matter of fact the Arab critics go so far as to say that if a poet expresses contradictory ideas poetically and exquisitely, it shows his greater mastery of the art and he must get greater credit for it.

The main spring of poetry according to the Arab critics is feeling and emotion. The excessive and acute feelings generally find expression in words which when uttered by persons gifted with rythmic sense take the form of a poem. Thus the emotion of wrath and anger finds its expression in a Satire. The excessive feelings of grief and sorrow takes the form of an Elegy, the feelings of sincere gratitude and appreciation for the good deed and excellent qualities of a benefactor expresses itself in the form of the panegyric and excessively over-flowing love burst forth in the Lyric. This point may be illustrated by the fact that the rise of the poetic power of many of the early Arab bards may be traced to certain incidents and events in their life which had excited their emotions and brought into play their dormant poetic powers. And many of the reputed poets lost their poetic powers after their emotions had subsided.

Some poems, according to the critics, however, are natural and result from the over-flow of feelings, others are results of long effort of the poets. Of course it does not mean that the naturally gifted, born poets never revise, polish and improve upon their original poems. For there are numerous master poets who are acknowledged as born poets and who are known to have spent a good deal of time in refining and polishing the products of their natural abilities for the art. Zuhayr, one of the greatest poets of pre-Islamic Arabia composed his poems in a few hours and then devoted one whole year in revising, refining and polishing them before reciting them to the people. His large and best poems are, therefore known as Ḥawliyyât (the yearlies *i.e.*, poems each of which took one whole year in its revision and final production). Zuhayr was one of the three best poets of Arabia. His whole family had the natural gift for poetry. His father-in-law, his sister, his son and other relatives were all celebrated poets of their times. 'Umar the second Caliph had special love and admiration for his poems and again and again admired them and remarked that they were immortal.

Another celebrated and naturally gifted poet who having composed his poem revised it again and again and polished and improved upon his original composition was Ḥuṭayyia. He was one of the masters of Satire. His mastery of this class of poetry was so great that he was dreaded by powerful chiefs who bestowed upon him rich rewards in recompense for his comparatively poor panegyrics because of the fear of his bitter satires. His mastery of satire made him a danger to the public peace and the second Caliph, Umar I had to put him in prison in the interest of public order and tranquillity. As a matter of fact during the raliphate of 'Uman I and of Uthman the composition of Satire was altogether prohibited in order to guard against public disorder. Many other Arab poets like other classes of writers almost of every nation and land revised and improved upon their original compositions before bringing them to the public notice. Abu Dhu'ayb, Abu Nuwás'as, Ibnu'l Mu'tazz and a very large number of others among them followed this method. Dostoevesky the famous Russian Novelist, Henry James, Virginia Woolf, Goldsmith are only a few out of numerous non-Arab writers who revised their works again and again before they were published.

According to the Arab Critics of Poetry, however, the process of revisions and refinement must be kept within proper limits. Such of the poets as go beyond the limit become its slaves and cease to be its masters. These slaves of the art of poetry instead of being naturally inspired with their ideas by nature and their own natural surroundings try to harness artificially and by force, far-fetched ideas and give expression to them in more or less unnatural artificial language. Their ideas consequently are not always lofty or sublime. They employ artificial linguistic devices.

Even the most gifted born poets, however, at times find it difficult to compose even one single line or couplet. We are told that Milton who at times dictated to his Scribe 20 or 25 lines of his Paradise Lost in a breath at times, thought hard for hours continuously without producing one single line. The same had been the case with some of the Arab bards also. Al-Farazdaq, one of the greatest and most celebrated poets of the Umayyad period once said "At times it is easier for me to extract one of my jaws than to compose one single couplet." This dullness of mental faculties according to the Arabian critics happens not only to the poets but also to all classes of writers and authors. It is, they say, due to the temporary mental exhaustion or some particular incidents or nervousness.

Similarly there are times and conditions when ideas and thoughts flow in abundance without any efforts for them. This happens at early dawn, and just after the dusk, and in solitude or at the sight of open green lawn or flowing spring, or blooming orchard. Many celebrated Arab bards sought help from nature and natural sceneries when they wanted to compose a serious piece of poetry. Kuthayyir, a celebrated poet of Umayyad period, in order to wake up his poetic talents roamed about in old ruins, visited peaks of hills, or lonely places. Jarir kept himself in solitude, al-Farazdaq rode on his camel in the depth of valleys and on the heights of hills and Abu Nuwas indulged in wine drinking, almost every great poet of Arabia had his own individual way of helping his natural talents and making the best use of it.[1]

The poet in order to attain excellence in his art must also acquire certain additional qualifications over and above the natural aptitude on which he has no control. He should try to acquire every branch of knowledge, for poetry comprehends all of them—grammar, literature, history, genealogy, the early tribal wars, etc. He must make special and close study of the poems of the earlier master poets. Most of the great poets of early Arabia worked as reciter and custodians of the poems of the earlier poets. Zuhayr, Ḥuṭayyi'a, Kuthayyir, al-Farazdaq, Jarir and others served as the reciters of the poems of the earlier poets. Having mastered the poems of the earlier poets, he must devote time and keen thought to the study of the methods of expression and treatment of the various subjects adopted by the earlier poets. He must study the psychology and mentality of the people for whom he composes his poems. For on this depends the success and general appreciation of his art.[2]

Personally the poet must possess sweet manners, excellent character, bright face, noble mind, delicate sensibility, deep thought, high ideals, and be straightforward in his dealings with peoples self-respecting and self-dependent, self-sufficient, brave and generous. Being a critic of the character of the people he elevates or lowers their position, he makes or mars their reputation. He, therefore, should never forget that he himself would be judged according to his own standard and would be praised or blamed for his behaviours and deeds as he himself did in the case of others.[1]

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[1] al-Umda, pp. 137-140.
Ibid., pp. 131-133.

These are the general standards of poetry and of the poets according to the Arab critics. They say that a poet should always be judged just on the basis of his poems and their attaining their objectives and not on account of any extraneous consideration. Some people are of opinion that all the pre-Islamic poets were superior to all those who came after them. But the majority of the authoritative critics strongly 'differ from this view. Ibu Qutayba condemning this view remarks "God has not restricted knowledge, poetry and rheterio to a particular people or a special period." He has made all these faculties, a common property of all his salves. No one should be taken as superior to others because he lived at certain period or is of noble and high birth nor should any one of them be taken as inferior to others because of his later birth or young age. I give credit or discredit, he says, to every one on the basis of his deed and the results of his efforts irrespective of his birth and age."[2] Ibn Rashiq also upholds the view of Ibn Qutayba.[3]

At the end I would like to say a few words about the critics of poetry themselves. The problem has been debated for some time as to whether the critic of poetry must be a poet himself, or in other words whether one who is not a poet can be a good judge of poetry? A distinguished critic of English poetry some times ago discussed this problem very minutely, and showed with reference to the history of the subject since the time of Plato down to the present day, that none of the great critics of poetry had ever been a poet worth the name.[4]

The Arab critics of the middle ages also are of the same opinion. They say that the composition of poetry is more difficult for the critic than for others. Khalaf-al-Aḥmar was the greatest critic of poetry in the Umayyad period. His share in the preservation of the early Arabic poetry had been far greater than that of any other single individual. Still he had been of no consequence as a poet. An Arab poet of the temperament of Wordsworth, the celebrated English poet of nature, once said to Khalaf that if he himself liked a poem he did not care for the critic's opinion. The great Arab critic retorted saying that of what utility will be to him his own liking for a piece of coin if the dealer with it condemned it? Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbí was one of the greatest authorities on the art of poetry in the Abbasid period yet seldom, if ever, did he compose a poem. Once he was asked as to why he did not compose a poem, and he replied that his deep knowledge of poetry prevents him from attempting its composition. It was generally said among the educated Arabs that to the critically minded learned man the composition of poetry is more difficult than to an ignorant fellow and to one who knows all the intricacies of this art it is heart-rending to try to compose a piece of poetry. All the critics, however, are unanimous that one who is not a poet serves as a good critic just as a dealer in cloth is a better judge of cloth than the weaver, the dealer in coins is a better judge of their quality than those who mint them, and the dealers in corns and various other things are better judge of their qualities, than those who produce them, so much so that at times by mere look they can point out their defects and the countries of their origin and their peculiarities.[1]

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[1] al-Umda, pp. 131-35.
[2] Kitabush-Shi'r. Ed. De Goeje, p. 5.
[3] al-Umda. Egypt. Ed. pp. 57-59.
[4] Sir Quiller Couch, Lectures on Poetry.

The ideal of Arabic poetry however is truth and reality as it has been shown by the line of al-Nabigha already quoted.

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[1] al-Umda, pp. 75-77.

FREEDOM, SECURITY AND THE ORIENT*

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MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS :

At the very outset I wish to thank the authorities of Columbia University, specially Dean Carman and others in charge of the Forum on Democracy, for giving me the opportunity to speak to you, especially the young folks, this evening on the topic of Freedom and Security and the Orient.

It is quite appropriate that, with the interest shown by Columbia University to further the cause of world peace with freedom and security, we should consider the importance of the Orient in attaining our goal. It is well recognized now by students of world affairs that all issues of world freedom and security are bound to be influenced by social, economic, political, as well as spiritual changes or upheavals that are taking place in the Orient, the abode of more than half of the population of the world. Thus to consider the issues of Freedem and Security without taking the Orient into consideration is inconceivable; but I may frankly admit that, while trying to solve world problems, even statesmen of the world do not give adequate attention to the importance of the Orient.

The peoples of the Orient, as human beings, are not very different from those of the Occident, although there is some difference in matters of pigmentation of skin and features. But there is nothing like the "peculiar oriental mind" we are told about even by many learned men. The civilization in the Orient has been much older than that of the Occident and thus Orient's contribution to the development of man has been considerable. Even in matters of material progress, upon which so much emphasis is laid nowadays, the Occident was not superior to the Orient during the middle ages and even up to the beginning of the eighteennth century—the age of steam and the march of industrial revolution. Every student of civilization—

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* An Address delivered at the Second Annual Columbia College Forum on Democracy, March 3, 1950.

The Chairman of the session was Professor Irwin Edman of the Department of Philosophy, and the other lecturers General Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of Columbia University, the Reverend George B. Ford, Rector of Corpus Christi Church, and the Honorable Abraham A, Ribicoff, Reprsentative from Connecticut.

(politics and economics embrace only a part of our civilized life)—should keep in mind that there is a very significant oriental heritage in what we call modern or Western civilization. If we are to study man's role in this world we cannot ignore the part played by the ancients—the peoples of the Orient, the Babylonians, Sumarians, Egyptians, Persians, Hindus (the Aryans), the Chinese and others. This does not mean that we should ignore contributions of Greece and Rome ; but it means that Western scholars should not continue to remain parochial in their outlook, thinking only of Greece and Rome and the modern west while ignoring the Orient. This is very important because intellectual isolation is no less dangerous than political or economic isolationism.

If you agree with me that a man is not a machine and his spiritual life has a very great consequence to him, and if you agree with me that a man's religious or spiritual life is not limited to certain dogmas and rituals, then you will find that in the cultural history of man, the Orient has a special place. All the great living religions of the world have originated in the Orient. These religions preach the great common ideal: Man must free himself from the bondage of his lower nature and practise universal fellowship, which is the only real ethical basis of peace; and today we are in quest for Peace—economic, political (local and international) and, above all, Peace of Mind.

Some of the Western political scientists and historians, for some peculiar reasons, often suggest that the ideal of Freedom is something peculiarly Western or European, while they consider that the most outstanding feature of oriental life is "despotism." I have often heard of the phrase "oriental despotism" which is so distasteful to me. The fact remains that the social and political history of man in the west is also the history of the struggle for freedom from tyranny. This has been the considered judgment of no less a venerable historian than the late Lord Acton. It may be here mentioned that the nineteenth and twentieth century nationalism in the Orient has a very interesting and important feature—the struggle of the peoples of Asia to overthrow despotic and tyrannical rule of Western Powers which established their supremacy over them not always through application of ethical means. Thus one may point out that the practice of colonial imperialism in the Orient by the most civilized nations of the West indicated that they did not prize freedom for men in Asia as they did for their own citizens. The struggle for freedom in Asian countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries indicates that oriental people have love of Freedom, otherwise they would not have fought to attain it.

In the modern world, since the days of Europe's expansion to extra-European regions, especially the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498, every major issue in world politics has an oriental background. Even the very discovery of America and thus the very existence of the United States and later on its independence was directly and indirectly influenced by India. To understand the role of the Orient in modern world politics, one should have some idea of European expansion in the Orient and rivalry among the Powers for this end. Lack of time will not permit me to go into details of this vast subject, but I shall leave with you some broad ideas on the issues involved.

When the Portuguese after nearly a century's efforts discovered the sea route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, then the Turks were the most powerful power in Europe. The Mediterranean was something like a Turkish lake and Turks were not only moving towards the heart of Europe, but they had supremacy over the Arabs. But these Arabs had more or less mastery over the trade of the Indian Ocean ; because the once magnificent sea-power of India was then in decay. One may say that during the sixteenth century a phase of world politics took the form of Arab-Portuguese rivalry for the control of the sea routes to India and also for the oriental trade.. Portuguese under the leadership of such empire-builders as Albuquirke established their supremacy in the Orient and Goa became the center of the Portuguese Empire in the East. Goa is still a Portuguese possession in India. — not now (in the sixties of 20th cent.)

The Portuguese did not have any great competition from any of the Western Powers in maintaining their supremacy in the Orient until at the very beginning of the seventeenth century the British and the Dutch with their East India Companies appeared on the scene, first for commerce, then for simple foot-holds in the form of "factories" which were later transformed into "forts." At first the British and the Dutch for political and religious reasons co-operated to bring about the downfall of Catholic Portugal and Spain in the Orient. Then came the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in world politics of the seventeenth century and in this the role of oriental trade and rivalry play a great part. After the weakening of the Dutch power in the Orient (which was centered in Java and certain parts of Malaya), we find the appearance of Anglo-French rivalry for more than a hundred years during the eighteenth century and until the end of the Nepoleonic war by the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

It will not be out of place to mention that the Battle of Plassey in 1757 had its close relations with the Seven Years War which ended in 1763 with the loss of French position of dominance in India and North America. We know that Napoleon was in Egypt and that he was defeated by the British in the Battle of Abuquir, but the role of the East India Company's forces--naval and military —in checking French ambitions in Egypt, the Indian Ocean and South East Asia is not emphasized. We know something about the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807 when Alexander I joined Napoleon, but it is not emphasized that to accomplish this deflection of Russia from Britain, France deserted Turkey, which was nothing but a pawn, and came to an understanding with Russia for the partition of the Ottoman Empire. But later on, on the issue of dividing up the booty, especially Constantinople, a quarrel arose between Napoleon and Alexander, and Britain won over the support of the latter by making Persia a pawn and a part of Northern Persia was taken by Russia.

Let us not forget and ignore the role of Russia in defeating Napoleon or bringing about the downfall of France. But even before the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna, the greatest concern of the other parties of the Grand Alliance—Great Britain, Austria, Prussia,—was "how to check Russia" from further expansion in Europe and Asia. In this task, Metternich and Castereigh sought French collaboration and the support of Talleyrand. Great Britain's great interest in India forced her to pursue a policy of checking any effort on the part of any power which might endanger her control of the *British Routes to India.* Thus we find Anglo-French rivalry in Egypt in relation to construction of the Suez Canal; but we also find Anglo-French collaboration to defeat Russia in the Crimean War to prevent further influence of Russia in the Balkans and at Constantinople and also Russian penetration towards Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. We must not forget the Afghan Wars, the Burmese Wars, the Opium Wars, and European concert against China which led to full establishment of extra-territorial Jurisdiction in 1860 by the Treaty of Tiensin, and also Russian occupation of Vladivostock. Of course, we must not forget Perry's mission to Japan. It may not be out of place to recall that Commodore Perry once recommended to the American government to take over Formosa, as the British took Hongkong. Well, nearly 85 years after Perry's recommendation, we are now maintaining our foothold in Japan itself.

The Congress of Berlin of 1878 had its oriental background in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876, and the Treaty of Saint Sofia, by which Russia tried to get control over Constantinople as she once before tried to do so by the Treaty of Ünkairskellesi in 1833, which was undone by the Straits Convention of 1840-41. We have oriental angles of the formation of the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1891-93 and it had its reflex in the Russian expansion towards Manchuria and Korea. The Sino-Japanese War and the Japanese Victory and the Treaty of Simonesaki of 1895, by which Japan got a foothold on the Asian continent by acquiring the Laiotung Peninsula, was modified by Franco-German-Russian pressure and the secret treaty of alliance between China and Russia. The Boxer trouble, the Russian designs to control of Manchuria, ignoring the Anglo-American policy of the Open Door in China and the need of Japan for an ally to check Russia, led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, which might be regarded as the turning point of the world politics of the twentieth century. This Anglo-Japanese Alliance was really an Anglo-Japanese and American Alliance to check Russia, which was then being supported by Germany and France.

Thus at the opening of the twentieth century, Anglo-Russian rivalry was the main feature of world politics ; and America started in her role as a world power after the Spanish-American War and acquisition of the Philippines, which otherwise might have fallen into German hands. Russian ambition to get control over Afghanistan, Tibet and Manchuria was checked by the Japanese victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in which the Anglo-American Powers were on the side of Japan. The Anglo-American Powers were on the side of an Asiatic Power, not because of special love for Japan, but because it was imperative that Russia should be prevented at any cost from getting control over China. It was about this time that the great American naval authority, discussing Asian questions, suggested that the Anglo-American Powers should make a common cause with Germany and Japan to check the slavs.

When it became evident that Germany must be prevented from controlling the Near East and the Middle East by using Turkey and the Berlin-Bagdad Railway, the Triple Entente was formed and Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea became pawns in the diplomatic game of the Western Powers. It may also be added that Japan's position was so important that to secure Japanese support on the side of the Triple Entente, Korea was allowed to be annexed by the Japanese with the full consent of the Great Powers.

When one studies the march of nationalist movements in the East, it becomes evident that the Japanese victory supplied the impetus to greater assertion. The Indian nationalist movement took the form of a struggle for freedom after 1905; and the first real concession was made by the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme in 1907. The Young Turks movement, the movement for Persian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who spent a part of his life as a refugee in Japan, came into being after the Russo-Japanese War.

In World War I, Japan, China, India, siding with the Entente-Allied Powers, aided in defeating the Central Powers and Turkey. The very fact that oriental aid was necessary for this victory and that in the battlefields oriental soldiers proved themselves equal to their European comrades, roused a new consciousness of potential strength of the peoples of Asia; and the idea of "Asia for the Asiatics" became the dominant factor in the changing character of oriental politics of the twentieth century.

As the result of the World War I, the German Empire, the Russian Empire, the Austrian Empire crumbled. France was not a competitor of the Anglo-American Power; but Japan emerged as the most dangerous rival of all Western Powers, especially the Anglo-American Powers in the Far East. The Washington Conference of 1922 was called to check Japan. Among other things, when the Anglo-Japanese alliance was abrogated and Japan felt as if she was isolated, she had to accept the terms of limitation of armaments; but she was only looking for the opportunity for the revival of the Anglo-American-Japanese understanding which had lasted for twenty years 1902-1922, or she was going to seek some other combination of powers. For ten years after the Washington Conference, some Japanese were thinking of forming a Sino-Japanese-Russian alliance to be supported by the Germans. But China wanted to recover Manchuria from Japan and found support from the Anglo-American Powers, and thus not only developed the Sino-Japanese conflict, but Anglo-American opposition to Japan expanding at the cost of China.

It may be worthwhile to remember two cardinal principles of Soviet Russian foreign policies. One of them was to bring about hostility between China and Japan so that there would be no Sino-

Japanese combination to check Russian ambitions in the Far East. On the other hand, Soviet Russia, according to Lenin's instructions, worked to bring about an American-Japanese conflict so that America and Japan would fight amongst themselves and be weakened, so that there could be no possibility of an American Japanese-Chinese combination. In Europe Soviet Russia's policy was very simple. There must not be any Anglo-French-German understanding which would endanger Soviet Russia. It is my conviction that an understanding between Hitler and Stalin at the cost of Poland and other countries was the most important cause of the outbreak of World War II ; similarly, an understanding between Japan, Germany and Russia made Japanese hostility towards the Anglo-American Powers, who were supporting China, inevitable.

When Japan during the early part of the World War II succeeded in overrunning all of Eastern Asia and defeated the British and the Dutch, and at the same time attacked the Americans at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines with great success, and the French surrendered to the Japanese demands in Indo-China, this brought about the profoundest changes in the attitude of the peoples of the Orient towards the Western Powers. The invention of the atom bomb and its application against Japan and Japan's complete defeat and surrender, has not changed this attitude to any appreciable extent.

Whatever may be the result of the World War II, it has brought about the independence of the people of Asia—India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and also Korea and French Indo-China to some extent. Here it may be noted that the United States of America, by her attitude towards Philippine independence and her insistence on the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Asia, aided the cause of Asian freedom to a very great extent. But this struggle for freedom in the Orient is not yet over, because the peoples there do not feel that they have security as yet.

It is a known fact that Soviet Russia played a very important part in winning World War II. But like Tsarist Russia's expansionist policies after the Nepoleonic Wars, Soviet Russia's imperialist expansion in Europe and Asia has created a new critical situation. How to check Soviet Russia from further expansion endangering world freedom and security is the dominant issue in world politics. America has to take the leadership in this struggle so that Soviet Russia may not be able to carry out its ideal of a world communist state under its direction. In this struggle, which may develop into World War III (may heaven forbid it), the Orient is going to hold the balance of power. Thus changes in oriental politics may have the gravest consequences.

The future trend of foreign policies of the newly-born free states of Asia will undoubtedly be based upon sustaining those policies which the peoples of these lands consider to be to their best interests. This process of formulation of foreign policies is not different from what is the basis of the foreign policies of the United States, which change to suit its own interests under peculiar circumstances. Then to gain the support of the peoples of Asia in the present struggle, the United States will have to prove by her definite actions that she is going to uphold freedom of the peoples of Asia and aid them in their struggle for economic and political security.

With the signing of the 30 years' alliance between Communist China and Soviet Russia, the situation in Asia has become more critical than ever before. It is clear that the United States has definitely decided that Japan must not join the Soviet-Russian-Chinese bloc. It is also clear that it is definitely resolved that Soviet Russia's political control through a puppet government must not go beyond China to Indo-China and the regions of South East Asia. This makes the position of India so very important.

It is a fashion among some people to think that India is opposed to the Anglo-American Powers because it has refused to make a commitment forming an alliance with Anglo-American powers against Soviet Russia and also because it has recognised the Communist Government in China. But the fact remains that Prime Minister Nehru in his Columbia speech made it clear to all that India will always support the cause of justice and freedom and will be ready to fight for it as she did for her own freedom. It is my conviction that if the Indian people can be convinced that the American fight is for justice and freedom, it is to be expected that in the course of time, they will be on her side. It may develop through a slow process like America's entry into the two World Wars.

Britain, like India, has also recognised Red China and the United States maintains diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. This does not mean that Britain and America are supporting communism. Recognition of Communist China by India does not mean that India will be in alliance with China and Soviet Russia against the Anglo-American Powers. In fact, any possibility of a Soviet Russian-Chinese-Indian alliance must be prevented by all possible means. India refuses to make any kind of entangling alliance in advance, as the founders of this republic framed their foreign policies

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on the doctrines of recognition (of revolutionary governments) and non-intervention in internal affairs of any state, especially those which were struggling to attain freedom from alien rule. Neutrality in wars among great powers was also decided upon. Similarly, India's present internal condition and lack of power, forces her to be extremely-cautious in her dealings with other Powers. America, even after attaining her position as a world power, until very recently refused to make entangling alliances; and she should not expect that India or any Asian country should follow the foreign policies of the United States without question and careful examination.

It may be worthwhile for me to frankly state that although Free India—the Democratic Republic of India—has borrowed many principles from the declaration of Independence, the American constitution and the Bill of Rights, and the people of India have great admiration for America, yet statesmen of India are quite concerned about the Anglo-American policy regarding Indian national security, now created by the issue of Kashmir, which has been invaded by Pakistan in violation of all precepts of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Nehru has frankly acknowledged that he agreed to the partition of India because he thought by this process he would be able to satisfy the appetite of the Pan-Islamists of India, who, due to their extra-territorial patriotism, wanted to establish a separate state at the cost of India. In this program of partition of India, British statesmen were favouring the Moslems. It was the same thing as was the case during the American Civil War, when British liberal statesmen like Palmerston, Gladstone and John Russel were in favour of the secessionist Southern states. To be sure, Mr. Nehru was no Lincoln.

Thus he accepted the partition of India, supposedly to avoid a civil war. But the partition of India has not prevented a civil war in India. In fact, there is a kind of undeclared war going on between India and Pakistan. This situation has been aggravated by Pakistan's determination to annex Kashmir by force if it need be. In this crisis, the people of India rightly or wrongly think that the Anglo-American Powers are supporting Pakistan, because such a policy will strengthen Pakistan as the future leader of the Moslem bloc of Powers in the Middle East to check any Russian march towards the Persian Gulf. For the establishment of Indo-American friendship on solid foundation, which is one of the foremost requisites for freedom and security in Asia, this suspicion of India must be removed.

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So long as this suspicion continues to exist, whole-hearted co-operation between India and the United States will be impossible. Just as the United States cannot give up Alaska to any power to bring about a peaceful understanding, so India will never willingly give up Kashmir to Pakistan, which is following foreign policies, economic policies and defense policies detrimental to the very security of India.

In this connection it may be said that political alliances do not bind nations permanently. For instance, the Anglo-American Powers were allies of Soviet Russia only a short time ago; but today they are opposed to her because of her expansionist policies, which are opposed to world peace and freedom. The Anglo-American Powers were enemies of Japan and Germany and fought them to their defeat and ravaged their countries only a short time ago, but today it is quite apparent that the Anglo-American Powers are friendly to Japan and Germany because they feel that Japan has a genuine interest in checking Russian expansion, as was the case before the Russo-Japanese War. They also think that Germany will co-operate with the Anglo-American Powers because such a policy will serve the best interests of the German people. It may be said that unwritten understandings, based upon common interests of peoples, are far more binding than alliances formed to serve temporary and expedient purposes.

American statesmen formulating foreign policies in the Orient should not overlook the fact that America's Atlantic allies—Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal—have been until very recently enemies of Asian independence. Thus many people in Asia look upon American policies with some suspicion. This suspicion should be removed, not by declarations, but by actions which will rouse confidence. The people of Asia are apt to think that America has a double standard in siding the cause of freedom and security—one for Britain and her allies and associates in Europe to whom American aid through the Marshall plan has gone to the tune of tens of billions of dollars, and the other for the peoples of Asia, who must be allies first before any aid from American surplus food-reserves be extended to the starving peoples.

I am sure Professor Jessup, who is now on a mission to the Orient, and other American statesman who have been participants in the recent conferences in Bangkok and Ankara, will advise the State Department to formulate a foreign policy which will lead to the development of American co-operation with the free peoples of the Orient which will serve as a guarantee for freedom and security in the present world threatened with conflict due to rivalry between Soviet Russia and the Anglo-American Powers.

What about the possibility of progress of democracy and freedom in the Orient where such a large percentage of the population are illiterate? Literacy may help spreading the ideal of democracy, but the literacy of a population is not a guarantee of the spread of the democratic ideal. This is best proven by what happened in Germany, where an average citizen was better educated than in any other country. Nazism, racial fascism spread fast, because that subversive ideal was spread among the people with effectiveness. The people who brought about the French Revolution or the American Revolution, among them literacy was very low, not higher than it is in India. But democracy has survived and has taken a progressive form. The same may happen in the Orient.

The sure test of a democratic state lies in a simple formula. Individuals do not exist for the aggrandisement of a state, but the state must direct its power, delegated to it by the consent of the people, to serve them. When we look for values it is a fact that a free man as an individual is of greater importance than the mightiest of the states. Then, in the final analysis, the true freedom of man is of the highest significance. Thus a state which directs its Power and activities for the furtherance of the freedom of man should be made secure by the efforts of its citizens.

There cannot be real freedom of man when there is eternal clamor for "my rights" or "so-called sacred egotism". Man's rights emanate from performance of his duty to himself and his fellowmen. While the philosophers of the French Revolution and others like Thomas Paine have emphasized the doctrine of the Rights of Man, find that the political philosophies of the Hindus and the Chinese have placed great importance on the rules of righteous government to be practised by the ruler. It may be surprising to many political scientists that the spirit of revolution in the Orient which has made such a tremendous impression upon some observers from the West, is also based upon the political philosophy that "sovereignty lies in the people" and that the people have the right [illegible] overthrow an unrighteous ruler. To substantiate this statement [illegible] may quote passages from the Upanishad and the Bhagavat Gita [illegible] the Hindus, and also excerpts from the writings of Confucius and Mencius. We also find that in the Constitution of the Republic of India there is an elaborate list of the Rights of Man, based not only upon the American Bill of Rights and other documents, but it should not be forgotten that the real authority for upholding human rights, according to the Hindus, lies in the concept of the " ethical basis of a state " and the spiritual ideal that man must be freed from inner and outer forms of bondage which may limit his fullest expression of the good in him, leading to his emancipation.

Just as an individual's freedom is not inconsistent with the well-being of humanity, so a nation's freedom and security cannot be opposed to freedom of other nations. Freedom and equal justice for all is the ideal of American democracy. When this ideal is applied in our dealings with the Orient, the United States and the free states of the Orient, especially India, can co-operate to uphold the cause of peace and human brotherhood.

May I conclude by reminding you that there is a spiritual basis for freedom and security. The teachings of the prophets of the Old Testament as well as the teachings of Christianity proclaim: " Love thy neighbor as thyself." Confucius proclaimed the simple truth that " All men are brothers." While the great Gautama Buddha preached the life of piety and compassion to all. The Hindu sages sang the most beautiful ideal in the following way:

> " The mother Nature is my Mother.
> The Eternal Spirit is my father.
> Those who are dedicated to the Good
> Are my true friends; and the whole
> World is my own country."

This is the conception of the spiritual basis of One World with freedom and security for all and discrimination towards none. This conception of unity does not mean uniformity or formation of a world state and elimination of national states; but it means this: As men as individuals and different personalities can live as friends and brothers, so states can live in peace and not in eternal fear of each other. We should so exert ourselves in our every day lives as well as in our dealings with other nations, so that in time there will be a crowning victory for the ideal of the spiritual basis of democracy, which is the foundation of freedom and security for all.

THE REALITY OF PERPETUUM MOBILE

P.K. Banerjee, N.K.I. (Sweden)

The life of Gustaf Dalen, the world-renowned Swedish Scientific Wizard, who died a few years ago, was a saga of determination and pioneering zeal even in the face of heavy odds. A viking in the truest sense of the term he never knew to retrace his steps back even vhen called upon to make the utmost sacrifice at the altar of ientific learning. Like his great American contemporary Thomas lva Eddison, while at school early in life he was considered rather ull and inattentive by his teachers, one of whom once remarked ynically by quoting a line from Havamal after asking the boys of is class to write to dictation : "There is one thing which can never erish and that is judgment passed over a dead man". Instead of vriting this sentence Gustaf Dalen wrote : "There is one thing which can never perish and that is Gustaf Dalen". After seeing this retort made in writing by his young student his teacher remarked with a cynical smile : "So you don't want to die, Gustaf". None could then even think, not even his dearest and nearest, that Gustaf Dalen would become immortal like one of the Olympians.

This great scientific wizard came off a peasant family and was the third son of his father Anders Johansson.

His ancestors were all farmers who worked on the farm known as Stenstorp. Instead of adopting his family name from his father's side Gustaf preferred to do so from his mother's side, whose name was Lovisa Dahlen and who likewise her husband came off a peasant family. Gustaf, however, used to spell his name without the 'h' of Dahlen. Her eldest son was a priest and while her second son became an eye specialist, her youngest son became a jurist and her only daughter was a School-Mistress. Inspite of being born and brought up in a farmer's family all his brothers and his only sister ceived their due share of education and were considered to be highly ured. Through a chequered career Gustaf rose to the zenith ame and prosperity. Curiously enough unlike his brothers and sister, during his school-days young Gustaf was considered not have any the least aptitude for learning and he evinced little nterest in history, geography, literature and languages. Practically the same criticism was hurled at him by his school-teacher as was done in the case of his contemporary at school in America Thomas Alva Eddison, though this criticism, however, lacked any bitter sting. Once his school-teacher made a remark in the presence of Gustaf's parents with these words : 'I can make men of your other sons, but as regards Gustaf I feel sorry to say he is good for nothing'. It is a strange phenomenon that many world-figures and intellectual luminaries who have become immortal in the pages of history were considered by many in their early life to be dull and unintelligent. The would-be winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, Gustaf Dalen, was likewise misjudged and became the object of derision of his colleagues and school-teachers early in life. His lack of interest for those subjects that were then taught in school was partly responsible for his pious wish of remaining in his father's farm with a view to helping him as an assistant. After finishing his secondary education at school he went to Skasa to take a course in horticulture at a local school. After successfully passing an examination in this course at the age of 20, he went to Skoevde with all his gardening implements and set up his own vegetable stall in the local market. Among other things he used to sell here cucumbers, beet and onions. Afterwards he changed his mind and started a dairy farm without owning any cows, and the result was that the quality of milk that used to be supplied to him by milkmen was far from satisfactory. This adulteration of milk by milk-suppliers formed the prelude to a real and far-reaching change in his career.

Early in life he showed signs of having a technical aptitude ; when he was only 13 years old he constructed an ingenious apparatus which did the triple function of lighting a lamp, heating coffee and that of an alarm-clock. This three-in-one apparatus helped him to sleep in the morning more peacefully and helped him to rid himself of all the worries of hurrying to school. With its help an oil-lamp with a wick could be lighted at a fixed hour and the lighted lamp in its turn helped in heating the coffee-kettle and a little later the alarm-clock began ringing for waking up the boy for his morning coffee before going to school. He, however, set to work more seriously with an apparatus for detecting adulterations in milk. In the year 1892 when he was 22 years he was successful in constructing such an apparatus. With the help of this apparatus the fat consistency of pure milk could be checked and butter could be taken out by skimming milk. The young farmer was very much pleased with his new invention which he thought would be much appreciated by De Laval, who was then considered to be the greatest inventor.

Coming to France he placed his new invention on the table before the great French Inventor, who began to examine it with great interest. The more he examined it, the more grew his interest for it. At last he exclaimed "wonderful" and then went to an adjacent room for bringing out a similar apparatus, which was his own invention, known as the Butyrometer, used for a long time all over the world. De Laval found to his great surprise that Gustaf Dalen's apparatus was identical with his own as regards the technical principles involved in its design and construction. De Laval being very much impressed with his rare inventive genious suggested to this young dairy-farmer to take up technical studies at some technical institute so that his rare inventive faculties might not stagnate for want of practical knowledge. De Laval's suggestions galvanised the fertile brain of the young Swede, who made a firm determination to act up to the former's sound advice. But he had no smooth sailing as he had taken the full responsibility of looking after his father's farm and as it was the hope of his family that he would properly look after them. When his second brother who was a Doctor got back home on holidays, Gustaf got an opportunity of discussing his future plans with him. The prospect of prosecuting his technical studies for becoming an Engineer seemed none too bright, as there was at that time no great demand on engineers and as their salaries were rather low.

But inspite of all these discouraging factors he was not deterred from pursuing his technical studies with courage and determination. After passing a test he got admission in the famous Chalmers School of Industry and Technology at Gothenburg.

Here his talent did blossom forth and he got distinction in physics and chemistry. After passing from Chalmers he decided to prosecute his studies further at the Polytechnic Institute of Zuerich in Switzerland, which was then considered to be one of the best institutes of its kind in the whole of Europe. Here he found it difficult to understand even a word of what his Swiss German Professor used to say in his lecture due to his ignorance of the German language; but when the Professor used to work out equations on the black board he had absolutely no difficulty in following him.

In 1901 Dalen got his first appointment as Chief Engineer in the newly started Swedish Carbide and Acetylen Company which in 1904 got the name A-B Gas-accumulator. While he was in service here. that he made some of his most epoch-making inventions. The use of Acetylengas was at that time much in vogue for lighting purposes in

Sweden. It was, however, very costly and a few lighthouses experimented with it without much success. This gave an incentive to Dalen to find out an improved and less complicated and less costly method of lighting for lighthouses. After repeated experiments at long last he succeeded in 1905 in designing and constructing a very complicated but perfectly functioning automatic apparatus for lighting, which instead of burning all the time gave off light-signals lasting only 3/10 of a second every 10th second. This meant a great saving in fuel cost as 90% of the gas used as fuel could thereby be saved. The same year he made another very useful invention. Scientists in France had then discovered a way of preserving gas in a porous substance so that the danger of an explosion could be minimised. It was, however, found to their dismay afterwards that it served the purpose of a trap rather than a safety device and reports of frequent accidents due to the explosion of gas came pouring in. This gave an incentive to Dalen to proceed with the task of finding out a more suitable substance for absolutely eliminating the chances of explosion with redoubled efforts and he was finally successful. The new porous substance that he invented got the name "Aga-mass". But his third invention surpassed his first two in ingenuity and usefulness and it was the sun-valve with which he could finally assume the role of a prophet of light for successfully guiding misdirected ships and boats of erring humanity to steer clear off dangers lurking in the seven seas of the world. For this wonderful mechanical device which functions like Aladdin's Magic-lamp and will continue to do so, so long as human civilisation itself will last, we and our future generations owe him an irreparable debt of gratitude. Before he was successful with this invention Dalen worked upon the theory that a dark substance absorbed more heat than a bright or white substance and had, therefore, the possibility of expanding even though this expansion might be very little. At first he went on experimenting with both dark and white substances used as window-panes of his house and exposed to the diffused rays of the sun. He was surprised to find that even diffused light expanded the black panes more than the white ones and he thought this small expansion, which could be calculated only in decimal fractions, would suffice for the construction of the sun-valve. After this experiment he was successful in constructing an apparatus with a black substance which being reacted upon by light expanded a little thereby putting a valve in operation to stop the flow of gas in the combustion chamber. It was, therefore, the light of the sun itself which with perfect precision came to the help of mankind by regulating light for its guidance on the tempest-tossed, rock-infested seas and sea-lanes of the world. Light houses equipped with this magic apparatus no longer needed any human personelle to look after them as just with sun-set and sun-down or when black clouds darkened the horizon by banishing sun-light from the sky, their lights began to burn and went off automatically. This magic invention of Dalen staggered the imagination of scientists throughout the civilised world. When his great contemporary Eddison heard about it he exclaimed with a surprise: 'It cannot simply operate.' When he was, however, told that it had been already in operation he snapped with a forceful jerk 'Impossible.' Eddison could hardly believe that an apparatus requiring such precision-work could ever be depended upon for successful operation. In the long history of scientific inventions Dalen's sun-valve might be considered to be the first successful one for realising the old dream of a *perpetuum mobile*. Apart from the fuel required for the combustion of the light of this wonderful Aladdin's-Lamp, it requires no other human aid, aided as it is for its operation by the sun alone and if the necessary fuel is supplied to it at regular intervals it can keep on functioning as long as the solar system will last. So Dalen's was perhaps the first scientific brain not only to conceive but actually to harness the mighty sun or the creator of our universe to do this work for the benefit of mankind. As regards dependability of automatic precision action Dalen's apparatus may be considered to be the most technically perfect yet conceived in human brain. The flame of this wonderful light begins to burn immediately it is required to do so and it burns one moment and then again it is automatically extinguished like a will'-o-the-wisp and its mechanism is so sound that one which was installed in a light-house 30 years ago has up till now needed no repairs. Signal-lights used in modern aviation, and in regulating modern railway-traffic owe their origin to Dalen's light.

It remains yet an unsettled question and a controversial issue which of the two inventors, Eddison's or Dalen's, inventions have meant most for mankind. There is no doubt that Eddisons incandescent light has come to the use of more people than Dalen's light-houses. But in one respect, however, Dalen's light-houses may be said to have meant much more for the benefit of humanity as on the vast oceans and seas of the world, there was no other light before for guiding sailors and the flotsam and jetsam of ship-wrecked people in the darkness of night; whereas in the case of Eddison's incandescent lamp it may be said there existed other kinds of light before for the guidance of mankind .on land in the darkness of the night. Dalen has saved millions of human lives with his light by removing the danger of ship-wrecks. There is another side of this controversy. The problem of creating the incandescent light was no new idea to the scientists of the time, many of whom were within an ace of solving the problem, when with Eddison it was but an accomplished fact; but before Dalen there was no other scientist who could ever come within a hundred miles of conceiving this ingenious idea of constructing the sun-valve. The leading scientific experts of that time like Eddison himself and the scientific group working in the famous *Patent Werke* (The Patent Works) of Berlin could hardly even think that a precision mechanical gadget like the sun-valve would at all operate when it had been actually in operation in Sweden. So this much can be said with certainty that Dalen's Sun-Valve is a more original and revolutionary type of invention than Eddison's incandescent light and other inventions.

But, alas, the tragedy and irony of human destiny was perhaps never more cruelly illustrated than in Dalen's case. He that gave us the unquenchable beacon of eternal light, the source of all creation and wisdom, must spend the rest of his life in utter darkness, being blinded in an explosion when examining a gas-accumulator in Stockholm. Though his eyes never more saw light again, yet a man of indomitable will that he was he never got disappointed with his ill-luck and the radiance of his prophet-like love for serving the cause of humanity glowed ever more within himself to egg him on to scale the higher and still higher pinnacles of glory.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE STATES IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

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The federal form of government is an elastic form of governmental organization. Switzerland, the United States, Australia and Canada have each a varying pattern of relations between the units and the federal government. The relations are not static ; they are dynamic. The constitution of India adds a little of its own to the variety and complexity of these relations. A part of the Indian addition translates the present practice in some of these countries into provisions of the constitution itself and thus equates law and practice. Here and there however the Indian constitution sets up a pattern of its own which deserves a careful study.

Historic reasons make the number of units elastic and therefore the extent of the territories of the existing units subjects to change. Theoretically this is a great inroad on the federal principle. As a matter of fact, the states and not the Union demanded this provision in the constitution. The absorption of princely India into the territories of the Union raised several issues of territorial adjustment which could not be solved by January. 26, 1950. The demand for the redistribution of the territories of the old provinces of British India on some more rational basis could not be met within the short period the Constituent Assembly had for the purpose. But it would have been extremely foolish to allow the present units to stratify themselves for all times or to make their variation subject either to the amendment of the Constitution or to its approval by all the units concerned. Very wisely the constitution leaves the re-distribution of territories and the emergence of new units to the Union, subject of course to its consulting all the units involved in any change. It is hoped however that this elasticity would not last longer than ten years as within that period the new political map of India may be drawn finally. When once the old 'states' have been merged or integrated, new provinces on linguistic or other considerations formed, and the foreign French and Portuguese pockets in India assimilated it is likely that these provisions would become obsolete by non-use and India would join other federations with units having an integrity of their own.

The large number and vast extent of territories governed at present by the Government of the Union directly also form a passing phase of the constitution. Bhopal, Madhya Bharat, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Coorg, Bilaspur, Ajmer and Delhi, Andaman and Nicobar are being administered by the centre through chief commissioners, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, and Patiala and East Punjab States Union are under administrations ultimately responsible to the Union. More or less the same may be said of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir though here the present government is dependent on the Union rather than responsible to it. It is likely that in the event of mutual agreement, the cities Bombay and Madras may be added to this list. But before long, Kashmir, Pepsu, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad are likely to have their constitutional problems solved. Bhopal, Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh and Bilaspur would be absorbed in the neighbouring units sooner or later. It is likely that the Union Government may continue governing Manipur, Tripura, and Cutch on account of their strategic importance and disagreement among the government of the neighbouring states over them. The conflict of claims over Coorg may keep that 'Central island' intact. Delhi as the capital of the Union would remain under the Union Government. Most of the territories under the Union now are, thus destined to become new states or parts of existing states.

These two inroads on federalism bring us to another innovation in the constitution which, at first sight, appears permanent but which at the same time thoroughly negatives the federal character of the constitution. The President is authorized to take over the administration of any state if he is satisfied that it cannot be carried on under the provisions of the constitution. Apparently, this plays havoc with the 'independent authority' of the government of a unit within its own territories for purposes specified in the constitution to be its own concern. A little thought would link this provision with the two fleeting characterstics of the Indian federation discussed above. Madhya Bharat and Patialia and East Punjab States Union are both being governed at present under this provision. The present government of Hyderabad is obviously covered by the same. Representative government, much less responsible government as envisaged in the constitution, for the administration of two of these units has proved impossible; in Hyderabad it cannot yet be attempted even. The Government of the union alone can provide the only machinery of administration that could keep the government of these states going. That the Union Government does not intend to use this power in units otherwise accustomed to representative institutions is proved by the fact that despite the presence in Punjab and West Bengal of the squables of the kind which disfigured Madhya Bharat and PEPSU, the federal government has not much interfered with the government of Punjab and West Bengal. The problems there have been dealt with on party rather institutional basis. The national executive of the party has been advising the provincial party leaders for their own good ultimately leaving to the local party to face the political consequences of their own action or want of action. If the party in power in the Union were not carrying the Government in a state, it would be all the more relectant to save its rivals from the dire consequences of their misdeeds. Nothing would suit a political party better than that its rival should behave so as to make it impossible to carry on government in the normal way in the state. Its adherents in the state concerned would gain additional strength when the time for political reckoning would come in the elections. It is reasonable to hold that the governments of the units forming part of old British India are not likely to be superseded. As soon as conditions in the units emerging out of old princely India improve and approximate to these in the rest of the country, there would be little likehood of the Union superseding their governments under the powers granted to the Union. Within a decade this part of the constitution may also well become obsolete.

It would be only when this period of transition would be over that the real character of the Indian constitution as a federation would become visible. Ignoring these obvious makeshifts, we find that the government of the Union, would appoint—as in Canada—the ceremonial head of the governments of the states. A chief Election Commissioner with appropriate regional agencies would conduct the elections. An Auditor-General appointed by the Union would, through his local representatives in the units, keep accounts and audit them and one or more Commissioners for Scheduled Tribes or Areas would protect their rights. The constitution and organization of the highest court in the state is under the union which will appoint its judges who would supervise, guide, and control the inferior courts in the units. The key posts in administration of the units would largely be filled by members of All-India Services (Police and Administrative). The Union Government would have the power of implementing its treaty obligation even when doing so impinges on matters exclusively under the direction of the units. The President can direct that the laws of a state be not applicable in whole or in part to a major port or an aerodrome within that state. The President can grant reprieve even to persons condemned to death for the violation of the laws of a state.

It would be difficult to contend that any one of these provisions or even all of them together change the essential federal character of the constitution. If the states secure an independent and efficient Auditor-General, Chief Election Commissioner, or high Court, nobody is the loser. All these high dignitaries fill what, for all intents and purposes, are independent offices. Their salaries are charged to the cosolidated fund ; the Auditor General and Chief Election Commissioner have been placed beyond temptation by being dlsabled to hold any other public office after retirement. The continued existence of the All-India Administrative Service and a Police Service would not only allow the less fortunate states to draw upon the resources of other states for filling administrative offices ; it will make the staffing of centrally administered areas and the central secretariat easier. It would be difficult to deny that this would keep the level of administrative effecieny high. If the existence of officers belonging to All-India Services in a state be considered an attack on its territorial sovereignity, the fact that several of these officers would very often end their service at the centre after spending their formative year in provinces would provide an effective antidote. It should be remembered that members of All-India Services are allowed to choose the unit where they would like to serve on first appointment. Successful candidates would prefer to serve in the states of their domicile rather than be strangers in other units. That the Union Public Service Commission would control these Services would in no way make them an instrument of federal government rather than that of state governments which they would serve. If anything, this would make them more independent of the party machinery in the states than would have been the case otherwise. Decidely it is a gain rather than a loss to the cause of democratic government as well to that of efficient administration. If the power of the Union to implement, by legislation or administrative action, its inter-national obligation be held to be an inroad on the local sovereignity of a state, it should not be forgotten that the assumption of an international obligation is itself an abrogation of national sovereignty of the state to the extent of the international obligation. An international obligation in the matter of education, public health, conditions of work or social insurance would indicate a strong feeling on the matter in the world opinion, *i.e.*, among a substantial majority of the civilized people of the world banded together in an international organization. It may of course sometim϶ be the result of a bilateral agreement alone. The Union Government would not give up its preseet practice of deputing provincial ministers or heads of administrative services to participate on its behalf in inter-nation organizations. Where necessary, this practices is likely to be followed in bilateral or multilateral agreements as well. It is not likely that the Government of the Union would commit itself on vital matters without consulting public opinion in the states. The federal government is likely to put an estoppel to a provincial law in a major port or on an aerodrome for reasons arising out of international considerations alone. It may order, for example that prohibition in Bombay will not extend to the Port of Bombay or the aerodrome at Santa Cruz to foreigners in transit or otherwise. It may be necessary in the cause of international communications and international understanding not to force any part, for example, of the Sarvodya programme at such places even if it is adopted by a state in part or wholly in the rest of its territory. There is the obvious danger that such aerodromes or major ports may degenerate into islands or worse still, international concessions, if such a practice is widely followed. It is not likely however that if the same party wields power both at the centre and in the particular state, the Government of the Union would so openly proclaim its disbelief in the applicability of the programme which its state group may be sponsering. Any large misuse of this authority when two rival parties are in power at the centre and in a state is rendered impossible by the fact that any central action forced upon a rival party in a state is likely to reoil on the head of the local party allied to the party in power at the centre. The power is only a weapon in the armoury of the centre government which it is likely to employ very rarely.

In matters financial an attempt has been made to reproduce present federal practices elsewhere rather than the provisions of the federal constitutions. Where uniformity in the rates of taxation is necessary, the Union levies such local taxes as stamp duties and excise duties on toilet articles and medicinal preparations but leaves the states to collect them within their own territories and credit the receipts to their own accounts. Certain other taxes where not only uniformity of rates is imperative but where the place of levying the charge does not indicate conclusively the final payers of the tax are both levied and collected by the federation. The proceeds of such taxes levied in the territories under the units are distributed in their entirely, on an agreed upon basis, among the units. Certain other taxes—usually considered federal source of income in other federations—are levied and collected by the Union but a part of the receipts is distributed among the units, the union keeping the rest. Here the strict division of financial resources among the federal government and those of the units is ignored on the one hand, by allowing the government of the Union to determine the rates of local taxation and on the other by allowing the governments of the units to claim a share in the proceeds of what are elsewhere federal sources of revenue. The first avoids the confusion likely to result from varying rates of local taxation on articles which will not be produced for consumption within a unit alone. The second gets the Union and the units out of the morass into which both would otherwise have got—as in Canada—if the union had been left free to make financial grants to units at its discretion. The subventions from the centre for backward tribes and undeveloped areas of the units guarantee that their interests would not be dependent on local sympathies or antipathies.

It has been provided that any complaints against the chairman or members of a public services commision in a state would be enquired into by the Supreme Court. If the power of this federal institution has thus been increased it is contemplated that the Supreme Court need not be used for enquiring into disputes about the use of water or waterways between the states or between the union and one or more than one states.

Certain contingencies are provided for in the Indian constitution for which temporary makeshift arrangements have been made elsewhere without disturbing the classical theory of division of functions between the centre and the states. That the Government of the Union can at the request of two or more states, legislate for their territories in a matter primarily of their own concern. The Council of States is armed with the power to remove, by a resolution passed with the approval of two-thirds of the members present and voting, an item from the jurisdiction of the states to that of the centre in national interest. Such removal will be for a year in the first instance but could be continued in existence indefinitely by annual resolutions. Approval by two-thirds of the members of the council of states—representing the primarily units—would almost be tantamount to approval by two-thirds of the state legislatures. It would provide a short cut for the amendment—although a temporary amendment—of the constitution. The fact that such removal will originally be for a year only would imply that ordinarily nothing requiring a long-range treatment would be thus transferred from one authority to another.

The constitution also makes provision for the centre's taking over the government of a unit in an emergency caused by the financial breakdown of a government, the threat actual or apprehended, of internal disturbance or of a foreign invasion. The crisis government thus created would in no way constitute a danger to the principle of federalism. The great depression in the United States led Mr. Roosevelt as President to asume powers which clearly impinged upon states rights. A Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces Lincolon, Wilson and Roosevelt made a mincemeat of the rights of the states to carry on their own government in their own way. All the great presidents of the United States claimed and exercised powers as commanders-in-chief which were stoutly opposed by their opponents and were, on occasion, held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. All the three contingencies would constitute a threat to organized government. Whatever the constitution may lay down, no federal government worth the name has neglected in practice to meet such a threat in the only way in which it can be met—by assumption of powers ordinarily residing in the States. The Indian constitution has only clothed in legal and constitutional phraseology the actual practices of other governments. It may be argued that India has made a static arrangement for what may well prove to be an ever-changing phenomenon. It would be legitimate to hold that the Indian 'static' remedy is so widely worded as to make it almost dynamic, equal to face any situation likely to arise.

The reluctance of the Indian constitution to create separate sets of officials, provincial and federal, for all purposes provides a gain to the cause of the advocates of the states' rights. The union will not always create officers of its own for accomplishing allits ends. It may, sometimes, as in the case of national roadways or roadways of military importance, be simply content with issuing direction to the governments of the states. On other occasions it may call upon state officials to perform federal functions on its behalf. It may also make a similar demand on the governments of the states and may then recompensate such governments for the work so done. In all these cases the states would be the gainer constitutionally, the Union will however take enough care to secure that its interests do not suffer materially under the circumstances. It may, however, be claimed that the assumption of federal duties by states' public servants would give the federal government a say in deciding important service questions concerning those public servants. But if we take into account the fact that most of these officers would be members of All-India Services, otherwise as well under the control of the Government of the Union, this need cause no surprise.

India thus offers a new variety of federal government, here tilting the scales in favour of the centre, their pulling in favour of the states. How actually the constitutional balance will be struck only the future can show. There need be no apprehension however that the Indian experiments errs on the side of making the government, either at the centre or in the states, any the less efficient or any the less democratic. The constitutional pundits may frown on her, to him, idiosyncracies; students of public administration may well applaud her courage in facing realities and seeking solution to problems which were always there but which the purists chose usuailly to ignore.

APPENDIX I.

I. Units of the Indian Federation today.

(1) Assam, (2) Bihar, (3) Bengal, (4) Bombay, (5) Madhya Pradesh, (6(Madras, (7) Orissa, (8) Punjab, (9) Uttar Pradesh, (10) Mysore, (11) Rajasthan, (12) Saurashtra, (13) Travancore—Cochin, (14) Madhya Bharat, (15) Hyderabad, (Government under the supervision and subjects to the direction of the Government of the Union), (15) Vindhya Pradesh (under the Government of the Union (17) Jammu and Kashmir (subject to the result of plebiscite).

II. Union Territories.

(1) Delhi, (2) Himachal Pradesh, (3) Bilaspur, (4) Bhopal, (5) Ajmer, (6) Kutch, (7) Manipur, (8) Tripura, (9) Andaman, and Nicober and numbers 19, 16 of the first list administered as union territories.

III. Political divisions of India on August, 15, 1947.

A. Provinces of British India.

(1) Assam, (2) West Bengal, (3) Bombay, (4) Central Provinces and Berar. (5) Madras, (6) Orissa, (7) East Punjab, (8) Bihar, (9) The United Provinces.

B. Central territories.

(1) Ajmer, (2) Delhi, (3) Coorg, (4) Andamans, (5) Nicober.

C. Princely India.

559 units varying in their size, extent of authority, resources, and organization of Government.

IV. Some Financial Provisions of the Constitution:

(1) Excise duties on medicinal and toilet preparations levied by the Union, collected and retained for their own use by the states.

(2) Succession tax, estate duty (both on other than agricultural land), terminal tax on goods and passengers, taxes on railway fares and freight, surcharges on transactions in stock exchange and future markets, and taxes on the sale of newspapers and on advertisement published therein levied and collected by the Union, but the proceeds collected in the territories of the units to be distributed according to federal laws.

3. Income Tax levied and collected by the Union and a part of the net proceeds distributed among the units according to a percentage fixed annually.

V. Union Public Servants exercising authority in the states in subjects in the states list.

(1) Auditor General, (2) Chief Election Officer, (3) Judges, High Court.

VI. Statutory Commission inquiring into certain aspects or problems of the administration of the states appointed by the President.

(1) Finance Commission (2) Commissions on backward areas, backward castes and backward tribes, (3) Inter-States Commerce Commission (4) State Tribunal, Language Commission.

VII. Legislation subjects to veto by the President.

(*i*) Bills adversely affecting the existing powers of the High Courts.

(*ii*) Bills acquiring property.

CAPITAL FORMATION IN INDIA

(II)

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The high percentage in primary occupations is a sure sign of poverty in a country. Mr. Colin Clark in his " Conditions of Economic Progress " has given the following table as to the percentages engaged in different occupations in those countries.

PERCENTAGES OF OCCUPATIONS

Country.	Primary occupations Agriculture, fishing Forestry, etc.	Secondary occupations Industries.	Tertiary occupations Commerce, transport, services, etc.
U.S.A.	... 19.3	31.1	49.6
Canada	... 34.5	32.2	42.3
Britain	... 6.4	43.9	49.7
Germany	... 24.3	38.5	37.2
Japan	... 50.3	19.5	30.2
India	... 62.4	14.4	23.2

Among richer countries there is apparently a tendency for the proportion in secondary production to fall, while the proportion engaged in tertiary occupations rises. It is suggested that a 45-25-30 distribution of the total working population respectively in the primary, secondary and tertiary occupations will give the best proportion and the national product will be the highest. Again, according to Clark, " the diminishing proportion of agricultural working population is a sure sign of the economic progress of a country." In a poor country like India, the percentage of secondary occupation is very low as is evident from the above table. Consequently, capital formation is also bound to be very low and unless the percentage in this group rises considerably, India cannot expect to save and invest as much as Britain and the U.S.A. save.

The following table will show the pattern of India's non-agricultural savings as gathered from Income Tax Returns for the year 1945-46.

INDIVIDUAL SAVINGS FROM TAXABLE INCOME

Income group (Income per annum in Rs.)	No. assessed to Income Tax.	Income assessed to Income Tax (Rs. crores).	Net Income after deduction of Income Tax and Super Tax (Rs. crores).	Assumed rate of saving per cent of net Income.	Total Savings. (Rs. crores).
Below 10,000	3,44,491	136	132	7½	9.9
10,000—20,000	33,649	40	37	12½	4.6
20,000—25,000	24,827	46	42	17½	7.4
25,000—50,000	13,760	46	39	25½	9.8
50,000—,1,00,000	3,445	23	18	33½	6.0
1,00,000—2,00,000	1,060	14	10	50	5.0
2,00,000—and over	499	21	12	70	8.4
	4,21,731	326	290		51.1

The last column gives the pattern of individual savings. The income groups below Rs. 10,000 per year contributed only about a fifth of individual savings, though this group covered eighty per cent of the income assessed. And well over half the total savings were produced by about 4½ per cent of the assessees with incomes above Rs. 25,000 per year. But that proves nothing and cannot constitute any defence in favour of the higher income groups against so-called high taxation of incomes. The rate of savings per cent of net income after deduction of Income tax and Super tax, as the case may be, is much smaller in the case of lower income groups as compared with that of the higher income groups. Incomes below Rs. 10,000 per year save only 7½ per cent of their income, whereas 70 per cent is being saved by income above Rs. 2,00,000 and over. The above table indicates that the higher the income per head the higher is the saving and high taxation of incomes in the larger groups does not affect the rate and volume of saving in those groups. The lower incomes are hit hard by the direct taxes as in their cases the rate of saving is very low. Below Rs. 10,000 incomes, the number assessed to income tax was 3,44,491 and the income assessed to income tax was Rs. 136 crores being about 44 per cent of the total income assessed to income tax, which for the year was Rs. 326 crores and net income after deduction of income tax was Rs. 290 crores, so the net saving for all incomes being about 88 per cent of the total income assessed. The theory that high taxation is destroying our savings and as such is impeding our capital formation falls to the ground as not being supported by facts.

But if we assume a 20 per cent rise in the cost of living which is very probable since 1945-46, then the individual savings as shown in the income tax returns will be reduced to a fourth. The revised table on the assumed rise of a 20 per cent increase in the cost of living will be as follows in the case of income groups of Rs. 25,000 and over.

Income Group.	No. assessed	Income assessed.	Net Income	Assumed rate of saving per cent of net income after 20 p.c. rise in prices.	Savings (Rs. crores).
25,000—50,000	13,760	46	39	5	2.0
25,000—1,00,000	3,445	23	18	13½	2.4
1,00,000—2,00,000	1,060	14	10	30	3.0
2,00,000—and over	499	21	12	50	6.0
	18,764	104	69		13.4

On the assumption of a 20 per cent rise of prices, savings in the Income tax group cannot exceed Rs. 15 crores.

Growth of capital in India: The following table gives the paid-up capital and market value of some representative companies qouted at the stock exchanges of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for August, 1939 and July, 1946.

Groups.	No. in August, 1939			July, 1946		
	No. of companies.	Paid-up capital Rs.	Market value Rs.	No, of companies	Paid up capital Rs.	Market value Rs.
Banks	15	1,512	3,067	32	2,766	10,176
Insurance	15	175	486	23	268	1,637
Investment Trust	3	80	62	8	210	312
Electricity	56	1,542	2,507	57	1,604	3,885
Railways	34	1,051	1,118	22	659	749
Shipping	7	245	324	7	538	1,988
Transport etc.	4	19	23	4	18	94
Flour Mills	9	47	48	10	52	121
Plantations	172	685	1 336	204	1,027	3,653
Sugar & Breweries	34	403	556	48	625	2,102
Cotton	68	1,378	1,896	98	2,215	12,538
Jute	56	1,138	2,191	60	1 278	10,134
Coal	54	473	631	57	601	2,908
Iron & Steel	6	577	2,310	12	1,106	3,686
Engineering	18	266	295	17	273	1,472
Chemicals	9	60	72	15	291	1,045
Cement	5	781	915	7	822	2,313
Paper	8	155	154	7	188	1,083
Metal works	1	14	12	6	268	895
Rubber products	2	53	94	2	58	683
Tannaries	...	...	...	3	20	33
Glass	...	...	...	3	19	35
Mining	5	1,246	852	7	1,264	1,357
Oil	5	153	335	6	186	702
Saw Mills	3	23	24	3	17	78
Agencies	6	111	225	9	154	1,226
Real Properties	4	172	89	6	191	346
Miscellaneous	29	582	820	25	12	11.377
Total	628	12,939	20,441	758	17,330	72,629

The above table does not represent all the companies, but it will give the general idea as to the extent and trends of capital formation in this country. The following table gives the growth of the capital of Joint Stock Companies in India in the period from 1919-20 to 1944-45 :—

Year	Total No. of Companies		Total paid-up capital (lakh Rs.)	
	Br. India—	All India	Br. India	All India
1919-20	3,500	3,668	11,946	12,321
1924-25	4,822	5,204	26,650	27,553
1929-30	6,009	6,615	24,997	26,111
1934-35	8,934	9;627	26,660	27,925
1939-40	10,362	11,372	28,844	30,668
1942-43	11,783	12,770	31,638	33,613
1943-44	12,499	13,689	32,979	35,374
1944-45	13,555	14,859	36,073	38,897

SOURCES OF CAPITAL IN INDIA :

The main feature of our capital formation is that primary sector, that is, the agricultural income which forms the bulk of our national income is a non-contributing factor to our capital growth. The primary sector contributed 49.2 per cent of the national income in 1939-40, and by 1946-47 its share had appreciated to 57.3 per cent. It has been stated before that 70 per cent of India's national income comes from rural areas. The contribution of the tertiary sector which was 31.2 per cent of the national income in 1939-40 after having declined to 20.1 per cent in 1942-43 was only 21.1 in 1947-48.

Recoverable war expenditure of the Government of India is perhaps the most important factor which has virtually affected our capital formation. During the war years this expenditure represented India's forced savings on Government account and its deferred payment has concealed in itself a great volume of India's savings. When we talk of India's savings and capital formation, we totally ignore this huge blocked savings which when added to our national savings increases the rate and volume of the letter. Really speaking, had this recoverable war expenditure in the form of sterling balances been released to India in due time and had it been fully employed to develop real investment capital formation in India would have been perhaps much higher despite the so-called heavy taxation.

Savings in India were in fact higher by 50 per cent in 1943-44 than they were in 1939-40 and in the former period prices and taxation were much higher than in the latter. In

1939-40, the percentage of capital formation to total national income was 9.3, whereas it was 13.8 in 1943-44. The factors which are responsible for this higher saving is the large increase in the volume of money income due to expanded war activities and the windfall profits in this period reduced in effect the burden of real taxation as distinguished from money taxation. The second cause was that there was increased saving due to liquidity preference in an abnormal condition of war.

In India capital is proverbially shy and it would be misleading to say that all savings in this country lead to capital formation. Theoretically, the rate and the volume of saving is a function of four main variables, namely, money income, the volume of personal consumption expenditure depending on the spending habits of the people, the price level and finally the rate of the growth of population. For purposes of simplicity, however, the volume of net savings per head may be expressed as a functional relationship with real income per head. National income of India is definitely on the increase and also the per capita income. This has been shown before, although, the increase is ultimately reduced to a considerable extent by the cost of living, and taxation of income cannot be held responsible to any considerable degree for such eventual reduction in real income. Companies save in a prosperous year as much as 45 per cent of the total profit after payment of taxes. For the year 1945-46, the total profit after payment of taxes being estimated at Rs. 127 crores, net saving from these profits being about Rs. 57 crores. So our rate of national saving may be estimated at Rs. 150 crores annually—Rs. 50 crores of saving in individual sector and Rs. 100 crores in corporate undertakings. Pattern of India's non-agricultural savings is given for the year 1945-46 as shown by the income tax returns for that year.

Savings in India are generally hoardings and hoardings do not add to the net increment of real investment. In 1938-39, the total deposits of scheduled banks in India and Pakistan were 227.11 lakhs of rupees and advances and bills discounted stood at 53.15 per cent of these deposits. Whereas, in February, 1949, the total deposits of scheduled banks in India and Pakistan were 962.72 lakhs of rupees and the percentage of advances and bills discounted against these liabilities were 51.28. In 1938-39, the velocity of circulation of bank deposits was 9.80 and in

February, 1949, it was 9.83. This indicates that though there has been appreciable increase in the volume of deposits, but to that extent the circulation of bank deposits has not moved up. The idle balances are thus kept in the bank coffers without being thrown into new investment. The reasonable assumption is that the volume of cash balances increased more considerably than prices in the war periods. Definitely, there has been a fall in the cash turnover, or, what is the same thing, an increase in cash liquidity. The rate of turnover of cash balances can be indicated by comparing the rate of increase in cash balances (bank deposits and notes in circulation) with increase in the price index thus :—

CASH BALANCES COMPARED WITH PRICE MOVEMENTS

Year	Total cash	Notes only	Bank deposits only	Wholesale prices	Cost of living
1939	100	100	100	100	100
1945	450	505	400	247	245

The total cash in the second column includes bank deposits and notes. These figures indicate that the increase in cash liquidity was greater in regard to bank deposits and this fact may support the suggestion that there was some hoarding of notes.

The following table will give indication as to the capital formation in India, but no absolute authority should be attached to it.

CAPITAL FORMATION IN INDIA.

	1939-40	1940-41	1942-43	1943-44	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48
(A) Surplus in individual Sector	460	1,900	3,504	4,865	1,827	255	871
(B) Surplus in teriary Sector	1,491	1,059	231	977	1,078	205	263
(C) Recoverable war expenditure from UK	40	1,940	3,060	3,780	3,470	40	...
(D) Revenue receipts of the Govt. of India	1,039	1,267	1,515	1,807	2,455	2,583	1,045
(E) Government Expenditure	1,226	1,874	4,257	5,573	5,891	5,078	2,617
(F) Total Capital formation (A + B+C+D+E)	1,804	4,292	4,053	5,856	2,393	—1,995	—438
(G) F as per cent. of national income	9.3	18.5	12.0	13.8	6.8	negative	negative.

This table is compiled by the Eastern Economist. But here a note of warning should be given about the reliability of all unofficial statistics including the above. Statistical bottle-necks and black-outs have been the virtue of our economic life and statistical studies still go at a discount in India. All unofficial efforts to form statistics suffer from inadequacy of access to sources and hence to that extent they are unreliable. The very unofficial character of such studies is their weakness and all statistics made by the Eastern Economist and other private efforts should be taken with a grain of salt. The recent tendency of such compilations of statistical studies of our savings and investment have been to show that for the last two or three years India has been living on capital due to high taxation of income and as such savings are negative during these years. The bogey of high taxation of income has been a favourite weapon to these people to blame it in season and out of season holding it mainly responsible for the failure of capital formation in India. But it is being overlooked that the true enemy to the formation of capital in India is the high cost of living which practically eats into all savings coming forth below the 20,000 rupees income group and has been mainly responsible for reduction of savings in other higher income groups. These unofficial statistics are vitiated by a particular pro-capitalist viewpoint and in their overzeal to defend the case of industrialists against the so-called high taxation they lose sight that they are verging on fantasy when they say that for the present we are living on capital and all savings are destroyed by high taxation. Like a Rip Van Winkle they woke up one morning and found that capital formation was negative for the last two years. An examination of the records of the Registrar of the Joint Stock Companies will belie such a statement of negative capital formation in India. They cannot expect that industries contributing only 20 per cent. of our national income should form the main source of India's capital supply the requirement of which is estimated by the Bombay Plan at Rs. 100,000 millions or Rs. 10,000 crores. At best it can be said that capital formation in India is inadequate.

In Britain the rate of capital formation for the last few years has been 20 per cent. of national income, notwithstanding high taxation of income. But India is predominantly an agricultural country and rate of saving and investment cannot be the same as that of other industrially developed countries of the West. Even if all taxations of income are withdrawn, the savings would be still very meagre as stated already; the greater bulk being eaten up by the high cost of living which is the real enemy of our capital formation and it is a pity that that aspect of the problem is totally being ignored.

Small Savings: There has been appreciable increase in small savings consisting of Cash Certificates, Defence Savings Certificates, National Savings Certificates, Savings Bank Deposits and Defence Savings Bank Deposits. The following figures will illustrate this:—Small Savings (in lakhs of rupees):

1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1916-47	1917-48
108.78	95,54	92,75	118,42	159,18	221,52	268.30	269,66

A large part of these savings was concentrated in the hands of the small class of large landowners, the traders, the industrial capitalists and the rich land-owning peasants. These liquid savings are mostly unproductive being accumulated as a counterpart of budget deficits. The rising prices of agricultural commodities have benefited the rich peasants owning lands and a small class of large land-owners. Accumulation of hoardings in the form of dead balances is undoubtedly great in their hands. For some years budget deficits have been a regular feature in Indian economy and deficit financing without leading to real investment, engenders inflation and causes the flight of capital from productive purposes. Public debt in India is mostly on account of war and other unproductive purposes and as such it is harmful to the capital formation in this country. Of course, it may be argued that there is a profound difference between the significance of national debt and that of private debt in as much as a national debt—held internally—is a debt which the community owes to itself. But that does not dispose of the matter fully. Certainly it is not a fact that all members of the community are equally the creditors of the State and indeed the national debt is largely held by a very small section of the population. It is the richer class which derives benefit by contributing to the public loan. So what matters in a national debt is not its size, but the distribution in the ownership of the debt. In India, our national debt involves taking money from people from whom it ought not to be taken and giving it to people who ought not to receive it. That is, from the rich the national debt is raised and robbing the poorer section of the people, interest on such loans is paid to the holders thereof.

Taxation and Profit: The rate of income tax is high in India, no doubt, but that is bound to be and that is in keeping with the general practice all over the world to follow a graduated rate of income tax under progressive tax basis. The rate of income tax in India is neither excessive nor extraordinary nor does it justify the crusade that is incessantly being launched against the so-called heavy burden of direct tax. The main defect of our industrialists is that they still think in terms of the windfall profits that they used to derive during the war periods. The industrialists of India should remember that with the end of the war, the war profit is also at an end. Inspite of the high clamour raised by them, it may be pointed out that an income of Rs. 3,00,000 leaves about 24 per cent. of net income after payment of income tax and super tax. A chart is given below showing the rate of net profit which is being realised by the industrialists and it will be seen therefrom that the general rate of profit after taxation is not at all uneconomic. A return to the pre-war level of profits will save the industrialists and encourage capital formation inasmuch as it will provide a come-down to a more realistic yield basis by adjusting the income expectations to the present market conditions. The high prices of Indian goods stand in the way of their increased consumption in internal as well as external markets. The falling of Indian exports has been mainly due to the high cost of production and the excessive greed of the capitalists. The plea of the lack of incentive due to high taxation of income has been nauseating enough and it has appeal to none save the capitalists themselves. They forget that the principle of taxation on incomes is not only to encourage the growth of savings and ensure an easy flow of funds in investment. It also looks to the equitable distribution of national wealth. The great disparity in the accumulation of wealth in India in the hands of a few to the impoverishment of the starving millions is too glaring to escape the discerning eyes. The enrichment of the few is not the prosperity of the many. The equitable redistribution of the national wealth is now-a-days a very important concern of the taxation structure of a country and it calls for just pairing off the sharp edges of the higher incomes so as to reduce the widening gap between different income groups. The modern concept of economics is welfare economics and welfare is the main criterion on which economic values should be judged. The following table will illustrate the dividend paid by joint stock companies in India (Ordinary Shares; rate per cent per annum).

	1939 (173)	1943 (174)	1944 (174)	1945 (174)	1946 (174)	1947 (167)	Average
Banks (14)	10.3	11.4	11.0	11.5	12.3	12.6	10.5
Insurance (10)	19.7	16.8	16.3	19.1	22.1	18.5	19.4
Textiles (36)	13.0	40.3	22.9	20.8	21.6	16.4	19.7
Jute (24)	8.9	18.9	18.0	17.7	21.2	21.0	16.9
Coal (11)	14.7	10.5	16.0	26.5	24.5	15.9	15.7
Planting (19)	19.1	36.2	29.5	34.3	41.0	22.1	27.8
Sugar (8)	10.5	16.7	17.8	15.4	14.1	14.7	13.5
Engineering (7)	13.8	13.1	12.6	13.3	14.0	10.9	13.5
Electric (10)	7.5	7.4	7.1	8.0	7.1	6.3	7.4
Chemical (4)	8.8	14.2	13.5	9.3	10.5	7.8	10.0
Railways (5)	5.8	6.4	7.2	7.0	6.8	5.8	6.4
Miscellaneous (14)... ...	15.1	12.0	12.4	12.9	15.5	15.0	13.0
Average	12.0	17.0	15.4	16.3	17.6	13.9	14.5

N.B.—The figures in the brackets indicate the number of companies included in each group.

It has been proved to the hilt from the Income Tax returns for the year 1945-46 that the assumed rate of saving per cent. of the net income of Rs. 2,00,000 and over is about 70 per cent. after payment of Income-tax and Super-tax as in that year Rs. 21 crores in the Income group of Rs. 2,00,000 and over left a net income of Rs. 12 crores. The following table gives the rate of industrial profits as compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India taking the base year 1928—100. Only 25 companies are included in this computation and these are representative ones.

INDUSTRIAL PROFITS.

Years	All Industries	Jute	Cotton	Tea	Sugar	Paper	Iron and Steel	Coal
1939	72.4	13.6	154.5	96.2	179.4	151.8	289.3	139.1
1940	99.9	48.8	220.1	95.4	180.0	358.7	300.7	140.2
1941	135.4	46.8	489.1	141.3	247.3	432.2	387.3	114.9
1942	169.1	47.7	758.6	219.5	227.5	488.4	402.2	112.9
1943	170.9	37.5	988.6	137.0	288.1	535.8	323.8	134.1
1944	162.8	41.8	760.5	106.0	232.4	451.1	341.4	316.8
1945	163.2	44.4	681.1	144.5	133.1	424.5	348.3	360.6
1946	159.4	58.1	680.5	190.4	975.0	341.7	324.7	278.8

The table shows that since the war most of the representative industries have been maintaining progressively steady profits and the so-called heavy taxation of income has no appreciable influence on profit earnings of these industries. Another chart is appended herewith which will show the distribution of companies according to the dividends (rate per cent) paid. The Chart..........

High Cost of Living and Savings: It has been estimated that in the income groups between 0 and 5,000 high prices have reduced the real income to a third while the influence of taxation on saving is nil; in the income groups between 5,000 to 10,000 taxation has reduced the real income by only 4 per cent, while the high cost of living has reduced it by 66 per cent; in the group 10,000 to 20,000 only 8 per cent is reduced by taxation and the high prices have taken away the disposable income again by 66 per cent; in the group 20,000 to 50,000 taxation takes away 17 per cent of the income and cost of living has reduced it by about 66 per cent. It is only in the income group of 2,00,000, and over, taxation is much higher and it has cut the real income to a considerable extent. But this group constitutes an insignificant number among the vast bulk of the assessees and the number of these falling in this group of 2,00,000 and over was only 499 in 1945-46. If the cost of living come down at least by 100 per cent, incomes remaining the same, the real disposable income would rise by about 70 crores of rupees.

Causes of inadequate capital formation in India: General political instability in India and uncertainty about its future have sent the capital into hiding. It is estimated that during the last two years about 60 crores of rupees have been repatriated from India mostly to the United Kingdom on accounts of the acquisition of foreign concerns in India. Big native states like Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, etc., were perennial sources of capital supply and the merger of these states has dried up the source.

Those who saw the red light in the political horizon of India before August, 1947 salted away large blocks of capital to foreign countries. Further, owing to world shortages in machinery and capital equipments India has not been able to augment by imports her capital equipments to a considerable extent. So the lack of capital goods and paucity in their availability have worsened the investment position in India.

The increased wealth of the peasantry during these periods of boom in agricultural products has become immobilised and is not available for further capital investment. The control of capital issue is another factor which prevents the easy flow of savings into investment. From 17th May, 1943, to 31st

March, 1948, the total amount asked for immediate schemes of investment was 639.09 crores of rupees and the amount sanctioned was 428.91 crores. During the same period, for long range schemes the total amount asked for was 423.16 crores and the amount sanctioned was 374.60 crores. The high Government expenditure is also a great impediment to the capital formation in India. Government expenditure, unless be it productive, directly affects capital formation, whereas private consumption encourages further investment. Expenditures on war purposes and refugee rehabilitation are certainly unproductive and thus have caused depletion of savings. In 1938-39, the total Government expenditure, Central and Provincial, was 170.91 crores of rupees, in 1947-48 it rose up to 359.56 crores and in 1948-49 it was 515.64 crores. In the 1949-50 budget estimate, the total Government expenditure on revenue and capital account is 563.41 crores, leaving a deficit of about Rs. 134 crores. The 1948-49 increase in Government expenditure was on account of the Kashmir and Hyderabad campaigns and rehabilitation of refugees and hence to that extent it caused dissaving and depletion in capital stock. It has been shown already that when the Government expenditure is at the highest, the capital formation is at the lowest, provided the Government expenditure is on account of unproductive purposes. In India the Government expenditure constitutes about 25 per cent of our total national income and this estimate has been made by the National Planning Committee.

The Problem of Industrial Development in India: "The major economic problem for India is not the maintenance of full employment in the sense in which this is a problem in a highly industrialized community such as the United States of America, but to overcome through a large-scale process of development the consequences of under-employment characteristic of a community with a large agricultural population using rather primitive methods and only partially developed industrial resources." There has been a great deal of controversy in India on planned industrial development and a number of plans have been formulated. Of these the most widely publicised and the most comprehensive is the Bombay Plan. There has also been a report made by the Advisory Planning Board of the Interim Government on the five year development projects of the Provincial Governments and the Central Government and these are estimated to cost about 13,000 million rupees. But it is not so comprehensive as the Bombay Plan is. In order to find out how much investment expenditure is needed for these development projects without giving rise to much inflation we shall make use of the quantitative basis of the targets set by the Bombay Plan. This does not mean that we are accepting the Bombay Plan, but it is being used to reach an over-all and equilibrium rate of investment and the methods of financing.

The Bombay Plan aims at trebling our national income in 15 years from an estimated twenty-two thousand million rupees to sixty-six thousand millions which, making an allowance for an estimated increase in population of five millions per year, would result in doubling the income per head at the end of 15 years. The increase in income is to be brought about by planned investment covering 15 years and spread over the main items of projects as set out below. It will give an idea of the sources of capital supply in India.

Capital Expenditure envisaged by Bombay Plan :—(million of rupees)

Industry	44,800
Agriculture	12,400
Communications	9,400
Education	4,900
Health	4,500
Housing	22,000
Miscellaneous	2,000
Total	1,00,000

The sources from which savings equal to 1,00,000 million rupees for these fifteen years are to be achieved are visualised by the Plan as follows :—

		Million rupees
1.	Hoarded wealth	3,000
2.	Sterling securities	10,000
3.	Balance of trade	6,000
4.	Foreign borrowing	7,000
5	Savings	40,000
6.	"Created money"	34,000
	Total	1,00,000

The first four items in the above list presumably represent sums that would be required to be spent on imports necessary for the execution of the plan. Hoarded wealth refers to private accumulations of gold. Savings and created money may be considered as one, since they represent the expenditure that will have to be made for real investment in India and for this there must be an equivalent amount of home savings.

Only a fraction of this investment expenditure will be spent abroad and the amount to be spent at home is relevant to the problem of inflation. Roughly 1,600 million rupees will be required to finance home investment in the first year of the plan. This amount is based on 1933-39 prices and at the present prices it would be of the magnitude of 4,800 million rupees. This is approximately the equivalent of the peak war-time budget deficits. If the whole of the first year's home investment as estimated by that Plan takes place without a drastic increase in taxation it will give rise to inflationary conditions as serious as existed during the last few years of the war and which was to a large extent responsible for the Bengal famine.

So the question comes—what will be the equilibrium rate of investment in India taking into consideration her predominantly agricultural position? It is needless to point out that a planned economy when disregrads the possibility of consequential rise of inflationary conditions may end in disaster. It is being estimated by a group of Indian economists that the present rate of capital formation is about 150 crores of rupees per year and this amount is too inadequate. She requires at least a yearly capital formation of rupees 500 crores to maintain her economic stability.

Now we propose to examine the desirability or otherwise of this 500 crores capital formation in India per year in relation to available man power and resources.

There are two views as to the scope and extent of capital formation in a country at a given income level and over a given period of time. One is that of Knight and Simons who hold that investment opportunities are practically unlimited, though neither of them would guarantee a permanent prosperity under conditions of private capitalist enterprise. The other view is widely accepted in the economic literature particularly by the Marxist, under consumptionist and Keynesian exponents. The essence of the latter view is that the amount of capital that the economy of a country can absorb at a given level and over a given period of time is limited. The more rapidly it accumulates, the sooner investment opportunities are exhausted and a depression ensues. It is based on the assumption that a fairly stable ratio determines the relationship between a given amount of annual output (or income) and the stock of capital formation needed to produce it.

This stable ratio between annual output (or national income) and the capital stock needed to produce it may be indicated by the letters and we shall treat it as a given constant. Though strictly speaking, the ratio may vary among various firms and industries and the national average is a function of time, interest rate, etc., yet it must have some stability, otherwise the limited possibility theory falls through. This assumption takes as granted a private capitalist economy in which the Government plays a minor role, the relative distribution between labour and capital of income remains to a great deal unchanged and that reasonably small variations in interest rates will not appreciably stimulate investment. A stable ratio of national income to capital stock requires that for a given level of income there must be a fairly determinable stock of capital needed to produce it and once the limit is reached investment will not be undertaken to increase output. When the saturation point is reached due to a faster rate of capital formation, further investment will be undertaken only in pursuance of various dynamic changes, namely, the emergence of new methods of production and products, changes in population growth, changes in tastes and habits, development of new firms, etc. The unlimited investment possibility theory of Knight and Simons has hardly any validity in an economy of private capitalist enterprise which is followed periodically by a boom and slump which have become the normal attendants of such an economy. The annual rate of some thirty-six billion dollars of capital formation in the USA during the post war years has had its repurcussions on her internal economy as well as external economies of the world, and despite the draining out of American resources and products under the ERP and Marshall Aid projects, the Wall Street slump or a recession has already begun and it is taken for granted that even in a highly developed country like the U.S.A. with the full advantage of her extremely monopoly creditor position her capital formation in astronomical figures is redounding to a shrinkage due to lack of sufficient purchasing power all over the world.

It may happen that the stream of investment increases national income (*via* the multiplier process) well above its original level. The gap between required and existing stock may then enlarge and additional investments may take place, though ultimately to be narrowed down again. The rate of the growth of capital formation is a function of two factors; the propensity to save—a—and the ratio of output to capital—s. The higher is a, the greater must be the fraction of income invested to maintain full employment, and the greater should be consequential rise in income. Similarly, the larger is s, greater output can be produced with a given amount of capital and there will be faster rise in income. The required rate of growth of income for a country is directly proportional to both s and a. If Y stands for income, then the amount invested will be Ya. As each unit of new capital may possibly increase the annual output by s, the total increase in output which is needed to maintain fully the new capital formation is Yas. And the relative rate of growth can be obtained by dividing the absolute rise in income by Y and it will be as. Then the normal or equilibrium rate of growth of income which is necessary to prevent an excessive accumulation of capital is as, which indicates the required rate of growth of income provided that no large amounts of hoarded capital exist at the beginning, or it does not interfere with investment in any stage. So for the full utilisation of new investment, the total increase in output which is required is Yas.

In the U.S.A., according to the estimate made by Domar, some 10-12 per cent. of the national income is saved (including corporate saving). According to W. J. Fellner, the ratio of national income to capital stock fluctuated between some 39 per cent. in the decade of 1879-86 to a low level of some 30 per cent. in 1909-18 (and also 1929-38). The a has been estimated to be about 10-12 per cent. of the national income and s being 35-40 per cent., the annual increase in productivity moves in the neighbourhood of 3-4 per cent. of the national product. In Britain this year the increase in real output is estimated as 2½ per cent. of the total output the money value of which has marked an increase by 10.9 per cent. and of this 7 per cent. is attributed to the high prices.

In India the problem of capital formation is not so much of maintaining the full employment as of switching of labour and capital from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors in order to bring about a balanced economy on a planned basis. Mere clamouring that India requires capital formation at least at the annual rate of 500 crores of rupees per year is not a sufficient warranty by itself that she really can absorb that amount of capital overnight in her economy without much disturbance to her fiscal structure. Capital formation cannot be pulled out of the air nor mere money capital leads to real investment which is the function of three factors, namely, real capital (savings—hoarding), labour and monetary equilibrium. In order to have the investment geared to current income, there should be reasonable resiliency in the system so that disturbances will be cushioned. We must not postulate in a predominantly agricultural economy like India's set of equilibrium demand relationships which imply that plant, equipment and labour are automatically adjusted *via* investment in a given period of time relevant to consumer adjustment. A revolutionary drive towards transformation of our economy will bring disaster inasmuch as labour and equilibrium are sure to fail to move in line with that. Moreover, when this great volume of money will be pumped into our economy, it is certain to creat severe repurcussions. Inflation is bound to set in at least for some years and it will unbalance the economy. Further, though India is said to be overpopulated, she lacks skilled and trained technicians and labourers without whom no large scale investment projects are possible. Progressive shift from the primary to other sectors should take place with judicious adjustment so that our food and other agricultural productions do not suffer from lack of adequate hands. America and Britain are much less populated than India, so these countries can easily afford to have a greater percentage of employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors than in agriculture. It will be a blunder to think that Indian economy will be at par with that of other highly industrialised countries of the west and all such ideas suffer from the defect that they do not take into account the vast population problem in India. Of course, the change-over must come, but only by steps and adjustments. The world wide shortage in capital goods and raw materials stand in the way of India's rapid industrialisation. When we consider the question of capital formation, these aspects of the problem should also be taken into account, otherwise our outlook will remain one-sided. The inflow of monetary capital is not what we require, but also a rise in the rate of productivity of our labour which is now too low to achieve any real progress in capital investment. The cost of labour has of late become a problem to India's exports, as the high prices compare unfavourably with the similar products of other countries. Japan had a very low percentage of productivity per worker, but by sudden rise in the rate of productivity she has achieved a miracle in her real output and for that she had not to depend much on foreign capital. Her rate of productivity reached even 6-7 per cent. which no country had ever reached. India requires a progressively rapid capital formation, but it should be directed with judicious planning so as to obviate inflation. From the 17th May, 1943, to 31st March, 1948, the total amount asked from the Controller of Capital Issue was Rs. 1062.25 crores and the total amount sanctioned for that period was Rs. 803.51 crores. In addition there has been Government investment to a considerable extent and counting also the small investments, we can safely place the rate of annual capital formation in India in the neighbourhood of Rs. 300/350 crores per year, that is, 7½ per cent. to 9 per cent. of our national income. If we set aside 50 per cent. of our national income being the agricultural income which mostly plays a negative role in capital formation, then the above rate would almost be doubled in relation to national income accruing from secondary and tertiary sectors. Moreover, the rate of capital formation in an underdeveloped agricultural country cannot take place at the rate same as that of industrially developed countries. The former lacks adequate mobility and flexibility of labour and capital equipment to move from one industry to other in the required time.

High taxation does not tend to bring a downward trend in capital formation, because though the volume of personal saving is decreased, the volume of national saving increases. Now-a-days, when the government of a country is coming forward in an increasingly extended scale to the economic life of the nation and with a shift of emphasis in government investment, it is quite in the fitness of things that there should be higher rate of taxation in order to cause accumulation of national saving in the hands of the government thereby securing adequate flow of capital in state investments. The argument that high taxation of income destroys private incentive to save and invest is mistaken and misleading inasmuch as the so-called high taxation does not destroy capital, but merely transfers the personal saving to the national exchequer, and government incentive replaces private incentive. This has been amply borne out by the current British budget with personal saving being at the lowest, the real investment (apart from monetary value) was at the highest. Simply speaking, Indian capital is not only shy, but there is lack of Capital and our rate of savings are very low. The position of our foreign balance is alarmingly discouraging and the high costs and unsatisfactory quality of Indian goods are hindrances to earning foreign balances. The prospect of foreign capital being available is not so bright, because the economic and political situation in this country does not offer sufficient incentive to the inflow of foreign capital. The cause of the lack of adequate capital formation in India is so diverse and wide that it would be quite misleading to put the blame at the door of high taxation alone.

DISTRIBUTION OF COMPANIES ACCORDING TO THE DIVIDENDS (RATE PER CENT) PAID.

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Cotton											
Nil ...	12	5	4	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
0 to 9	16	15	21	18	6	1	...	4	4	3	8
10 to 19	6	12	9	10	18	9	4	9	14	12	11
20 and above	2	4	2	3	10	26	32	23	18	21	15
Total ...	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
Jute											
Nil ...	2	5	8	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1
0 to 9	10	13	9	4	3	4	4	6	4	1	2
10 to 19	9	6	7	7	8	7	10	8	12	11	7
20 and above	3	...	...	12	14	14	11	10	9	12	15
Total ...	24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
Planting											
Nil ...	3	4	2	2	2	1	1	...	1	2	1
0 to 9	4	7	8	6	2	...	...	2	...	...	1
10 to 19	5	3	3	6	7	6	7	7	6	5	2
20 and above	7	5	6	4	8	12	11	10	12	12	10
Total ...	19	19	19	18	19	19	19	19	19	19	14
Coal											
Nil ...	1	1	...	...	1	...	1		...	...	3
0 to 9	3	3	3	5	4	5	5	4	1	1	3
10 to 19	7	5	5	4	3	3	3	4	3	2	1
20 and above	...	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	7	8	4
Total ...	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Engineering											
Nil ...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
0 to 9	3	3	2	5	2	2	4	4	3	3	5
10 to 19	1	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	1	1	1
20 and above	3	2	2	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	3
Total ...	7	9	9	13	11	11	10	10	10	10	10
Banks											
Nil ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
0 to 9	6	6	8	8	8	7	6	6	6	6	4
10 to 19	7	8	7	7	7	8	9	9	9	9	9
20 and above	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	14	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15

TABLE (*contd.*)

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Electric											
Nil ...	...	...	...	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1
0 to 9	7	9	10	9	8	6	6	7	7	9	10
10 to 19	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	...
20 and above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	10	11	11	11	11	10	10	10	11	11	11
Chemical											
Nil ...	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	1
0 to 9	1	2	3	3	2	3	1	1	4	4	4
10 to 19	1	1	1	1	3	3	5	4	2	2	2
20 and above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...
Total ...	4	4	5	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Sugar											
Nil ...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	3	2
0 to 9	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	1	2	1	1
10 to 19	4	6	4	2	5	3	3	3	4	4	3
20 and above	...	...	1	2	1	3	4	4	3	1	2
Total ...	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8
Insurance											
Nil	2	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
0 to 9	3	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	5
10 to 19	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2
20 and above	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Total ...	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Miscellaneous											
Nil ...	4	4	4	5	3	3	1	1	1	1	2
0 to 9	6	6	5	7	7	8	8	8	8	9	8
10 to 19	2	2	2	2	4	3	5	5	5	4	4
20 and above	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
Total ...	14	14	14	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	16

Round the World

All India Radio and Political Parties

Recently a member of the opposition in the Madras Legislature pointed out that political parties which were in opposition to the Government should be given an opportunity of expressing their own views on public questions through the All India Radio. The Minister of State in charge of Information and Broadcasting was approached in regard to this matter and he has stated that the Government has not yet come to any decision about it.

In the U.S.A. broadcasting is not a Government affair but has been developed through private enterprise. Nor is it the monopoly of any company. Several companies compete in this field and sell services to the people. All political parties and their individual representatives may in consequence book time and broadcast to the nation their respective view-points on different political, economic and other questions of the day. It is, of course, true that services are sold at very high rates and the parties and individuals with a long purse may buy and utilise them more than parties handicapped in this regard. During the 1948 presidential elections, for instance, most people who usually open their purse strings for the Democratic Party were so convinced as to Republican victory as to be charry in their contributions to the Truman's party fund. The result was that Broadcasting Corporations were utilised largely by his opponent. Truman, of course, won all the same. But there is no gainsaying the fact that so far as propaganda through the radio was concerned it was done mostly on behalf of the Republican candidate.

In the United Kingdom broadcasting has been nationalised but it is managed not by a Government Department but through a public corporation on a semi-autonomous basis. Political broadcasts are allowed under a convention on an equal basis to the three recognised political parties. Particularly in the time of election it is seen that through its medium no party gets an advantage over the other two. If one address is allowed to be made to the electors by the Prime Minister as leader of the majority party in the House of Commons, a similar opportunity is given to the leaders of the other two groups in the House as well. But this does not mean that the Corporation will allow its studio to be used for propaganda purposes by any disruptive force in the country masquerading as a political party.

In India broadcasting was started by a private company. But as soon as the initial stage was over, it was taken over by the Government and has been managed and developed by the Government through a Department of its own. For a long time this Department was part and parcel of the Home Department. But for some time past Information and Broadcasting has been made a separate Department by itself. Now what is possible for a public corporation is not necessarily possible for a Government Department. The B.B.C. may give equal facilities to all the three political parties to air their views and dilate on their party programmes. But it will be incongruous for a Government Department to offer an opportunity to a party in opposition to use the air for the purpose of propaganda against the Government. The officers of the All India Radio are Government servants. If they are allowed to organise talks against a policy the Government has already enunciated, their discipline will be broken and their position *vis-a-vis* the Government will be invidious.

It should, however, be examined whether in a democratic state a Government Department whose duty it is to subserve the interests of the Government of the day should have monopoly over a very important branch of publicity. Many people do not exactly appreciate the incongruity of the position. But suppose all the newspapers and periodicals in the country are owned by the Government and managed by a Government Department and no private organisation is allowed to undertake any such responsibility the situation that will arise in such a contingency is analogous to the situation which has been created in the field of broadcasting by the Government Department monopolising it through the All India Radio. The latter position seems to be as inconsistent with democratic principles as the former may be.

The Lessons of the Korean War

At the time of writing the Korean War is two months old. During this period it has been proved beyond doubt that the Russians during their occupation of North Korea succeeded in transforming the outlook of the people there and training a considerable body of men in the art of modern warfare. These Korean soldiers instead of constant hammering both from the air and from the ground have made steady progress in the south. It is really a miracle that without necessary air cover and in spite of repeated heavy bombing they have never deflected from their chosen path. This presents indeed a striking contrast to the behaviour of the South Koreans whose ranks broke at the first onslaught of the North Korean forces. The North and South Koreans are of the same blood, the same antecedents and were formerly in the same boat while the Japanese ruled. But the separation of five years which intervened between the end of the Japanese War and the beginning of the present fight has made all the difference. The Russians have no magic wand. But they are possessed of an idea which is contagious. They sedulously spread that idea among the North Koreans and initiated them into the mysteries of the faith which is communism. The initiated now believe fervently in their destiny and are ready to sacrifice everything to achieve their destined goal. Side by side with this baptism they were given without reserve every training necessary for fighting a major war. The idea and skill have now been combined and the soldiers let loose are at once fanatical missionaries of the new faith and skilful and valiant fighters for it in all fields and in every front.

Look at the other picture. The Americans were still longer in occupation of South Korea. They also tried to spread their own ideas of government among the South Koreans and train them into a good army. It does not, however, seem that in either field they were successful. A rough kind of democracy was no doubt set up. But it only bred corruption and jobbery and most people became soon disgusted. South Korean recruits were no doubt given training in the art of modern warfare. But it was evidently halfhearted and desultory in comparison particularly with what was done in the North. The South Koreans never felt very much at home in the democracy set up for them. They thought it was only a device of the Americans to keep them under control. In training the army also its instructors failed to fire the recruits with enthusiasm. The training also must have been with reservation. This was evidently because of the suspicion in the American mind that a South Korean army full trained and equipped might turn against its trainers and stamp out American influence. While the Americans had this suspicion, the Russians had none of it in the North.

In view of the contrast analysed above it seems there is urgent necessity for changing approach in Asian countries otherwise there might be insurmountable difficulty in halting communism in this continent. A writer in the July issue of the Nineteenth Century and After points out that without an improved standard of living the Asian masses will have no incentive in fighting the disruptive forces represented by communism. Everything is done by the Americans to maintain a high standard of living in countries of Western Europe in order that attachment for democratic form of government may be maintained and sympathy to communism may not grow. But in Asia and Africa the masses, not to speak of such amenities as cars, radios, washing machines, good clothing, and opportunities of travel, sport, and cinema entertainment, have not even the wherewithal to buy two square meals a day. If atmosphere of want and dirt in which the people in these continents happen to live is not the breeding ground of communism, then it may be said that communism has ceased to have an appeal in the world. Consequently it is urgent to take steps for mitigating the state of things as it exists here.

Introduction of democratic institutions will have no meaning and no appeal if such introduction is not accompanied or followed by greater production, lesser inequality and a higher standard of living for the masses. Besides, it should be remembered that democratic institutions hardly flourish in an atmosphere of chronic economic want. That was proved centuries ago in England by the failure of the Lancastrian experiment. Without the community prospering economically in the days of the Tudors the democracy that was developed in England in later centuries would have been out of the question. So those who are interested in halting communism in Asia have to concentrate on improving the economic conditions of the people. The latter must be given a stake in democratic system. Without that they will not be interested in fighting for democracy.

F. M. Smuts

The death of F. M. Smuts was announced on the 12th September last. He was eighty when he died. For half a century he filled an important place in the politics of the British Commonwealth. A young lawyer trained in the Cambridge Law School, he turned a soldier after the outbreak of the Boer War and for several decades thereafter he was widely known as General Smuts. Finally his services to the Empire were rewarded by a grateful King by the conferment upon him of the baton of the Field Marshal. Outside Royalties he was possibly the only lay soldier made a Marshal of the Empire.

As a politician he was known to be one of the wiliest of men. To negotiate with him on any matter was always a very difficult job. He would make a concession. But soon the other party will find that there is nothing to be cheerful about it. He has taken the concession to have only one definite meaning. Smuts, however, would put another interpretation and neutralise thereby the quality of the concession. During the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa under Gandhiji's leadership the Indian leaders had often to beware of this.

After the Boer war was over and the British Government conciliated the Boers in the new dispensation, Smuts became a pillar of the Empire. He gave unstinted services to it both as a soldier and more so as a statesman. In fact since the first World War he had been an Empire Statesman. In the Imperial War Conference of 1917 he was found so useful that Lloyd George made him a member of the War Cabinet and utilised his advice and suggestions in the conduct of the War. When more than twenty years later the Second World War broke out his services became still more useful to the cause of Britain and the Commonwealth. The Dominion of South Africa was on the point of declaring itself neutral in the struggle. There was a strong element in the country which was pro-Nazi and drew inspiration from Hitler. Smuts, however, threw himself body and soul into the fight and persuaded the Union Legislature to cast in its lot with Britain and the Commonwealth.

In respect of Indian settlers in South Africa the policy of Smuts was not quite different from that of his successor in the Prime Minister-ship of the Dominion. It was narrow. It might even be called brazenfacedly, so if the policy of Dr. Malan and his Government were not more brazenfaced still. It should be remembered in this connection that Smuts was one of those who demanded the recall of Lord Hardinge from India on the ground of his advocating the cause of Indian indentured labour in South Africa. Actually Smuts believed as much as Dr. Malan not only in the maintenance of the superiority of the Whites over the Indian settlers and the Negro inhabitants but in the segregation of the latter. Only his methods of executing this policy were slightly different from those followed by the present Government. The philosophy of Smuts which was otherwise acclaimed as liberal was in this regard clearly and emphatically fascist. It is only a pity that no body in Britain called it so.

Smuts believed in an international machinery for the maintenance of peace and was a protagonist as much of the League of Nations as of the United Nations. The theory of mandate in respect of the government and administration of certain territories originated with him. He had, of course, wanted to limit the principle of mandate only to certain civilised territories and expected that such regions as German South-West Africa would be allowed to be occupied and governed outright by South Africa. But when the principle of mandate was finally adopted, it was extended to territories like German South-West Africa as well. It is a pity that this principle of mandate whose originator was Smuts himself has now been wantonly violated by his own country.

Even a great man cannot always resist the demand of circumstances. The greatness of Smuts was all his own. His limitations were dictated by circumstances in the midst of which he had to work. In him a man of grent height has been laid to rest.

Recognition of Israel

The State of Israel is an accomplished fact. It comprises a considerable portion of old Palestine. Its birth was resisted by the Arabs. But the resistance was thwarted by the armed forces of the Israelites. The State has been recognised both *de facto* and *de jure* by some of the important countries of the World. India has, however, refrained from doing anything in this regard. But we believe there is no reason now for this inaction. The grounds on which Communist China was recognised by the Government of India apply equally to Israel. We are not concerned either with the composition of the people of the State or with the character of its government. We are only to recognise the fact that over a particular area a certain government with the backing of a certain people has established itself and there is no chance of its replacement in the near future. There is another important consideration to bear in mind in this connection. India, placed as it is to-day, cannot afford to alienate the international jewry. The Jews are an influential force throughout the world, particularly in the United States of America. There is no reason why they should unnecessarily be touched in the raw and thrown into our opposition. It is with their active support that Israel has been set up and maintained. By not recognising Israel we are only ignoring the rightful demand of the Jews. Since the above was written the Government of India has done the needful and recognised Israel.

Itihasa

Bangyia Itihasa Parishad was constituted a few months ago with the object of discussing the problems of history through the medium of Bengali and bringing to the notice of the Bengali readers in their own language the fruits of historical thinking in different parts of the world. Itihasa is the quarterly journal planned by the Parishad. We are glad to receive its first issue which has just been brought out. It contains several articles, a few reviews and a piece of translation from French. All the sections have reached a good standard and we hope in the future issues it will be maintained. The translation section should claim greater attention. The journal has the promise of becoming an important cultural medium in the province.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Post-War Europe: Through Indian Eyes.—Sureshchandra Banerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co., Ltd. Calcutta, pp. 93. Price Rs. 2/4/-

The author is Dr. Sureshchandra Banerjee, one of the leaders of the freedom movement in Bengal and a former member of the Bengal Cabinet. In this short but compact volume he has reproduced his impressions of different aspects of European social life today. During the last three years he paid two visits to that continent in connection with the work of the International Labour Organisation. He, however, did not confine his visits to the places where the meetings and conferences to which he was invited happened to meet. He extended his sojourn to other places and countries in Europe and wherever he went his object was to study with a discerning mind the social institutions and activities. This he did not merely by reading the official documents but more so from the book of life of representative individuals with whom he fell to talking and from whom he extracted information as to the details of their life and ways of living.

A catalogue of the topics he has discussed in this brochure will bring out into relief the scope of his study. The topics are: A Pilgrimage to Geneva, Sidelights on I.L.O. Conferences, Lessons from Switzerland, Life of Labourers in France, A Nationalised Hotel in Prague, Trade Union Movement in Czechoslovakia, How Chechoslovakia is ruled, Trade Unions in Sweden, Socialism in Sweden, What I Saw in Holland, a Trip through Belgium, An English Gardener, An Average English Boy, Life in a London Boarding House, The Educational System of England, National Insurance in Great Britain, Housives in Europe and Holiday in Europe.

The book is readable and interesting. Though here and there there are literary lapses, the book will appeal to the general reader and prove instructive to him on many subjects of European social life on which he may naturally seek enlightenment. Some of the discussions were brought out in the Amrita Bazar Patrika before being incorporated in this little book. Those of the public who did not read these sketches in that daily journal will have now an opportunity of going through them. We are sure they will profit a good deal if they avail of this opportunity. We congratulate Dr. Banerjee on the publication of these impressions. We congratulate also the publishers on the excellent get-up and efficient printing of the brochure.

Gandhi Memorial Peace Number: Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Santiniketan. Edited by Kshitis Roy, pp. 338. Price Rs. 10/-

An idea was mooted in the latter part of 1947 that a World Pacifist Meeting should be organised in Santiniketan in order that devoted workers for peace all over the world might have an opportunity of meeting Gandhiji and exchange thoughts with him. Unfortunately for them Gandhiji died at the hands of an assassin early in 1948. But the idea of holding the Conference was not abandoned. Though the delegates would no longer have the advantage of meeting the Mahatma, they might exchange ideas with one another and strengthen themselves thereby for carrying on the ideals of peace of which Mahatmaji was the chief apostle. Actually, as it is well known, the Conference met towards the close of 1949 first at Santiniketan and then at Sevagram.

This volume which is theoretically the Gandhi Memorial Peace Number of the Visva-Bharati Quarterly and which is actually an independent book and published in book form was planned to inlcude papers mostly by those who knew Gandhiji intimately and could speak with authority on the ideas and ideals of peace cherished by him. It was hoped that the volume so planned and published might be of considerable use to the delegates in understanding the mind of Gandhiji whom they would no longer have the opportunity of meeting. It opens with a Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad who had been elected President of the Conference and who actually presided over it in its Sevagram session. Among the distinguished contributors are the late Rabindranath Tagore, Acharya J. B. Kripalini, the late Satischandra Mukherji, Sarvapalli Radhakrisnan, John Haynes Holmes, Jawaharlal Nehru, H.S. Polak, Horace Alexander, Mira Behn and J. C. Kumarappa. Apart from those who are enthusiasts for peace, the general reader will also find the book interesting and eminently readable. It is excellently got up and contains a number of illustrations.

Nareshchandra Roy.

Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records. Vol. I (1799-1806) Ed. by Dr. H. N. Sinha. Price Rs. 12/-

This is the first volume of documents selected from Nagpur Residency records. It is intended that seven such volumes will be published. The Chief Minister of the Government of Madhya Pradesh has written an enthusiastic foreword. This means that the scheme of publication with strong official approval, will be completed.

The Government of Bombay gave the lead in this publication of selections from records. Madras is also publishing every year some volumes of records. Now comes Madhya Pradesh with its scheme and the publication of the first volume indicates that the Government is in earnest. Pandit R. S. Shukla, the Chief Minister, writes in his foreword: "Here we are rather late, but our consolation is that we are still ahead of many others." The Government of Bengal had at one time a publication scheme and Dr. Firminger long ago published some volumes but for more than two decades no volume of records has been published by the Bengal Government Record Office.

This volume of selections from records will be very helpful to students of the history of India of this period. These records relate particularly to British relations with Holkar, British-Sindhia relations and British-Nizam relations during this period. Nagpur was no doubt at this time a third rate power. But two such gifted servants of the E. I. Co. as H. T. Colebrooke and Mount Stuart Elphinstone were in succession Residents at Nagpur during this period. They could secure information of great value and this correspondence characteristically enough relates to events in all parts of India. In these records we get valuable new information about British policy and British relations with Indian powers during a phase of aggression succeeded by non-intervention. We get some new light on Maratha decline and some new information on the Pindaries.

Dr. H. N. Sinha has written a helpful introduction. But we find no notes on obscure place names and personal names.

N. K. Sinha.

Ourselves

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

It is one of the topics which have attracted public attention for many years but of late its importance has grown considerably. Time has come for certain definite decision in this regard. While the British were in power in this country, English was made the medium of instruction both in the High Schools and in the Colleges. Only in the primary stages mother tongue was used for imparting education. It was, however, experienced that the acquisition of knowledge through a foreign medium was intensely difficult and even unnatural. In consequence of this it was urged that in the High Schools (*i.e.*, up to the Matriculation stage) local language should be used as the medium for all subjects except English literature. In Calcutta the Regulations were altered in the early thirties and the new practice has been followed for more than a decade now. It is, however, a matter of enquiry if as a result of the substitution of Bengali for English as the medium of instruction, any improvement has taken place in the knowledge acquired as a rule by the students in schools.

Once, however, the mother tongue was made the medium of instruction at the Matriculation stage, a demand gradually thickened to extend it to the higher stages as well. Meanwhile (in 1947) the British quit and independence was achieved. This great event quickened further the demand for eliminating English as the medium of instruction in the Colleges and the Universities. But the demand was resisted by two schools of opinion. It has been resisted by those who believe that no Indian language is capable at the present stage of its development of becoming the vehicle of higher and scientific thoughts and ideas, and in consequence cannot become the medium of higher education. The elimination of English now or in the near future will damage vitally the interests of higher education in the country. Secondly, it has been resisted by those who believe that the Universities should be important factors of Indian national life and should foster national unity. If, however, English was eliminated as the medium of instruction and local language substituted for it the unity of traditions which the Universities now possess and the intimate association which now exists between them will be completely undermined, and the Universities instead of remaining factors of national life will only become important symbols of provincial pride and honour.

The Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education which reported in 1949 appreciated the important necessity of the Universities remaining factors of national unity. It deplored the tendency now noticeable of great seats of learning fostering the spirit of provincialism and sectionalism in the country and expected that in the future this tendency would disappear and the Universities would take their rightful place in our national life and stimulate the sense of Indian nationhood. But with regard to medium of instruction it does not seem that the Commission gave the right lead. It, of course, recommended that for several years to come English should continue to be the vehicle of higher education. Thereafter, however, either the regional language or Hindi should become the medium.

Soon after the publication of the report of the University Commission the Constituent Assembly decided that Hindi would be the national language of India though for a decade and a half English would continue to be the official language. During the period of transition every effort was to be made for both strengthening and popularising Hindi. The voteries of Hindi, however, appear to be impatient. They are out to force the pace. They would not wait for the national language either to be developed or to take root in areas where it is, not the mother tongue of the people. They have already started the use of Hindi as medium of higher education in U.P. and C.P. As a result these Universities will be cut off from other Universities and henceforward form traditions of their own. The unity of outlook which has so long characterised the Indian Universities will be lost and to that extent the importance of the Universities as factors of national unity will be undermined.

The Inter-University Board had a meeting recently at Nagpur. The main subject of discussion was the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission and consequently the Board had much to say on the question of medium of instruction. It stressed the need of maintaining a common medium throughout India and was unwilling to go back upon English in the near future. It does not seem, however, that the resolutions of the Board have had much effect upon the impatient supporters of Hindi.

* * * *

PROFESSORS OF THE UNIVERSITY INVITED ABROAD

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Professor of Indian Art in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, left for the U.S.A. in September last. She will spend a semester in the University of Pennsylvania as a Visiting Professor.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Indian Linguistics, will also be proceeding to the U.S.A. He will also be associated with the same University as Visiting Professor in Spring semester.

Both of them are very distinguished members of our staff and have done outstanding work in their own fields. They will be in the U.S.A. not only as teachers but also as our cultural ambassadors.

* * * *

DR. ASUTOSH SASTRI'S PUBLICATION

The second volume of Vedantadarshan by Dr. Asutosh Sastri has just been brought out. We understand that the third volume is also in preparation. It is our hope that he will not only finish the volume in hand but prepare the final and concluding volume also for early publication. This book will fill a void in our philosophical literature.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

NOTICE

Memo. No. C/462/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-Section (3) Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Rishi Bankim Chandra College, Naihati, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali, Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics, Indian Economics, Business Organisation, Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing and Banking and Currency to the B.Com. standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in those subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 29th July, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo. No. C/485/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under section 22 read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect, from the commencement of the session 1950-51, the Malda College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English to the B.A. (Honours) standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in that subject from 1952 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 29th July, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

M. L. EXAMINATION

The M. L. Examination for 1950 will commence on Monday, the 18th December, 1950. The last date for submission of fees and application forms for admission to the examination is the 3rd October, 1950.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg)

LIBRARIANSHIP EXAMINATION

The date of the Examination for the Diploma in Librarianship, 1950, has been fixed by the Syndicate as follows:—

Commencing date........	21st November, 1950
Last date for submission of fees & application........	9th October, 1950.

Yours faithfully,
D. P. DUTT
Addl. Controller (Offg.)

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

Circular No. 26

From

The Registrar,
Muslim University, Aligarh,

To

1. The Registrar, Indian Union Universities,
2. The Registrar, Departmental Examinations, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad,
3. The Directors of Education, Union States,
4. The Principals, Training Colleges, Lucknow and Agra,
5. The Superintendent of Education, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara,
6. The Secretary, Board of High School and Intermediate Education
    - (*i*) Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad
    - (*ii*) Bihar
    - (*iii*) Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the following candidates have been rusticated and debarred from appearing at any examination of this University in 1950 and 1951 for using unfair means at the examination of 1950 :—

Roll No.	Name of candidate with father's name and address	Examination
275	Mohd. Abdul Wakil Siddiqu, son of Hakim Abdul Majid, Jhawai Tola, Lucknow	B.Sc.
25	Bishan Chandra Saraswat, son of Pt. Mohan Lal, Bhamola, Aligarh	Diploma Engineering—1 year
26	Digambar Singh Verma, son of Chhitar Singh Verma, Nagla Nainpur Kheria, P.O. Kasur Kalan (Bulandshahr), U.P.	Do.
43	Ravindra Sharma, son of Ajodhya Prasad Sharma, Retired Canel Magistrate, Vishnupuri, Aligarh.	Do.
649	Saidul Hasan, son of Mohammad Ali Khan, Bazaria Mullah Zarif, Rampur	High School
81	Jairam Das, son of Padhumal, C/o Parmanand, Sindhi cloth Merchant, Mahavirganj, Aligarh	Do.
368	Dhruvarao Bilurkar, son of Hanmanthrao Bilurkar, C/o V. B. Balurkar, House No. 95, Esamia Bazar, Hyderabad-Deccan	High School

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Illegible,
Registrar,
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

BOARD OF HIGH SCHOOL & INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION, RAJPUTANA, (Including Ajmer-Merwara), CENTRAL INDIA AND GWALIOR

The following candidates whose particulars are given against each, having attempted to use unfair means at the Examination Board for 1950 have been debarred from appearing at the Examinations of the Board noted against each :—

High School Examination

Serial No.	Roll No.	Nme of candidate	Father's Name	Name of institution from which appeared in case of private candidates name of the place of residence	Examinatio from which debarred
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	201	Maheep Kumar Sharma	Hazari Lal	Kotah	Disqualified from the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred from the High School Examination of 1951.
2.	578	Baliram Devidas Chaudhari	Devidas Tukaram Chaudhari	Indore	Do.
3.	1131	Shyam Sundar Motilal Khandelwal	Motilal Khandalwal	Indore	Do.
4.	1219	Kr. Prem Singh	Kishan Singh	Biaora (M.B.)	Do.
5.	1639	Ganpatrao Yeshwant Rao Shinde	Yeshwant Babaji Shinde	Lashkar (Gwalior)	Do.
6.	1943	Ram Swaroop Sharma	Mishri Lal Sharma	Bhilsa (M.B.)	Do.
7.	2081	Baldev Prasad	Keshaw Prasad Shukla	Rewa (V.P.)	Do.
8.	2155	Ismail Mohammad Khan	Youshf Mohd. Khan	Sehore (Bhopal)	Do.
9.	2378	Umed Mal Kasliwal	Ghisoo Lall Kasliwal	Tikam Chand Jain High School, Ajmer	Disqualified from the High School Examination of 1950.
10.	4187	Madhorao Bohite	Govindrao Bohite	Sanyogitaganj Vidyalaya, Indore	Disqualified from the High School Examination of 1950 & debarred from High School Examination of 1951
11.	4778	Nand Kishore Saxena	Phulwari Lal Saxena	Anand Inter College, Dhar	Do.
12.	4802	Surendra Prasad Saxena	Ramdularelal Saxena	Do.	Disqualified from the High School Examination, 1950.
13.	4807	Vijay Kumar Vaidya	Ramchandrarao Vaidya	Do.	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950 & debarred from High School Examination of 1951
14.	4809	Vijay Singh Chuhan	Bharu Singh Chuhan	Do.	Do.
15.	5398	Kr. Balwant Singh	Bhuda Singh	V. C. High School Lashkar (Gwalior)	Do.
16.	6055	Om Prakash Singh	Mucktyarr Singh	Morar High School, Morar (M.B.)	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950.

Serial No.	Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's Name	Name of institution from which appeared in cases of Private candidates and name of the place of residence.	Examination from which debarred.
17.	6512	Madan Lal Shrivastava	Munshi Lal Shrivastava	The State H.S. Guna (M.B.)	Do.
18.	6583	Bhagwan Singh Rajput	Kamal Singh Rajput	S. S. L. Jain High School, Bhilsa (M.B.)	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950 & debarred from High School Examination of 1951
19.	7206	Abdul Waheed Khan	Abdul Hameed Khan	Hamidia Jahangira High School, Bhopal	Do.
20.	7208	Ahtram Ali	Ahtsham Ali	Do.	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950.
21.	7263	Syed Haseen Ahmed	Syed Qabool Ahmed	Do.	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950 & debarred from High School Examination of 1951.
22.	7299	Jumna Prasad Varma	Baldeo Prasad	Shahjehani Model High School, Bhopal	Disqualified from High School Examination of 1950 & debarred from High School Examination of 1951.
23.	7335	Rashiduddin Khan	Abdul Moid Khan	Do.	Do.
24.	7402	Ram Dayal Sharma	Jagannath Prasad Sharma	Shaheryar High School (Bhopal) Sehore (Bhopal)	Do.

Intermediate Examination

1.	1123	Nand Kishore Sharma	Shaligram Sharma	Baroda	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950 and debarred from the Intermediate Examination of 1951.
2.	1312	Madhukar Raja Ram Deshpande	Raja Ram Deshpande	Indore	Do.
3.	2082	Neelkantan Nair	N. P. Shiva Raman	Trivendrum	Do.
4.	3060	Kailash Chandra Beejawat	Jeth Mal	Govt. College, Ajmer.	Do.

5.	3088	Om Prakash Mathur (Primus)	Jiwan Lal Mathur	Do.	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950.
6.	3107	Prem Swarup Bhatnagar	Munni Lal Bhatnagar	Do.	Do.
7.	3158	(Miss) Urmila Vaidya	Dina Nath Vaidya	Govt. College, Ajmer.	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950 and debarred from Intermediate Examination of 1951.
8.	3322	Shanti Lal Jain	Suraj Mal Jain	Holkar College, Indore.	Do.
9.	3368	Awanti Lal Sharma	Nand Lal Sharma	Madhava College, Ujjain.	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950.
10.	3371	Dal Chandra Jain	Phundi Lal Jain	Do.	Do.
11.	3376	Gyani Chand Baisakhia	Basori Lal Jain	Do.	Do.
12.	3378	Ganpat Lal Gupta	Atma Ram Gupta	Do.	Do.
13.	3380	Govind Prasad Bhargava	Chhuttan Lal Bhargava	Do.	Do.
14.	3385	Krishna Kant Dwivedi	Phundi Lal Dwivedi	Do.	Do.
15.	3389	Madhav Lal Pandya	Kanheiya Lal Pandya	Do.	Do.
16.	3392	Madan Lal Kothari	Laxmi Narayan Kothari	Do.	Do.
17.	3422	Sharad Chandra Purandare	Neel Kanthrao Purandare	Anand College, Dhar.	Do.
18.	3426	Vibhakar Vaishampayan	Bhalchandra Vaishampayan	Do.	Do.
19.	3453	Bal Krishna Sharma	Hari Vallabh Sharma	Victoria College, Gwalior	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950 and debarred from Intermediate Examination of 1951.
20.	3748	Bhagwati Prasad Mathur	Parmanand Lal Mathur	D.A.V. Inter College, Ajmer	Do.
21.	4076	(Miss) Khurshid Mustjab	Mustjab Ahmed	Kanlaraja Girls' College, Gwalior.	Do.
22.	4140	Roshan Lal Bhambri	Ramji Das	Jiwajrao Inter. College, Gwalior.	Do.
23.	4188	Raj Mani Dwivedi	Bal Mukund Dwivedi	Darbar College, Rewa (V.P.)	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950.

Intermediate Examination in Commerce

1.	195	Bhagwan Sahai Khandelwal	Shankar Lal	Gwalior	Disqualified from Intermediate Examination in Commerce of 1950 and debarred from the Intermediate Commerce Examination of 1951.
2.	401	Sharad Kulkarni	Kashi Nath Kulkarni	Holkar College, Indore.	Do.
3.	441	Damodar Dass Johri	Shrawan Lal Johri	Victoria College, Gwalior.	Do.
4.	453	Kapoor Chandra Jain	Akhe Chand	Do.	Do.

Sd/- G. D. WIDHANI,
Secretary,
Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana (including Ajmer-Marwara), Central India and Gwalior, Ajmer.

Sd/- S. D. SHARMA,
30-6-50.

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

The undermentioned candidates for the various University Examinations held in April, 1950, who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been disqualified from passing the Examination, held in April, 1950 :—

No.	Name of Examination	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidate	Father's Name	College from which sent.
1.	B.A. (Pass)	436	C-2010	Prem Nath Perti	Raghunath Prasad Perti	Commerce
2.	B.Sc. (Pass)	651	R-2253	Prakash Ch. Mathur	B. Chand Bihari Mathur	Ramjas

The undermentioned candidates for the qualifying examination, held in April, 1950, who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been disqualified from passing the Examination, held in April, 1950, and have been further debarred from appearing at any future examination of this University :—

1.	Qualifying	160	..	Gul Muhammad Gul	Ghulam Muhammad	Delhi
2.	Qualifying	1469	..	Sapuranmal Kanti Datta	B. Radha Kanti Dutta	Delhi

The under-mentioned candidates for the various University examinations, held in April, 1950, who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been expelled from the University and declared to be not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination of the University :—

1.	Pre-Medical	88	H-7766	Bharat Bhushan Bakshi	Sri Chand Bakshi	Hindu
2.	B.A. (Pass)	100	H-6788	Brij Mohan Sahni	Karam Chand Sahni	Hindu
3.	B.Sc. (Pass)	546	H-6718	Madan Singh	Sunder Singh	Hindu

T. P. S. IYER,
Registrar,
University of Delhi, Delhi.

Delhi, the 12th July, 1950.
No. Ex/

Dated, the 12th July, 1950.

Copy to :—(1) Registrars of all Indian Universities.
(2) The Secretaries of the Intermediate Boards.
(3) The Principals of all the recognised colleges and
(4) the candidates concerned.

T. P. S. IYER,
Registrar,
University of Delhi, Delhi.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

Ex. 3/490/49/50.

Office of the University of Mysore.
Mysore, dated the 10th May, 1950.

NOTIFICATION

Malpractice at the University Examination of March, 1950.

Pursuant to the resolution of the University Council passed at the meeting, held on 29th April, 1950 the candidates bearing the following Registered Numbers have been debarred from the Examination of March-April, 1950 :—

	Examination	Centre.	Reg. No.
1.	Intermediate Examination in Science	Kolar	3275
2.	Do.	Kolar	3304
3.	Do.	Chitaldrug	3788
4.	Do.	Bangalore	5088

By order,
C. RANGACHAR,
Registrar,
Mysore University.

To :

1. The candidates concerned
2. Heads of the University and affiliated Colleges, including Medical School
3. The Registrars of all Indian Universities
4. The Public Service Commissioner in Mysore, Bangalore
5. The Compiler, Mysore Gazette, Bangalore, for publication in the next issue of the Gazette.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

No. 6013-6117/50-G.
Dated, July, 18, 1950.

From
The Registrar,
Punjab University, Solan (Simla Hills).
To
The Principals of all the Colleges affiliated to this University.
Sir/Madam,

I am to inform you that the following student has been rusticated for one year for the reason mentioned against his name :—

Serial No.	Registered No.	Name of student and Name of his father	Reason	Rusticated By	Class	Intimated Vide
1.	48-p-443	Shri Jang Bahadur Bhatnagar S/o Shri Sant Lal Bhatnagar	Gross Misdemeanour	The Principal, Mahendra College, Patiala.	New Sixth year (Economics)	Letter No. 1250, dated July 6, 1950

Yours faithfully,
TRILOCHAN SINGH,
Assistant Registrar (Co-ordination)
For *Registrar.*

No. 6013-6117/50-G. Dated : July 18, 1950.

Copy of the above forwarded to the following for information :—

1. Registrars of all the Universities in India.
2. Secretary, Inter University Board, 10, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi
3. All the Heads of the University Teaching Departments.
4. Deputy Registrar (Examinations), Punjab University, Solan (Simla Hills).

TRILOCHAN SINGH,
Assistant Registrar (Co-ordination)
For *Registrar.*

UNIVERSITY OF SAUGAR

NOTIFICATION

Sagar, the 17th July, 1950

No. Ex/C/41/50. It is notified that the following candidates who appeared at the various Examinations of the University of Saugar in April, and May, 1950, have been found guilty of using or attempting to use unfair means at these Examinations and have, therefore, been debarred from appearing at any University Examination, during the period mentioned against their names :—

Roll No.	Enrol. No.	Name of candidate	Examination	Institution	Year for which debarred.
366	A/4106	Krishna Kant Dube	I.Sc.	University Teaching Department	Examination 1950 cancelled and debarred 1950(Supplementary), 1951 and 1952.
127	A/3676	Rajendra Kr. Jain	I.Sc.	Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur	1950(Supplementary) and 1951.
4	A/4988	Chaman Prakash Vaish	M.Sc. (Prev.)	University Teaching Department	1951.
136	A/4386	Vithal Rao Ghangara	Dip. T.	Diploma Training Institute, Khandwa	Do.
19	A/345	Sachindra Gopal Wakhale	B.Com.	University Teaching Department	1950 (Supplementary) and 1951
375	A/4046	Mahendra Nath Bhargave	I.Sc.	Do.	Do.
214	A/4421	Inayatullah	I.Arts	Hitkarini Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur	Do.
92	A/4856	Rawal Singh Chawla	I.E.	Govt. Engineering College, Jabalpur	Do.
49	A/4854	Kushal Pal Yadav	I.E.	Do.	Do.
100	A/49	Satyavan Dave	I.E.	Do.	Do.
96	A/4848	Santosh Kumar Sharma	I.E.	Do.	Do.
25	A/4208	Satyanand Sahukar	B.E.	Do.	Do.

Note :—Examination 1950 cancelled in all these cases.

The following student who obtained admission to the Intermediate class at the Hitkarini Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur, on the basis of a bogus certificate is debarred from joining any college or appearing at any University Examination for the period mentioned against his name, even after he passes his High School Examination :—

Roll No.	Enrol. No.	Name	College	Period
206	A/4415	Chandra Prakash Awasthi	Hitkarini Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur	1950 (Supplementary), 1951 and 1952.

By order of the Executive Council.

ISHWAR CHANDRA,
Registrar,
University of Saugar.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

NOTIFICATION

The Committee of Examinations has found the undermentioned candidates guilty of malpractice at the University Examinations, held in May, 1950, and has *resolved* that these candidates be rusticated for two years. They can appear in the examinations of the University to be held in March or April, 1952 :—

Intermediate

Serial No.	Roll No.	Name
1.	49	Khwaja Qutubuddin Ahmed S/O Shaikh Mohiuddin Ahmed.
2.	186	Mohd. Azizullah Siddiqi, S/O Md. Hamidullah.
3.	196	Mohd. Azmatullah, S/O Mohd. Mazharullah.
4.	287	Safia Sultana, S/O Syed Md. Ali Safavi.
5.	489	Mohd. Abdul Naeem, S/O Md. Abdul Muqeet.
6.	714	Mohd. Nooruddin Anwar, S/O Md. Zainuddin.
7.	1052	Md. Husainuddin Siddiqi, S/O Alimuddin Siddiqi.
8.	1279	S. K. Nazamuddin Masood, S/O S. A. Rahman.
9.	1357	Dattatrya Rao Bawgikar, S/O Bhim Rao Bawgikar.
10.	1457	Akbar Ashraf Mohammed, S/O Md. Ahmed Ashraf.
11.	1604	Mohd. Khurshid Ali, S/O Mohd. Mehtab Ali.
12.	2636	Mohd. Abdul Rasheed, S/O Mohd. Abdul Gafoor.
13.	2766	Mohd. Hisamuddin Siddiqi, S/O Md. Faizuddin Siddiqi.
14.	2767	Abdul Raheem Siddiqi, S/O Md. Abdul Karim Siddiqi.
15.	2845	Syed Sarfaraz Husain Razvi, S/O Syed Iftekhar Husain Razvi.

B.A.

1.	506	Mohd. Abdul Khader, S/O Md. Abdul Gafur.
2.	550	Md. Amir Ali Khan, S/O Moinuddin Ali Khan.
3.	563	Lakshmi Kant Rao, S/O Seeta Ram Rao.
4.	571	Syed Abdul Ali, S/O Syed Abdul Majeed.
5.	673	Ghulam Moinuddin, S/O Abdur Rahman Siddiqi.
6.	679	B. Satyanarayan Reddy, S/O B. Narsimha Reddy.

B.Sc.

1.	49	Ounkar Pershad Tandon, S/O Rai Laxman Pershad Tandon.
2.	50	Chandrakant Khardekar, S/O Tatya Rao Khardekar.
3.	68	Shridhar Aundhekar, S/O Ramchander Rao Aundhekar.
4.	70	Syed Ilyas Husaini, S/O Syed Yousuf Husaini.
5.	84	Basheer Ahmed Khan, S/O Mohiuddin Khan.
6.	126	Zaiba Lateef, S/O. Md. Abdul Latif Khan.

By Order of the Vice-Chancellor
MOHD. AHMED OSMANI,
Controller of Examinations.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

NOTIFICATION

The under-mentioned candidates have been debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in the year 1951, as they had applied for permission to appear at the Intermediate Examination of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Ajmer, for 1950, as private candidates, while they were reading in the First year Inter. class of the S. M. K. Inter. College, Jodhpur, affiliated to this University, and thereby tried to deceive the University as well as the said Board :—

1. Inder Singh.
2. Hari Narain Joshi.

Sd. R. K. A. Agarwal,
For Registrar.
University of Rajputana

No. 20311-70. Dated Jaipur, August 14, 1950.

Copy forwarded to :

(1) The Registrars of the Indian Universities conducting the Intermidiate Examinations ;

(2) The Secretaries of the Intermediate Boards ;

(3) The Principals of the Colleges affiliated to this University for the Intermidiate Examination of 1951 ;

(4) The candidates concerned ;
For information.

Sd. R. K. Agarwal,
For Registrar.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

SOLAN (SIMLA HILLS)
No. 10300–64/50-G,
Dated 22nd August, 1950.

From
The Registrar,
Punjab University,
Solan (Simla Hills).

To
All the Principals of Colleges affilated to the Punjab University, Solan.

Sir/Madam,

I am to inform you that the following student whose particulars are given as under has been rusticated for one year for the reason mentioned against his name :—

1.	Name of student :	S. Gurbachan Singh
2.	Father's name :	S. Kartar Singh.
3.	Registered Number :	48-A-615.
4.	Class :	Fourth year.
5.	Reason :	Misbehaviour.
6.	Intimated vide :	Letter No. 455, Dated July 6, 1950.
7.	With effect from :	June 30, 1950.
8.	Rusticated by :	The Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar (Punjab).

Yours faithfully
Sd. Trilochan Singh
Assistant Registrar (Co-ordination),
for Registrar.

No. 10365—26/50-G. Dated : 22nd August, 1950.

Copy of the above forwarded to the following for information.

1. Heads of all the University teaching Departments.
2. The Registrars of all the Universities in India.
3. Secretary, Inter. University Board of India.
4. Deputy Registrar (Examination), Punjab University.
5. Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Simla, for favour of printing in the next issue of the Govenment Gazette.

Sd. Trilochan Singha,
Assistant Registrar (Co-ordination)

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1950

YOGĀCĀRAS

J. V. BHATTACHARYYA M.A., PH. D.
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The primitive man was absolutely dependent upon the very mercy of Nature. But as days rolled on man became conscious of his powers. He imagined that kindred spirit was working in Nature. In other words, he overthrew the rule of unconscious matter. Animism and Anthropomorphism occupied the imagination of that period. But irrational events of nature gave a rude shock to the imagining mind of that period. People came to recognise the reality of unconscious and independent matter. But as men became conscious of the power of their intelligence, they brought unconscious matter under the control of mind. Realism came forward with its rational explanation of the world. But human mind could not be content with such a compromising attitude of the realists. Idealists put forward their doctrine of the monopoly of mind. Mind becomes the alpha and omega of the universe. The propounders of this theory are called Idealists. The Idealists carried the palm. Idealists admits of various schools. Among them the Yogācāra school of the Buddhists is noted for its epoch-making contributions. We shall now discuss some aspects of this school.

The Yogācāras have made objects dependent upon the act of knowledge. They have uttered an emphatic 'No' upon the dualism of the subject and the object. Thus they have jeopardised realism in every way.

The Yogācāras have different schools of thought. We shall not discuss all those theories. We shall only take up the theory of the Yogācāras which has been criticised by the celebrated authors of the orthodox philosophical literature, *e.g.*, Jayanta Bhatta, Mādhavācāryya, etc. The position of the Yogācāras is the outcome of a consistent of the development of the Sautrāntika principles. The Sautrāntikas have discarded the permanence of the substances, spiritual and physical with the test of practical efficiency. They have thus made the external objects an inference only. The position which forces us to abandon the idea of the direct perception of the objects finds no smooth way of establishing their existence outside the mind. The Yogācāras simply take advantage of the weakness of the Sautrāntika position and explain the variety of the contents of conscious phenomena by the assumption of the image producing activity (Vāsanā) of them (Conscious phenomena). Thus they reduce all reality to a series of conscious phenomena. In this series the past phenomena produces the present one which generates the future event and so on. Moreover the cause bequeathes its all to the effect. In this way the phenomena are marching to eternity. This is their Idealism.

Yogācāra epistemology is really a refutation of the dualism of the objects of knowledge and knowledge. They have maintained the doctrine of epistemological monism thoroughly. According to Perry, epistemological monism means that when things are known they are identical, element for element, with the idea, or content of the knowing state (P. P. T., p. 126). The Yogācāras also hold that whatever is known by a knowing phenomenon is not different from it (S. D. S., p. 31). By this clear statement they make their epistemological position distinct.

Let us now see their arguments advanced in favour of their epistemological position. They at first establish that an event of awareness carries with it its own awareness and that an awareness of awareness has logical priority to an awareness of an object. They say that if awareness does not intuit itself, it does not reveal an object.* By this they assert the priority of the cognitive consciousness which is the cardinal principle of all forms of idealism. They simply develop upon the Sautrāntika theory of representative consciouness. Such events of consciousness are always with images as imageless consciousness contradicts their position. The Yogācāras say that imageless consciousness being an absurdity consciousness with images must be accepted. These images are not produced in consciousness through the agency of the external objects as to have images is the birth right of consciousness. Further, the Sautrāntikas cannot prove that consciousness is by its nature imageless but becomes associated with images because of its causal relationship with the objects. In all cases of consciousness there must be images as this conclusion follows necessarily from the representative character of consciousness. Further their objects transcend perception. They cannot have knowledge by acquaintance of the forms of the objects. They are not, therefore, justified in their assertion that the contents are the copies of the external objects.

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* *Cf.* Along with whatever any intelligence knows, it must, as the ground or condition of its knowledge, have some cognizance of itself (J. F. Ferrier—Institutes of Metaphysics 3rd. Ed. p. 79). The Yogacaras mean to say that if consciousness is not self-luninous it cannot be consciousness since it shares the lot of an oridinary objects.

They say positively that images are aspects of consciousness as such an assumption explains satisfactorily the relation of the determinant and the determined obtaining between the object and its consciousness. Let us take a concrete example. A is aware that this is blue. 'Blue' is the content of A's awareness. If 'blue' is an aspect of awareness, it can only determine awareness as an awareness of blue. If it is other than it (consciousness), it cannot determine consciousness. Suppose there are many objects within the range of consciousness. Sometimes, one of them is presented to consciousness. How can it be ? Consciousness is competent by its nature to reveal them all. Why should it fail ? Why should a particular object enjoy special privilege ? We get no satisfactory answer if we stick to dualism of the object and its consciousness. If the so-called object is an aspect of consciousness, there is no trouble as its aspect only determines itself. If the independence of the object is maintained and the object is asserted to be the cause of its consciousness, it cannot even determine consciousness. A conscious event is not the effect of an object only. It has got other factors as well. The causal principle cannot afford it alone the power of determining consciousness. It is better that we should think of an object as an aspect of consciousness in order to avoid all difficulties.

Such a position makes the objects exclusively particular. They also clearly state that every object of consciousness is unique to it. No object is common to two events of consciousness. Let us take an accepted case of consciousness of a common object. An ascetic, a lewd person and a wild beast perceive a beautiful woman. The ascetic thinks her to be an object of dread and terror. The lewd person takes her to be an object of pleasure and enjoyment. To the wild beast she appears to be its food. Thus we see that to every perceiver the object is different. It is no longer a public property. It is always a private property. In other words, if the object actually differ from their consciousness, they will remain for ever outside our mind as the relation of identity alone makes objects related to their consciousness. This plausible argument based upon the assumption of 'exclusive particularity' is described in the modern literature as 'definition by initial predication'. The realists hold that the relationship of an object with consciousness is an accidental characterization of the object. The idealists like the Yogācāras have proved that it is essential but not the accidental characterization of an object.

Their argument assumes a different form. They say that an object is invariably presented to our consciousness along with its consciousness itself. Whenever we know a blue object, we are also aware of awareness of it. Hence the object is identical with its awareness. Whatever is invariably known along with a thing is identical with it. This is an inductive generalisation. An earthen pot which is invariably known along with earth is identical with it. It is not invariably known along with water and is therefore different from it. This generalisation is based upon the joint-method of agreement and difference. Therefore the major premise that whatever is invariably known along with a thing is identical with it is valid. An object is invariably known along with its awareness. Hence the object is identical with its awareness.

Now the Yogācāras explain inspite of the reality of consciousness alone why the duality of the subject and the object appears at all. They say that it is illusory. This illusion takes place in virtue of Vasana, the power of imagination, *i.e.*, the principle of the phenomenal appearance of the duality of the subject and the object. This series of Vasanas is beginningless. By embracing the true path of life this Vasana can be destroyed. After its extinction there will be no duality of the subject and the object.

Berkeley is known as the father of idealism in the western country. Let us compare the idealism of the Yogācāras with that of Berkeley so that the place of the Yogācāras in the idealistic world may be ascertained. 'Berkeley's system is too well known to be restated. Berkeley's system is the synthesis of spiritualism and occasionalism. An occult self has been assumed to solve the difficulties of his atomistic sensationalism and his infinite mind solves the rest of his difficulties. Therefore the dualism of ideas and the mind and the dualism of the ideas and their extraneous source still persist. In the system of the Yogācāra's there is no such dualism..

The proofs of idealism advanced by Berkeley are well known and contain immense historical value. His first argument is described by the realists as 'definition by initial predication'. By this argument he has an intention of proving that the things which are seen can never be unseen ; but he has actually proved that a thing which is seen or defined as seen is not a thing unseen. The realists hold that 'Berkeley's error lies in his inferring that because the tulip is seen, therefore its being seen is its essential and exclusive status. It does not strike him that an object of knowledge may possess a multiple and not an exclusive particularity. Berkeley in order to make himself consistent should have proved that all tulips are ideas on different grounds.

The Yogācāras also say that to be known is to be identical with the knowing state. They also believe in the exclusive particularity of the objects. According to them the things which are once seen can never be unseen. The objects appear with the knowing state and disappear along with it. They strengthen their position by means of their dielectic proof that the relation of identity must subsist between the object and the knowing state and that the atomic hypothesis which proves the extramental existence of the objects of the world must be abandoned as worthless. On epistemological and metaphysical grounds they show that the object is identical with its knowing state. Thus we see that the argument of the Yogācāra does not suffer from the rough handling of the realists who upset Berkeley's first argument.

Berkeley's second argument has been described by the realists as the argument from 'the Ego-centric Predicament.' He says that a person cannot know a thing that it exists apart from consciousness, because to know is virtually to bring within consciousness. No body can know a thing if he subtracts the cognitive relationship from the thing altogether. Positively, a man must institute cognitive relationship with an object whenever he knows it. Prof. Perry shows that this proposition is virtually redundant. It simply says that every object of knowledge is an object of knowledge. But the idealists must prove that only ideas exist in order to establish their idealism. The ego-centric predicament is not also an inductive proof of the proposition that all things are ideas. This induction is based upon the method of agreement only. But it is of no use if it is unsupported by the method of difference. Berkeley's very position makes the observation of the negative cases impossible. The method of agreement alone does not lead to an inductive conclusion. Hence we see that Berkeley's statement is redundant and fallacious.

The Yogācāras arrive at their conclusion by the method of deduction. The major premise that whatever is invariably known along with a thing is identical with it is the proposition the truth of which is established by the inductive proof. We have seen alreadv that this conclusion is arrived at by the joint methed of agreement and difference. It is materially valid. The minor premise that an object is invariably known along with its awareness follows logically from the hypothesis of Dharmakirti that an awareness which is not aware of itself does not reveal an object. Everything of idealism depends on it. We shall discuss later on whether this assumption stands scrutiny. They have developed upon the Sautrāntikas. They have accepted some of their assumptions. Dharmakirti's assumption is one of them. Their conclusion that the object is identical with its awareness is deductively true. There is no violation of the formal laws in this syllogism. Therefore, it is formally valid. The major promise is materially valid, as it is a valid induction. Therefore their conclusion is formally as well as materially valid.

Thus we see that the Yogācāras are true idealists. Berkeley's idealism consists in his infrequent isolated idealistic arguments. If all his writings are taken together his position becomes absolute spiritualism and occasionalism. He has not overcome the Cartesian dualism though the names of the two different principles have been only different. The Yogācāras have completely overcome this dualism. They explain the duality of the subject and the object in virtue of the power called vasana existing in conscious phenomena. There is no dualism of principles in this system. Further, Berkeley's arguments in favour of idealism are not very strong but confuse simply the readers. But there is no flaw in the Yogācāra arguments if their assumptions are accepted. The Yogācāra's arguments are much more forceful. Hence our initial pre-proposition is perfectly true that the Yogācāras are true idealists. Berkeley's idealism is only an appearance of true idealism.

The epistemology of the Yogācāras has got a striking resemblance to that of Croce. Let us begin with a concrete case of experience. 'I know that this is blue' is an actual experience. The blue object is not a without which the subject 'I' which is a within is trying to grasp. But the object is thoroughly mental. This experience is a whole which contains the subject, the object and experiencing of them within it. The distinction made within the whole of experience is a product entirely mental. Thus both of them hold that an object is never known alone *i. e.*, detached from the avareness of it. In other words, we have always the experience of the experience of an object but not of the object. We never experience that this is a table. But we always experience that we know that this is a table. In our experience we simply objectify our mental states. We have no knowledge of reality which is not formed out of one experience.

Let us now see what are the presuppositions of an experience in each of these two systems. Croce calls the knowing process as the theoretical activity. It has two subgrades *viz*. (a) intuition and (b) concept. In his system mind creates what it interprets and interprets what is created by it. It is self-creative. It is active. It is not the all-embracing Absolute. The mind 'A' creates its own objects by means of the aesthetic activity *i.e.*, the image-producing activity. It works through the process called intuition and generates an image which is an individual. The intuition and an image are not two distinct phases and have separate existences. An intuition never remains unexpressed. This distinction is entirely logical. The aesthetic activity therefore generates materials upon which the concept works. Croce thinks that an image is produced out of brute matters which correspond to sense-data. These sense-data are united and give an image. In Croce's system there is no such feeling as is called sensation. But he fancies the logical developments of an image. The lowest limit of an image is the disbanded materials. It seems to us that the strong memory of sensation and deep influence of Kant upon him can only explain nicely such fanciful mood of such logical distinction in the formation of the body of the image itself.

He says further that in this moment the intuition is only expressed and is not reflected. The activity of this moment constitutes the condition of all thinking. This moment having no conceptual elements is never an actuality. It is in actual existence always associated with conceptual elements. It is a truism that formless matter is something unexperienced. Still when we create logical distinction between form and matter we say that form depends upon matter. So here Croce says that conception depends upon intuition. In this dependence there is no idea of priority in time but this is a case of logical dependence. Croce calls this moment to be the lowest of all grades. He means by it that it must be logically prior to them all.

The conceptual thinking logically comes the next. It simply universalizes the individual which is expressed in the first moment. It is a judgment. It involves concepts. It inserts relations of the concepts in the individuals of intuition and knows them. The concept is a mental phase. It is a form of knowledge. It is purely cognitive. It is immanent in the individuals but transcends them also. It is also distinct from the individuals. 'It is ultra-representative and omni-representative.' It is both immanent in and transcendent to the intuitions. It is though in the intuition yet it is not exhausted by all the intuitions actual and possible taken together. It is as real as the individuals are. It is not an abstraction from the individuals because to be an abstraction is to be unreal. The concept is universal, concrete and expressive. It creates the world of our experience by the means of images. The concept of consciousness is one of his concepts. It is the universal consciousness which is the object of philosophical inquiry. It offers him the means of escape from the different moments of consciousness to the Hegelian unity of consciousness. Croce says in Logica (p. 16). "Every reality is......in one aspect immobile, in the other changing". It is thus the basis of all individuals without any exception. Croce has laid special emphasis on his doctrine of concepts. They have helped an individual to go beyond his own experience. They are assumed to break through the circle of ideas of an individual. Croce thinks of escaping from the changes of subjective idealism and solipsism with the help of his concepts.

Intuitions without concepts are blind. They are mere presentations of which we cannot assert anything. In our conscious moments we are always thinking, *i.e.*, we are always judging. We always apply our concepts on the individuals. These judgments provide us with a common platform of expressing our thoughts to others. The concepts are the same always. These concepts are the different aspects of the universal mind of which the different minds and experiences are aspects. These concepts are thus the common elements of all thoughts. The most fundamental concept is the concept of consciousness.

This judgmental knowledge presupposes the apriori synthesis of the individual and the concept. This is the logical condition of all thoughts. This synthesis is also logical.

The Yogācāras differ in many important respects from Croce. A sense experience (pravṛtti vijñāna) does not produce its own object. Vasana resembles the aesthetic activity of Croce closely. Both of them produce images. Vasana located upon the antecedent Alaya Vijñāna produces images in the Pravṛtti Vijñāna. The Yogācārās think of Vasana as the cause of the image. There is temporal sequence. But Croce says definitely. "Every reality is in one aspect end; in another cause" (Logica, p. 16). There is no temporal sequence between the aesthetic activity and the image. He further draws a logical distinction between the process of intuition and the image. Vasana has also process which is antecedent to the image. It also explains why do not all Vasanas generate images. To Croce an antecedent experience produces the consequent experience but its contents it (consequent experience) creates for itself. Further he thinks the unity of the intuitional individual with the conceptual universal to be the logical apriori condition of all thoughts. The Yogācāras hold that the apriori synthesis of the Alaya Vijñāna and Vasana is the cause of pravṛtti Vijñāna. Further, the consciousness of the sense experience is the intellectual frame-work into which the image of Vasana is begotten. It is the logical condition. They also hold that the apriori synthesis of the image and consciousness which is the form is logical condition of all judgments.

Croce is very vague on his doctrine of intuition why does an aesthetic activity belonging to an experience generate its own object. If it generates, why does no temporal sequence exist between them? If he says in the affirmative, he must postulate the existence of a moment in which the concept of consciousness will be empty. To him to be empty is to be unreal. Therefore, he cannot like the Yogācāras postulate the existence of Alaya Vijñāna which is the cause of Pravṛtti Vijñāna. Therefore he is forced to say in the negative. If there is no temporal sequence between the Aesthetic activity and the image, with every moment of consciousness the image will be given. Such a concrete moment of consciousness will be generated by the immediate antecedent conscious moment. The aesthetic activity of the antecedent conscious moment will create the object of the immediately succeeding conscious moment the aesthetic activity of which will generate an image of its immediate successor. If the image is given in every conscious moment, what is the basis of assuming such an activity which explains nothing. Therefore Croce's hypothesis that the aesthetic activity belonging to a moment of consciousness produces or logically precedes the image is not tenable.

The Yogācāras also draw distinction between form and matter. Vasana supplies the matter while the Alaya Vijñāna supplies the form *i.e.*, consciousness. The form of the Yogācāras is different from the concept of Croce. The form is consciousness. It is the mould in which the image is born. The form of the Yogacaras is always similar and is never the sense. It is always immament in the conscious phenomenon but is never transcendental to it. Such a theory makes the Yogācāras subjective idealists and solipsists no doubt but still the Yogācāras are logically right. Croce holds that the concept is immanent in as well as transcendental to the conscious moment. How can Croce know its transcendental character ? It is never empty as the abstract chacacter of it means its unreality. Therefore it must be immanent in some other conscious moments. If its transcendental character is at all known, its immanence in other moments must also be grasped. If we have knowledge of an image *i. e.*, we know it in its individual and universal aspects, we must also know other individual images or all individual images actual and possible in order to know the universal aspect of the concept. In other words, we shall never have the knowledge of a single intuitional image. This position of Croce is not palatable. He must hold like the Yogācāras that the concept is only immanent in the image. The Yogācāras also admit the existence of empty concepts which have logical existence only to account for the occurrence of the sense-experience. They are repositories of Vasanas and the impression of the past sense-experience. In the Yogācāra system there is no occasion of intuition which is not united with the form. But Croce says that an intuition can exist without any intellectual reference. He says that the logical concepts themselves may be subject matter of aesthetic intuition (pp. 60-61). But we do not here understand Croce thoroughly. Croce says that the object is not experienced but its experience is experienced. We are aware of consciousness always. But consciousness is a concept. Therefore, we are always aware of the concept and the image and not of the image alone. The Yogācāras mentioned in the Sarvadarasana Samgraha hold that the Alaya Vijñāna is self-conscious consciousness. It contains no image. The subject is its own object. This kind of self-consciousness has been mentioned by Giovanni Gentile. 'In self-consciousness mind is both knowing subject and known object; it can and must postulate itself as acting under each of these two phases while still remaining one with itself. In self consciousness it is the same mind which is at the same time both knower and known.'

Jayanta and other Naiyayikas have refuted the doctrine of the Yogācāras very ably. Their polemic against the Yogācāras is very convincing. A has knowledge of a blue object, and yellow object, a white object, etc. He has knowledge of them when they actually exist and when they have ceased to exist. It is a fact that a past event is known. These different facts of knowledge have a common factor of revealing objects. It constitutes the essence of all events of knowledge. It also differentiates knowledge from its objects. It belongs to the knowledge of the blue objects, the white object, etc. It is the necessary element of knowledge whereas the objects are its contingent elements. The knowledge of an event which was once present and is now past reveals its object alike. Hence the knowledge is distinguishable from its objects.

If consciousness and its objects were identical, it would have been revealed as consciousness is revealed and there would have been no contrast between the subject and the object as the Yogācāras themselves say that in knowledge there exists no discrimination between consciousness and its object. They say that in any case of presentation, one can never know that this is an object and this is consciousness. But it is a case of revelation pure and simple. Therefore it follows from their statement that one should know "I am the blue object, the white object, etc".

Further, they say that every conscious event is a case of revelation. From it how can they assert that the object is not revealed but knowledge is only revealed? When we perceive a object we say that this is an object. This 'this' indicates that the object is a without and not a within. Knowledge is simply a ticket for serving the purpose of indicating the objects which are extraneous to itself. By means of it which is an indicator only we cannot ignore the existence of an object which is indicated. Our eyes show us the colour and the coloured objects. We cannot deny reality to them on the strength of the existence of our eyes. The external objects are palpitating realites. Their existence cannot be denied.

The Yogācāras will become unassailable if the assumption of Dharma Kirti that an act of awareness unrevealed does not reveal its objects is true. Jayanta starts his polemic against this hypothesis with the hypothesis of the Naiyayikas that knowledge reveals its objects and does not carry its own awareness with it. Why do we prefer the Nyaya hypothesis to the exclusion of that of Dharma kirti? A hypothesis deserves acceptance if it is based on observation. The Naiyayikas are thorough realists and deny any privilege to consciousness. It is a fact as other facts are. If there are other things which reveal and if they reveal object, being themselves self-revealed, the hypothesis of the Yogācāras can be accepted, it will bid fare-well for ever. The light and the sound reveal objects. But they do not reveal themselves. The light is revealed by our consciousness. The word reveals the objects when the meaning of the word is ascertained. An illuminating thing does not require self-revelation in order to reveal the objects. Therefore the Yogācārars cannot establish the hypothesis that an awareness must reveal itself in order to reveal its objects. Further if they make an appeal to its unique character *i.e.*, consciousness is such because it is consciousness, they may say anything and everything in the name of consciousness. Moreover, they cannot establish their position by means of inductive proof. An inductive conclusion will be valid if it is established by the joint method of agreement and difference. Their theory of the reality of conscious phenomena alone precludes the very possiblilty of the application of the method of difference. Thus their hypothesis is not based upon the sound principle. It is only a fanciful theory which cannot be demonstrated by logic. It is simply an argument from the ego-centric predicament. Their minor premise that the object is invariably known along with its awareness cannot be proved. Hence their deductive conclusion is formally valid but materially wrong. Hence their nicely framed argument does not convince a critical mind.

Udyotakara, Udayana and others refute their theory on the ground that it cannot explain the fact of memory and recognitive perception. These facts presuppose the existence of a permanent soul. It is almost universally accepted that the knower is the rememberer. It cannot be proved also how does the impression of one Alaya Vijñāna glide away into another.

If we consider their theory from the ordinary point of view, we see that this theory does not provide in any way escape from the circle of the series of Alaya Vijñāna and Pravṛtti Vijñāna which constitute the life of an individual. Moreover, one cannot know anything about the series of Alaya Vijñāna and Pravṛtti Vijñāna other than his own. To one his own series of mental states is only real. This series constitutes his own universe. Besides it nothing exists to him. Solipsism is the inevitable conclusion of Subjective Idealism. Such a doctrine goes against our common sense. We do not want that our fundamental belief of dualism should be thrown overboard but on the contrary should be justified in a flaw less manner. This doctrine brings no satisfaction in the heart of a man of strong common sense. It also goes against reason. Therefore it is inadequate.

References :—Nyayamanjari, p.p. 836-43; Sarva Darsana Samgraha-Bauddha Darsana; Introduction to Modern Philosophy-Neo-idealism; The philosophy of Benedetto Croce, chaps I. V. VIII; Logica; Present Philosophical Tendencies, chap. VI; Studies in the Cartesian Philosophy, chap. VI; Philosoyhy of the Recent Past, Sec, 21; The new Realism Introduction.

ADHARCHANDRA DAS ON SRI AUROBINDO

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Dr. Adharchandra Das is an old student of Sri Aurobindo's thought. As long ago as 1929 he had felt drawn towards Sri Aurobindo's philosophical writings, as they had appeared in the 'Arya,' and written a book entitled "Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind," which was published by the Calcutta University in 1934. It was, on the whole, an admirable study, containing quite a faithful representation of Sri Aurobindo's thought and a good critical appraisal of it. He had conscientiously confessed in the preface to the book the difficulty "to write anything on the teachings of one who was not merely a metaphysican, but also a mystic, and far more so, in view of this limited knowledge and comparative inexperience."[1] Since then it appears he has been following the growth of Sri Aurobindo's thought and vision of life and has been off and on writing on different aspects of his philosophy. During the last two years, as the writer has noticed, there have appeared from his pen a few interesting critical and comparative studies of Sri Aurobindo. In the last June issue of the *Calcutta Review*, however, appeared an article entitled "Sri Aurobindo on the Pure Action of the Sense-Mind," which I must confess has been a disappointment. I have wondered how Dr. Das could so grievously misunderstand Sri Aurobindo's position, which he has previously represented well enough.

But we will first consider an issue of a previous article, which comes in incidentally in this last one too and is of much general importance. In the article "Sri Aurobindo's Theory of Intuition" (*Calcutta Review*, 1948) he has drawn a pointed attention to the terminology Sri Aurobindo has employed regarding the various phases, levels or actions of mind, *e.g.*, the physical mind, life-mind, and thinking mind. He says that "the physical mind is obviously the sense-mind and the life-mind can well be equated to the vital principle . . . . But difficulty arises when physical science is conceived as a vast extension of physical mentality." *Calcutta Review*, May 1941, pp. 60, 61). Dr. Das's complaint is thst the terms are not well-marked off from one another and that they commit "the fallacy of overlapping division." (*Calcutta Review*, January 1949, p. 40.)

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[1] Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, Preface, p. vii.

I would grant, it is possible to get mixed up in these terms. But the clarity would come by a different approach. We have to remember that Sri Aurobindo's philosophical writing has not proceeded in the way that, for example, Kant's Critique of Pure Reason proceeded. It is not a logical reconstruction of reality, moving bit by bit from previously defined concepts. It is, on the other hand, an expression and indication by word and suggestion of Reality previously experienced as a whole. If the Reality is not to be over-simplified, which we very much like to do for our easy clarity, then terms must be allowed to shape themselves in different contexts with a large plasticity of action, so that the different nuances of reality may be more faithfully represented. Says, Sri Aurobindo, "our abstractions get fixed into differentiating concepts with sharp lines between them: but the Reality is not of that nature; its aspects are many and shade off into each other."[1] Therefore, "a language has to be created which is at once intuitively metaphysical and revealingly poetic, admitting significant and living images as the vehicles of a close, suggestive and vivid indication,—a language such as we find hammered out into a subtle and pregnant massiveness in the Veda and the Upanishads."[2] Surely Dr. Das cannot be unaware of this avowed purpose of Sri Aurobindo and evidently this must be our guide to the understanding of his language and terminology.

However, philosophy is written primarily for the intellect and understanding of man and, therefore, the terms must show a proper indentity and clarity of meaning, without our making them too rigid. Now the basic ontological and psychological terms of Sri Aurobindo's thought are the eight levels or planes of the evolutionary process. These are: Matter, Life, Mind, Psyche, Supermind, Bliss, Consciousness, Force and Existence. Now these being the levels of a unitary evolutionary process, they represent a continuity and, therefore, mutual interpenetration in varying degrees. These names represent the dominant character of a part-range of the evolutionary process only and nothing more. And surely there are the border-land ranges, which at its two ends will show the reversal of relation between the two characters coming into play and since there is a general mutual interpenetration of all the levels, all characters in varying degrees and forms will be present everywhere.

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[1] Life Divine II (Part I), p. 95.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 42, 43.

Now regarding these basic terms of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and psychology there is not the slightest vagueness. And if these are well borne in mind the others will not only become clear, but will begin to impress us with their unique expressiveness. Let us remember again that reality is highly complex and multi-faceted and charged with an evolutionary dynamis. Now 'physical mind' is that phase or action of mind, which deals with external reality and is characterised by outward-directedness (बहिर्मुखता). The thinking, which conforms to this basic function and turn of mind, will certainly be included in it. Sense-mind is, of course, the basic part of the physical mind. Physical science would then naturally be an extension of the physical mind. But thinking proper must virtually show a certain transcendence of sense-boundness and outward reference. And such thinking would be the right activity of the thinking mind, which would also be characterised by free inquiry and doubt. And certainly a good part of the Physical Science, particularly that involving hypothesis-making would be an activity of the thinking mind. Here the basis of classification does not seem to be the objective structural fact of being an ideational activity or not, but the essential level of psychological experience. If the primary level of the experience is that of physical reality and sense, then thinking involved there is a subordinate function and the total and the dominant character is that of physical mind. To my mind there is here not only no unnecessary overlapping, but a real clarity, which enlightens us on the merits of our previous classification on structural considerations without a clear reference to the fact of the evolutionary process. If we pursue the same approach, I feel pretty confident that we cannot fail to see the proper force and significance of the numerous terms used by Sri Aurobindo to describe and indicate the truths of many neglected aspects of our psychological life and the cosmic evolution. But the physical mind is more than the sense-mind and the life-mind cannot be equated to the vital principle. Life-mind is the mind dominated by the life-impulses whereas the vital principle is just 'life' with, of course a subconscient mind present in it.

Let us now come to the most recent article of Dr. Das, that on the pure action of the sense-mind, which really appears very different from what he has written before on Sri Aurobindo.

The present mind of man, environment-directed as it is, is significantly called by Sri Aurobindo physical mentality, which virtually includes our perceptions of the external world through the senses as also the activity of reason, which is based on those perceptions. The expression 'physical mentality' has the merit of characterising our human mind by its proper·differntia as also of suggesting a mentality or form of consciousness other than it, which is not environment-dependent and is capable of acting in its own right and by its own full initiative. Now the value of a form of consciousness existing and acting by its own right is obvious for a spiritualistic metaphysics, which needs a Supreme Sovereign consciousness; and Sri Aurobindo by an empirical psychological approach, besides his other philosophical reasons, shows how such a consciousness is a fact. This he shows both with respect to the function of sensemind, which is pure- and simple the *manas* of Indian terminology, as also regarding the action of reason. Sense-mind and reason both constitute our normal physical mentality and represent two levels or planes of experience, which are broadly comparable to the perceptual or presentational and the Ideational or representational levels or continua of Ward and Stout of Western psychology.

Now the sense-mind or the mind in its function of 'sensing' is properly speaking the organ proper, since the outer physical organs are only the means, the actual awaremess of a colour or taste or touch is a matter of inner mental perception. Surely the mind sees not the eyes and 'sensing' is virtually the function of the mind for which, however, the instrumentation of the physical sense-organs is necessary. Sankhya philosophy rightly calls it '*antarindriya*', the internal sense, and that is the most popular opinion of all Indian Philosophy on the subject. The sense-organs are, as borne out by the facts of evolution, strctural and functional formations, which a species has succeeded in evolving in its struggle with the environment. James Ward, a well-known psychologist in this connection, observes that "it is reasonably assumed that the advance to such complete differentiation of sense-organs as we find among the higher vertebrates has been a gradual advance." Further, says he, "Numerous facts can now be adduced of the occurrence of 'transitional' or 'alternating' sense-organs among the lower multi-cellular animals."[1] It is with reference to this same fact of the acquisition of the sense-organs through gradual differentiation that our present use of them is described by Aurobindo as "the regularity of a dominant habit."[2]

Now so far as the fact of gradual acquisition of the acquition of the sense-organs is concerned the representative Western opinion and Sri Aurobindo are in agreement. But surely Sri Aurobindo's vision of things is different and, therefore, by the very choice of the word 'habit' in this connection, he suggests that the perceiving mind might as well choose to act differently. Says, Sri Aurobindo, "It is possible for the mind—and it would be natural for it, if it could be persuaded to liberate itself from its consent to the domination of matter,—to take direct cognisance of the objects of sense without the aid of the sense-organs."[1] This he undertakes to prove in a strict empirical spirit by a reference to "hypnosis and cognate psychological phenomena."

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[1] Psychological Principles. p. 109.
[2] The Life Divine, I, p. 95.

Let us see how, at the first instance, hypnosis is able to bear any evidence to show that sense-mind is capable of a 'sensing' action without the aid of sense-organs. Time was when hypnosis used to be regarded as "animal magnetism" involving the working of a mysterious fluid imparted by the hypnotist to his subject. Today it is a process of scientific pyschology and the conditions of its operation are fairly well known.

McDougall, one of the best known contemporary psychologists says that, "Hypnosis is a state allied to sleep ; it may be called an artificial sleep induced by the personal influence of the hypnotist."[2] However, this is a kind of sleep qualified by the fact of "a reponsiveness to the operator in a peculiar manner indicated by the word rapport."[3] But apart from this, *i.e.*, responsiveness to the word or touch or other impression of the hypnotist the subject "seems to remain as little receptive of other sense-impressions as the normal sleeper".[4] In states of lighter hypnosis the quiescence is very partial and it can be possible to interpret such a state otherwise too. But insists McDougall that "if one merely induces deep hypnosis and leaves the patient alone, the resemblance of hypnosis to normal sleep is very close".[5]

Now in hypnosis, as in sleep, the normal personality is in a quiescent condition, yet the subject is, in a way, highly conscious and alert. He perceives things directly in the light of the contents of that consciousness of his, as imparted to it by the hypnotist, independently of the normal report of the sense-organs. He sees a river where the normal action of his open eyes should show him the carpetted floor of a drawing room. Is it a matter of interpreting some normal sensations in an abnormal way, as happens, *e.g.*, in illusion or hallucination in our everyday life. I think the evidence is all against it. The state of hypnosis is essentially a condition lacking in subjective activity. It is characterised by passivity and receptivity and the deeper the hypnosis the more radical kinds of suggestion are accepted and acted upon. They should have then involved, as it were, a greater individual activity of interpretation.

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[1] Ibid, pp. 95-6.
[2] McDougall, Abnormal Psychology, p. 81.
[3] Ibid, p. 82.
[4] Ibid, p. 82.
[5] Ibid, p. 82.

McDougall's explanation of the phenomenon is that "there is formed, with various degrees of success, according to the depth of the hypnosis, a secondary split-off personality........" The normal personality for the time being largely goes into abeyance and this split-off personality comes into operation. Why this personality is able to-behave in the way it does is explained by the fact that it consists of "a restrictive conative basis, that of the one instinctive tendency to submission", which is wholly directed to the hypnotist. But he himself admits that hetro-suggestion is not essential to hypnosis, since he affirms that "there remains the possibility of a purely endogenous process which might perhaps be validly called autosuggestion".[1] In fact, he explains that "where division of the personality obtains, it would seem that one of two partial personalities may exercise suggestion upon the other." And human personality is, of course, a highly complex phenomenon involving the play of many personality-systems.

We cannot undertake to give even an outline of the various spheres and ranges of human personality as delineated and charaterised by Sri Aurobindo, but our normal personality is truly a 'persona', a mask. It is the 'surface personality', having been organised out of our sensorial and perceptual reactions to the sensible impressions of things. Now while this surface personality is the normal working personality of man, yet there is in his total make-up a superconscient self, a subconscient self, a circumconscient self and a subliminal self. These names cannot mean anything, since we are not undertaking even to define them. But they can suggest that besides the working personality there are wide spheres of experience and we may not feel limited to the terms of this personality. According to Sri Aurobindo in hypnosis the waking mind is thrown into sleep, "which liberates the true or subliminal mind".[2] Now the subliminal mind is that part of the human microcosm, which is in direct and easy contact with the universal principles of mind, life and matter. It is, as it were, the individual's base of universality on which stands the particular formation of the normal personality and surely the individuals are particular formations of certain universal energies. That also explains the wider powers of the pure action of the mind. In hypnosis, particularly in cases of deep hypnosis, we could say that it is the subliminal mind which comes into play and acts by its own inherent action. And that represents the pure action of the sense-mind, an action not determined by the senses.

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[1] McDougall, Abnormal Psychology. p. 124
LifeDivine I, p. 96.

For McDougall it was not possible to go beyond the terms of normal personality. But the facts of hypnosis very largely show an independent action of the mind, at the least an action of a mind on mind, where the senses are in the quiescent condition of sleep. And therefore, we are justified in affirming an action of the mind by itself and the subliminal self with a distinctive character.

I would admit that the identity of the subliminal self as a distinctive fact yet awaits a full empirical corroboration and, therefore, psychologists are likely to regard it as mystical, as was, in fact, the subconscious done before Freud offered his clinical evidence for it.

However, telepathy, which as a phenomenon has now received large measure of recognition, holds out in a way a clearer evidence of the pure action of the sense-mind. In telepathy there is a direct communication between mind and mind and there is today a large volume of collected facts bearing out the reality of the phenomenon. As to its explanation, McDougall affirms that "the least extravagant hypothesis for the interpretation of the facts is the hypothesis that such subconscious or secondary personalities have wide-reaching powers of telepathic reception".[1] In another connection, says he, "the condition of quiescence of the primary personality, the chief mood, seems to be peculiarly favourable to the reception of telepathic impressions".[2] Evidently these facts show to us the possibilities of an independent or pure action of the mind and also seem to introduce us to a sphere of personality, whose powers of action are wider and more universal.

While hypnosis and telepathy do offer much corroborative evidence to support the principle of an inherent action of mind, yet the practice of yoga offers a completely empirical and verifiable approach to the exercise of such action and the reality and the identity of the subliminal self. The experience of a form of consciousness existing in its own right, as a self-contained fact, may come oocasionally to a practical student of yoga early enough in his practice. And then the experiences of intuitional perceptions of things is also not too rare a phenomenon. To the writer of this paper the approach of practical yoga is by far the most improtant, as it is by this method that the extension of human experience and faculties can be deliberately cultivated.

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[1] McDougall, Abnormal Psychology. p. 517.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 551.

Now if the pure and the independent action has thus been fairly indicated on the strength of the facts of hypnosis, telepathy and yogic practice, then we would affirm that the senses set no absolute limitation to our mentality. And further that the exercise of such action is the way for the extension of consiousness and the development of new faculties. There is surely a wide range for extension within the scheme of our physical mentality. But to rise from the physical mentality to the mind's own independent status is a qualitative change. And this can yield new experiences, which may be of the greatest value for our knowledge of truth and reality. Western philosophy has remained too rigidly limited to sense-perception and the rational activity based on it. But Indian thought has always recognised the experiences of *Sushupti*, *Swapna* and *Turiya* as valid besides that of the *Jāgrat*.

Sri Aurobindo's epistemology, therefore, feels the greatest concern for the possibilities of extension of experience and knowledge. Merest horizontal extension of the sense-experience is not enough. A vertical rise in the plane of experience is much more important. He, therefore, lays a great stress on the indications of the pure action of the sense-mind, because the possibility of the development of it is evidently of enormous promise to our qualitative extension of knowledge. He points out in reason too a similar twofold action, mixed and pure. Mixed action of reason involves a rational arrangement and organisation of sense-experience. The pure action, on the other hand, is essentially concerned with conceptions beyond and different from those of sense-given objects, though it may use sense-experience as its starting point.

Yet qualitatively the best epistemological fact is given by our immediate knowledge in experience of the reality of our own self. This knowledge is no inference and construction of reason now a perception of sense. It is an intuition of experience through identity with the fact. Reason's knowledge of things always involves a dualism of idea and fact and that gives rise to the insoluble problem their correspondence and agreement. Reason's knowledge is surely knowledge, but of a kind, which is definitely inferior to our certain knowledge of self-existence. That decides for Sri Aurobindo that highest knowledge must be knowledge by identity and, therefore, the proper extension of knowledge and the faculties of knowledge consists in the extension of "our faculty of mental self-awareness to awareness of the self beyond and outside us, Ātman or Brahman of the Upnishads, (so that) we may become possessors in experience of the truths which form the contents of the Ātman or Brahman in the universe."[1]

Knowledge by identity, which involves really growth in personal experience to be able to feel one in being and becoming with the object of knowledge causes difficulty to many. But we know even external things, recognisably persons, better by a process, of sympathetic identification with them. If we stand strangers to a person we have very little chance of understanding him. However, an identification with self-forgetfulness also leads to a failure of knowledge.

In this connection, as an analogy, we could refer to the distinction of 'Verstehen' and 'Einfühlen' made by Dilthey and Spranger. In 'Verstehen' or 'understanding' the knower stands apart and seeks to know his object through sensations and ideas and a construction of them, which are at best a representation of the object. In 'Einfühlen' or 'feeling in with' we seek, at the first instance, a general identity by a penetration into, and identity with, the object and then seek to represent the experience by means of ideas for record and communication. The difference between the two is quite intelligible.

The goal of all knowledge for Sri Aurobindo is evidently knowledge by identity and to that end must our experience be developed through an extension of it particularly in qualitatively newer planes and levels of being. And through such extension of experience a progressive identification with the Supreme Consciousness of the Brahman will become possible, to which all knowledge is essentially an experience of self-identity.

We have thus in a positive way sought to explain the pure action of the sense-mind. I feel that consistently with the stand and the position of Dr. Das's book (Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind) this issue should not have arisen for him.

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[1] The Life Divine, I, pp. 98-99.

The pure action of reason is perfectly intelligible to him there. Says he approvingly, "According to Sri Aurobindo, human reason has a twofold action, mixed or dependent, pure or sovereign. Its action is mixed when it works under the sway of the senses".[1] Intuition also is heartily acceptable to him. Says he, if we are to rise to the Superconscient and possess it in its fullness, we must transcend reason and develop a mode of knowledge in which the subject-object relation vanishes away in the flash of intuition. As the Superconscient is the Supreme Reality, intuition is the Supreme knowledge".[2] He also accepts Sri Aurobindo's evolution. Now the pure action, which rises to its fullness in intuition, is present in reason—must also be supposed to have some earlier counterpart in the senses. Yet the pure action of the sense-mind has caused him such a great difficulty.

At places this misunderstanding of Sri Aurobindo's position is intriguing. He contradicts and refutes a position and in the end affirms the same thing in a different language. Dr. Das devotes a good bit of space to refuting that our use of the sense-organs is only "the regularity of a dominant habit." But ends by saying: "All this goes to show that the senses are not some mere accidental features of the human organism, but that they have been evolved by Nature to serve some definite purpose in the scheme of human experience".[3] Surely Sri Aurobindo does not say that the senses are "some mere accidental features". Surely they have been evolved by Nature to serve some definite purpose". And that is what the word 'habit' implies, that they have been evolved and acquired and therefore they can be outgrown and exceeded and that the present use of them is only a state of "the regularity of a dominant habit". At another place a more intriguing misunderstanding of the opposite kind is noticeable. Having considered the evidence of hypnosis and come to the conclusion that it does support the possibility of an independence of mind he turns approvingly to yoga giving the necessary evidence for the expansion of faculties of knowledge and so on. But adds a sentence at the end: "They (the yogis) attain occult powers by transcending the senses, not by sinking below them".[4] I have wondered what is there in the extensive writings of Sri Aurobindo on the practice of yoga, which suggests a sinking below the senses.

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[1] Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.
[3] Calcutta Review, (June, 50), p. 150.
[4] Calcutta Review, (June, 50), 150.

In regard to the representation of the facts of hypnosis and their explanation Dr. Das has erred rather grievously. The essential facts about hypnosis, as we have shown above, is the coming into play of another form of consciousness and personality, manifesting larger powers of perception and action, under conditions of quiescence of the normal working personality. Such quiescence can be induced by many ways and the subject has to be just willing to another's treatment and handling of him. However another person is not essential to the hypnotic condition, as autosuggestion is possible and at best lighter hypnosis can be self induced. His explanation that hypnosis involves just an abnormal interpretation of normal sensations also does not stand scrutiny. And in one sentence he, in fact, gives away his case altogether. Detailing facts about certain cases of hypnosis, says he, "Sometimes the power of one sense or another greatly increased and sometimes one sense performed the function of another or of all the rest, and so on".[1] Now if one sense can perform the function of another or of all the rest, then surely the senses stand in a loose and an accidental sort of relation with hypnotic consciousness, and that consciousness's own action must be taken as the essential fact. And this is exactly the pure action of the sense-mind.

The "sixth sense" seems to have caused an enormous difficulty to Dr. Das and I must confess that I have failed to appreciate his difficulty. The mind is the proper 'sensing' instrument. It is surely without a bodily organ like that of the recognised sense-organs. But it is for the function, not the structure, that mind is recognised as the sixth sense besides the five commonly recognised bodily sense-organs.

The article within a compass of eight pages brings together many judgments of a most interesting kind. I may differ from them. But Dr. Das is entitled to his opinions. However, one thing—neither he nor I would be entitled to, *viz.*, the insinuating tone and temper in a writing avowedly philosophical. All the same, if his writing and mine stimulate in any measure some philosophical thinking, our efforts, inspite of their faults, will have served some purpose.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 149

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE HON'BLE SRI KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

Labour Minister, Government of West Bengal

Before I proceed to discuss "Industrial Relations" I should recount a brief history of the origin of the Labour Movement in India. Till the end of the first world war, labour movement made little headway. The important industries like cotton, jute, iron and steel prospered during the war and made immense profits, but wages lagged behind prices, and labour, far from being allowed to participate in the unprecedented prosperity, often found conditions harder than before. The world-wide labour movement extended to India where for the first time the mass of industrial workers became conscious of their disabilities, particularly in the matter of wages and hours of work and to the possibilities of combination. The first signal for a labour unrest was given at Ahmedabed in 1918 where the mill workers under Mahatma Gandhi fought to a successful finish a non-violent war against the millowners.

In 1919 at its 35th session held at Amritsar, the Indian National Congress which stood for the elimination of foreign domination and of capitalist exploitation of the masses passed the following resolution :—

"This Congress urges its Provincial Committees and other affiliated associations to promote labour union throughout the country with a view to improving social, economic and political conditions of the labouring classes and securing for them a fair standard of living and a proper place in the body politic of India." During the year that followed the passing of this Resolution, the labour movement gained considerable momentum. Strikes in the industrial field which were almost unknown before 1918 became a common pheuomenon and by 1920-21 industrial strike became almost general in organised society. The All India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920 with Lala Lajpat Rai, the President of the Indian National Congress, as its first President. The worst period of such labour troubles coincided with the launching by the Indian National Congress of the most intensive political agitation ever known in Indian history. For many years the nationalist movement and the labour movement remained indistinguishable from each other.

In Great Britain and other industrially advanced countries of the West, Labour Management Relation is governed by agreements through collective bargaining but in India trade unionism is of recent origin. The first step made to set up a machinery for regulating relations between a group of employers and their workers was at Ahmedabad where following the movement under Mahatmaji's leadership, referred to earlier, a strong labour union was formed in 1920 which is to this day the biggest and most well-organised labour association in India.

In March, 1921, the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India, on the motion of Sri N. M. Joshi, the then General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress and a congressman at that time, passed a Resolution recommending that Government should introduce legislation for the registration and protection of trade unions. The influence of nationalist politics on the labour movement had mixed results. While it added intensity to the movement, it tended to increase bitterness and created in the minds of many employers a hostile bias against it. Thus though the Resolution was passed in 1921, the opposition to such a measure from Chambers of Commerce and other associations, which wielded considerable influence, was so great that it was not before 1926 that the necessary legislation could be placed on the Statute Book. An important stage was thus reached with the passing of the Indian Trade Unions Act in 1926 which gave a stimulus to the trade union movement, not so much by any rights and liabilities that it created but by the legal status which the Act gave to trade unions and which the employers were scarcely prepared to recognise. Registered unions incur certain obligations, the most important of which are the requirements to furnish audited accounts and the necessity of including in the executive a majority of actual workers. At the same time, registration confers on trade unions and their members a measure of immunity from civil suits and criminal prosecutions. As the law stands at present, registration generally involves no obligations that a bonafide union should not be willing to undertake. It necessitates a regular constitution, a periodical audit, composition of the executive so that a majority may be workers and the separation of political funds which can be collected only from those members who are willing to contribute. In return for compliance which these provisions, the union receives definite advantages as indicated above. Registration has thus served in many cases as a prime consideration with employers for recognition of uinons.

While the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, established the legal status of trade unions there was yet a machinery to be devised for regulating the industrial relations between the employer and employed by methods of conciliation and arbitration. The Trade Disputes Act of 1929 sought to establish the machinery for settlement of industrial disputes. It relied entirely on the creation of external machinery, namely, Courts of Enquiry and Boards of Conciliation for the investigation and settlement of disputes. It disregarded entirely the fact that by the time an industrial dispute reached the stage of a strike, relation between the employer and employed had become such as to make an agreed settlement difficult, if not impossible. It contained no provision whereby development of a dispute from the stage at which it might be settled by conciliation to the stage at which a strike became inevitable could be prevented. Equally, the Act did not provide for means whereby the decision of a Court of Enquiry or Conciliation could be implemented. It is no wonder, therefore, that for all practical purposes the Act remained a dead letter and exercised little or no influence on the relations between the employer and the employed.

It was in Bombay after the Congress formed a Ministry there following the elections in 1937 that the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act was passed in 1938 introducing machinery for conciliation and arbitration between the employer and the employed and establishing the principle of taking resort to conciliation as a compulsory measure before launching strike action. When the Act was amended in 1941 Government assumed powers to refer any industrial dispute to the arbitration of the industrial Court if the dispute was likely to cause serious disturbance to peace or hardship to community or the industry concerned was likely to be seriously disturbed and the prospects of employment curtailed. Similar powers were provided for in rule 81 of the Defence of India Rules, 1939, under which Government could refer disputes for conciliation or adjudication if it was necessary or expedient to do so for securing the defence of British India, public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the War or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community. Government could also prohibit strikes or lockouts in connection with such disputes and require the employer and the workmen to observe certain conditions and terms of employment for a given period and enforce the decision of the adjudicator. Thus, in principle as well as in the machinery set up during the war period, ground was prepared in advance for the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946 and the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

The Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946, aims at setting up Labour Courts for the disposal of disputes arising from the interpretation of standing orders by the employers and reference regarding illegal strikes and lockouts. It provides for the establishment of joint Committees in industrial establishments in order to iron out day-to-day differences between management and labour. It provides for the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes and empowers Government to make an award of an arbitrator binding on both parties. U.P. and C.P. have separate Acts of their own.

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 came into force on the 1st April, 1947. Except in U.P. and C.P. and Bombay this central Act is administered in all other States. It makes provision, amongst others, for the establishment of Works Committees in establishment employing 100 or more workmen so as to provide a forum where representatives of employer and workmen could meet and settle all minor disputes arising out of day-to-day administration by mutual discussion. The object of these Committees is to remove causes of friction and promote amity and goodwill between the employer and the employed by voluntary agreement and mutual understanding. The Act also provides for the establishment of a Board of Conciliation, a Board of Enquiry and also for setting up Industrial Tribunal for abjudication and for enforcing the awards made by such Tribunals.

The principle of compulsory adjudication enunciated in sections 10 (c) and 18 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, has often been criticised by employers and workmen alike. The employers argue that this is an encroachment on their natural right to run their business in their own way and to determine the relations with those in their employ while the contention of the workers is that by assuming such powers Government is depriving the working class of its rights of collective bargaining and concerted action. They even question the State's right of intervention in the sphere of the trade union movement of the country. Both these viewpoints lose sight of the fact that an industrial dispute is not a mere domestic matter between the employer and the employed but it affects a multitude of people who are in no way responsible for it. No State which claims to exist for promoting the maximum social good can be a mute observer to the industrial warfare resulting in huge loss in output and services that are essential to the community. The need for

Government intervention for regulating industrial relations arises from the interdependence of industry and the community.

Trade union movement in this State as also in many industrial areas in other States suffers from the following main handicaps and shortcomings:

(a) As most of the workers are illiterate, the executives manned by many outsiders do not always use the trade unions for the legitimate object of defending the social rights of workers and fighting for better living conditions for them. Thus an instrument which is fashioned for the defence of workers' rights is used by some unions as a battering ram in the class struggle.

(b) Very few unions have yet built up sufficient funds and acquired staying power for sustaining the morale of workers during the period of struggle by financial help.

(c) In certain undertakings in Ahmedabed, Jamshedpur, Calcutta and other centres, some trade unions possess unity and strength and capacity to drive collective bargaining. But in the great majority of the undertakings, the trade unions yet lack strength of cohesion and unity.

In advanced industrial countries, the percentage of unemployment is very low and that is a source of strength of the unions. In India, unemployment is so high that thousands are found to compete for vacancies caused by industrial strike. That is a grave source of weakness for Unions.

The State is anxious to help trade unions in its yet unequal struggle with the employers. In doing this, the state keeps in view three objectives:

(*i*) To prevent exploitation and give the workers a square deal;

(*ii*) To prevent loss of production, that is national income, by needless strike or other methods;

(*iii*) To create an atmosphere in which industries can thrive and more men may be employed.

In this desperately poor country, suffering from lack of capital, it is vitally important to keep the installed capacity of the existing and available capital fully utilised. It is felt that strikes should be considered as unnecessary if the State can make available to the parties an impartial body to conciliate or adjudicate and that strikes as well as slowdown and other tactics cripple the economic system. The provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, for creating Works Committees, Boards of Conciliation, Industrial Tribunals etc., are designed with the object of preventing needless strikes.

The Government of India have sponsored two legislations, namely, the Trade Unions Bill and the Labour Relations Bill, 1950, which are before a Select Committee, which is in session now. The object of these legislations is to suit the law according to present day needs. Much criticism has of course been levelled against some of the provisions of these Bills and it is not known in what shape they will finally emerge but the fact remains that no law can ensure good relation between the employer and the employed unless there is a mutual change of outlook. It is hoped that with the development of trade unions on sound lines which Government is always anxious to assist, industrial relations between the employers and the employed will gradually improve and circumstances favourable for the progressive industrialization of the country will be created.

READING FOR PLEASURE

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There is great importance attached to the reading of text-book in our schools and colleges. This is good to some extent but that cannot give our children comprehensive education. We must allow them a great deal of reading for pleasure for that is most effective. In that reading there is pleasure together with instruction, an ideal combination that an ideal teacher wants to arrive at in his daily teaching. T. S. Eliot has a fine thing to say when he is describing his experience of literature in his "Religion and Literature."

"But I incline to come to the alarming conclusion that it is just the literature that we read for "amusement," or "purely for pleasure" that may have the greatest, and least suspected influence upon us. It is the literature which we read with the least effort that can have the easiest and most insidious influence upon us."

I find the conclusion not at all alarming. We all know how our real education begins when we have finished with our formal education (why not call that instruction?) in schools and colleges. Real education is experience, it is true, that we get by entering on life itself independently. Think of the reading you do not for the sake of a degree, not for the sake of teaching and helping other to secure degrees; think of the reading you do for your pure amusement. It may be the reading of a novel, of a drama, of a short story, even of a serious book. But that reading gives you tremendous joy and rich experience. You are at liberty, not only that, you have fullest possible joy, to analyse what you read and you do it according to your convenience. That reading profits you immensely. That reading we should encourage in our schools and colleges. Let them read freely whatever books they want to read out of a large number of good books selected by you for their use. The result will be infinitely encouraging, encouraging because your children will like to read more and more with all the more increasing good effect upon their mental and moral development. Their experience will gather strength, point and variety. In fact, whole of life will pass into their experience. Will that not be genuinely uplifting?

It is good to ask our students to study classical writers. By classical I don't mean most ancient writers. By classical writers

I mean writers who established their reputation, in some past age, as writers, and who have now passed into the ranks of great minds of so many countries with so many literatures and languages. They are good to study. They have a lot of wisdom to communicate and they communicate it in a most fascinating fashion. They have a wealth of life; they have a new world of thoughts and ideas. We want that world of new ideas and thoughts to supplement our own world of comparatively small ideas. But that world is not all. And then our students will experience some difficulty in making their way through that mass of knowledge. It might not be possible for them, when they are mere students to re-capture the joys and experiences of those writers as recorded in their brilliant writings. If that is not possible if our students are not able to do that re-living of those experiences, all that the writers have done is a waste to them. What is the function of a writer? Has he not to re-live his experiences with his readers? If he is not able to do that he has failed in his mission and the reader is not to draw what he ought to from his reading of that writer. But this difficulty disappears if our students are given for reading contemporary writings. These contemporary writings might not be so elevating as those of classical writers of other ages. But they can definitely teach and delight simultaneously. And that is all that we want when we think of right education of our students.

In contemporary literature you have your own life before you and you have so many points of contact in it that you can make it your own if you just decide to do so. The world is growing and with it the world of ideas is also growing. You want to live in this growing world. You must read its growing literature and that is contemporary literature. It is in this literature that you have the closest of connexion between life and literature From your experiences in life you can pass on to experiences as recorded in contemporary literature and you will not feel that there is any discontinuity provided you are gifted with wide reading and experience.

And so T. S. Eliot has rightly observed :

"Hence it is that the influence of popular novelists and of popular plays of contemporary life, requires to be scrutinized most closely. And it is chiefly *contemporary* literature that the majority of people ever read in this attitude of "purely of pleasure," of pure passivity."

Again this is a quotation from his "Religion and Literature." I quite agree with him but I don't like his use of two words (pure passivity). I cannot think of pure passivity if there is going to be some intelligent reading, reading that is to influence our future course If we are lost in the reading of a book, it is just possible that there is no contemplation on our part, and without that how can talk of any influence? Reading must be intelligent, with ever-increasing sensibility, and that reading alone can lead us along the paths of greatness. One think more. Why should T. S. Eliot confine himself to works of fiction in contemporary literature? There is effective reading serious works of literature, as well but let them be contemporary in their interest and contents. So I will like to add "serious popular writers" to the list of writers who influence as the most.

But I entirely agree with his thesis. We should not shun contemporary literature. Nations are made by it. Why not profit by it?

What do you think of "political literature?" It is current life as it is current politics. Now think of its influence. I might illustrate my point. Think of political literature in India. Who is there who has not been tremendously affected by the wrtings of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru? Why forget Rabindranath Tagore? You might say : "He was chiefly a poet." But poet was he not of extreme patriotism? Think of his prose-writings. Do they not breathe a stream of intense patriotism? How can you forget his writings? Even when he seems to write pure poetry he has the political bias and his poetry becomes unlimitedly compelling and elevating. He might appear to take you into a world of dreams but those dreams are in the interest of his country. India in his time was not free and he wanted her to be free.

> Free me from the bonds of your
> sweetness, my love! No more of this
> wine of kisses.
>
> This mist of heavy incense stifles
> my heart.
>
> Open the doors, make room for the
> morning light.
>
> I am lost in you; wrapped in the
> folds of your caresses.
>
> Free me from your spells, and give
> me back the manhood to offer you my
> freed heart.

Read these sweet lines from Tagore. You might say that they are all ecstasy, all emotion, dedicated to some Beauty, the poet cherished the most in his heart of hearts. True, there is a complete and splendid picture of emotion, of one face to face with his Love. Upon reflection one will imagine a lover, not at all fed up with his love. The love wants to be free in his lover ; he must have, he seems to suggest, infinite liberty to love his Beloved. And so he wants to possess a freed heart. This freed heart is not to be devoid of love. On the other hand, it is to be filled with love in a larger measure. But upon deeper feeling and reflection, you will find the patrictism of the poet breaking out in a song of sacred joy. He hates to have the wine of kisses. He has no meaning for intoxication. He wants work, ceaseless work for he has to possess a freed heart, fully at liberty to do what it wants to do. He is out for receiving light and illumination so that it might be possible for him to possess real freedom and joy.

If you read such lines of pure and applied ecstasy the result is bound to be tremendously beneficial to us. Now we are free. Why not have our contemporary reading and literature for our students? We can begin with the writngs of Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and others of that class. We might not come down to meanest of our writers of contemporary literature. But that does not mean that we are to exclude our classical writers, belonging to various countries of the world. What I want to insist upon is the study of books for pleasure and they may be taken from contemporary literature Yes, one thing more. We have not to confine ourselves to our own writers. We can study contemporary writers of other lands through translation. My point is that we can get best books for influencing our students in schools and colleges from contemporary writers of the world. Then our students will have real reading for pleasure and persuation.

I will like to illustrate my idea from the poetry of late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also. I find her poetry fully for pleasure and persuation. There are some, who regard her poetry as a poetry of escape ; there are some, who hold that her poetry opens up a dreamland of ideas, not of this world. But I don't see anything in her poetry to fall in line with these people. I like to go beyond her emotion : I like to go beyond the magic of words and sweetness of harmony, so inseparably associated with her poetry. I quite agree that there is abundance of music and beauty of words and telling combinations of words. But I see something beyond them : I see a real world, of ordinary sights and sounds. But these ordinary sights and sounds have been presented to us in a fascinating fashion, at once compelling and elevating. Mark the beauty of these lines :

Take my flesh to feed your dogs if you choose,
Water your garden-trees with my blood if you will,
Turn my heart into ashes, my dreams into dust—
Am I not yours, O Love, to cherish or kill?

Strangle my soul and fling in into the fire!
Why should my true love falter or fear or rebel?
Love, I am yours to lie in your breast like a flower,
Or burn like a weed for your sake in the flame of
hell.

These lines might remind us of some *progressive* poetry of the day but that they are not. In them there is a contemplation of a very beautiful idea. Music may not be as intense as it is generally found in her poetry but the idea is deepest. The figures used by the poet are most common but the thing communicated is nothing short of the divine. There is extreme devotion and in it all that the poet imagines is possible. There is no real air of a dreamland about these lines. Apparently, one might notice wealth of imagination or of the imaginary in this poem : but the reality is of the essence. There is the idea of perfect surrender in devotion. Also, there is intense fearlessness. That fearlessness denotes purity of love and devotion. To the Indian student there is nothing but pleasure and persuation in these lines : and this I call reading for pleasure or for amusement. And this is real reading, real enlightenment, combining pleasure with persuation, reading that will form our taste and enable us to use our reading in actual life both for our profit and for the profit of the world.

Now silent, now singing and swaying and singing
like blossoms that bend to the breezes or
showers.
Now wantonly winding, they flash, now they falter,
and, lingering, languish in radiant choir :
Their jewel-girt arms and warm, wavering, lily-long
fingers enchant through melodious hours,
Eyes ravished with rapture, celestially panting,
what passionate bosoms aflaming with fire !

We, in India, are quite familiar with this picture : the picture is of dancers. All the. details are there. Not only that. As you read these lines the Indian dancers appear dancing before your eyes. That is all that you can demand from the poet. She wanted to describe the Indian dancers. That description she has given so admirably. There is something moving in these lines : there is an evidence of an ecstatic mood. And that is the reality. You are face to face with the actual dancing.

But there the poet has not stopped. She has told us why these dancers dance. What is it that they want to communicate? And what has forced them to indulge in this ecstasy? There is some sacred passion, some celestial panting. These dancers are God—intoxicated, and they are dancing to the tune of the Lord Himself. But this idea only we, Indians, can catch. And we catch it because we are familiar with this picture of celestial panting. Beyond emotion and ecstasy there is thus a philosophy and that philosophy is our own. In East, especially in India, there is a general effort to meet God in all spheres of life. Dancing, associated with temples in India, must be such a sacred effort. That is the fire behind dancing, as seen by the poet.

In such pieces of poetry you have genuine emotion together with some definite idea. Reading of it will give us combined pleasure and instruction. We must give our students such a treasure of literature. I don't say we cannot find this treasure in literature of other countries. But we can find it in particular abundance in our own literature. Today, when efforts are made to reorganise our courses in various subjects we must keep this fact in mind. Let us shape our courses according to the needs of times. We must ask our students to study contemporary literature of our own land and of the world along with it.

THE MYSTICAL CONCEPTION OF REASON IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF VICTOR COUSIN

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Mysticism is proverbially opposed to reason. Yet the conception of reason in the philosophies of Plato, Plotinus, Descartes, Spinoza and Kant in the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* has, from the epistemic point of view, been fundamentally mystical in character. This paper seeks to bring out the continuation of this tendency towards a mystical conception of reason in modern times in the thought of the French philosopher Victor Cousin (1792-1867).

Cousin subscribed to the school of thought commonly known as eclecticism, which, founded in France by Royer Collard, held unopposed, in his time, the monopoly of academic thought in that country. The fundamental principle upon which ecleticism proceeded was that any attempt at new construction in philosophy must be vain and useless and that the object of philosophical studies must be the extrication of truth piecemeal from the already existing systems of the past in which it lies embedded in and intermingled with error. For there is, according to this doctrine a 'visionic' element, a 'soul of truth,' as Spencer would put it, in every doctrine, even in an erroneous one.

The roots of the mystical element in Cousin's thought lay in his leading the way in the carrying out of this program. Commenting upon, translating and explaining ancient and modern philosophies, he took it upon himself "to rebuild eternal beliefs in accordance with the spirit of the age". He gave himself, however, true to the real eclectic outlook, to critical analysis rather than to the exposition of ancient thought, because he believed that "since we are in accord with the school that we combat, we shall have only to point out the wrong, narrow or superficial applications that have been made of it." Thus, while he professed to follow its direction, he insistently and constantly corrected its errors, often guiding himself in these historical studies by Leibniz's maxim that 'systems are true by what they affirm but false by what they deny.' We find accordingly that the view of life and the universe at which he finally arrived combined into one the critical philosophy of Kant without its scepticism, the transcendentalisms of Schelling and Hegel without their errors, the intuitionalism of Scottish thought without its limitations and the mysticism of Neo-Platonism without its fantasies. In this manner, out of the reminiscences of German idealism and numerous extracts from the Scottish psychologists, Cousin built up his own conception of Philosophy whose cardinal points were psychology and metaphysics and arrived at that form of mysticism which he called the new, the rational mysticism. In the unfication of the philosophies of the past, however, he throughout sought to aid himself by what he conceived as the experimental method. His philosophical formula is, first, by means of accurate introspection, to extract from our minds, a number of fundamental general ideas, and, then, to elaborate them into a metaphysical theory, throughout, above all, observing religious and philosophical orthodoxy. "Psychology", he said, "is the bridge over which we shall be led to metaphysics. Ontology shall then be supplied with a sure foundation and an adequate instrument and with a broad and solid basis. The *a priori* shall be attained *a posteriori*."

This, according to Cousin, is the task of reason. Reason, however, he insists, is not to be conceived only as conscious determination, but also as an instinct. Reason does not stand merely for the formal laws of thought. It is not merely the procedure, the outward dress thought must adopt. It is the inner source of thought. It is the essence from which all thought proceeds. It is the depth of the soul, in other words, whence the very matter of thought issues out.

To understand the character of reason, therefore, while, it is, for Cousin, of course necessary to enumerate the principles of the mind, it is certainly more important to grasp them in a unity. The logic, in other words, may be useful, but the epistemology of reason is more valuable. In saying this Cousin is really voicing the mystic protest against the popular exaggeration of the value of the formal strictly logical character of reason. Reason may demand the ovservance of certain principles of procedure in our argumentations. But we are not interested in it as such. We, as philosophers, are only interested in reason as the truth-yielding faculty, as the faculty that penetrates into the one ultimate principle of being.

Viewed thus, reason has, according to him, two principal characteristics, spontaneity and impersonality. Reason is impersonal. If reason were an individual faculty, it would be variable like our will, or relative like our senses. But it is the same for all men. We do not speak of *my* truth. Reason is *the* truth, manifesting itself not in me but in man. An appeal to reason is not an appeal to the mere individual, but to that which is common to all individuals. In this impersonality or universality of reason Cousin recognised the best safeguard against anarchy and individualism. It is the supremacy of reason which binds men together. All relativism, and consequently all scepticism, is waived aside. Reason has absolute value, but is not only man's reason. It is reason in itself. Man merely participates in it. It is merely revealed to man by necessary principles.

This takes us to the second general characteristic of reason. Reason is spontaneous. Here we find Cousin giving a definitely mystical colouring to his conception of reason. His spontaneous reason is but another name for mystic intuition, as was the Pure Thought of Plotinus or the reason or logos of Plato. We are confirmed in this interpretation when he makes this characteristic the basis of a very important distinction between the philosophical reason and the logical reason, which, for convenience, he calls 'reflection'. By emphasising upon and establishing the spontaneity of pure reason, he sought to save philosophy from Kant's subjectivism, which, he said, was due to Kant contemplating the laws of the mind at the reflective instead of at the spontaneous stage. Reason is subjective, he believed, only when it is reflective. From the reflective point of view which Cousin also calls the standpoint of the understanding, we are driven from one cause to another, each of which is imperfect, transitory and self-transcendent and points beyond itself, so that it is unable to reach a supreme cause and the phenomena that we apprehend in our selves never represent the absolute substance. When, on the other hand, reason is spontaneous, all subjectivity and self-transcendence disappears, and it grasps immediately the absolute and is thereby indentified with it.

By this distinction, however, between, the reflective and the spontaneous points of view, and the rejection of the former while conceiving the latter as instinctive participation in the truth, Cousin's method of experiment takes on a meaning and significance quite different from what it had for his predecessors or contemporaries. He thus appears as a new and original interpreter of the method. Because he believed in the truly experimental character of his own formulations, he flattered himself on having been a faithful follower of the experimental method and on having practised it better than the century that so loved and extolled it. The principle of the method according to the then current notion of it consisted in seeking out the genesis of all that is in the soul and in considering nature itself as an earlier custom. Accordingly they demanded the carrying of analysis as far as possible and the resolving into parts of even what seemed at first indivisible. This, however, for Cousin, would be mere reflection. The true way of inquiry into the genesis of all in the soul would, for him, lie in not merely reflective analysis but the spontaneous and instinctive life of the reason. The truly experimental method would consist in going back to the primitive, spontaneous and instinctively given absolute truth of reason.

Thus formulating his experimental method, Cousin would no doubt, as Lévy-Bruhl points out in criticism, share somewhat the romanticism of the adversaries of the method such as De Maistre who reproached the philosophers of the eighteenth century with destroying life and poetry and tried to go back to some mysterious unfathomable divine spontaneity of thought. But, he thereby formulated what can really be called an experimental method in so far as such an experience alone and not analytical reflection can give us the reality of experiential and experimental truth. Cousin's method was directly opposed to what was popularly known as the experimental method. But his claim as a truer interpreter of what an experimental method ought to be deserves to be understood and recognised.

The romantic element in this interpretation of the experimental method and in the distinction between the logical and the spontaneous instinctive reason was foreshadowed by Cousin's early symapathies with the violent rise of a strong movement in Germany of protest against the too analytical spirit of eighteenth century France. This movement set against the cold and chilling light of analysis the fruitful chiaroscuro of natural spontaneity and against the conscious processes of reflection the imperceptible movement of living nature. It found its way in quite a mystical shape into the teachings of Fichte and Schelling with which Cousin became acquainted in his youth, while with one of its chief representatives A.W. Schlegel he had in Paris opportunities for intercourse. His lectures from 1818 to 1829 were all full of their philosophy.

Infused at its foundation with this mystic romanticism, Cousin's rejection of reflection is nothing but what we nowadays call anti-intellectualism, the negative movement essentially involved in all mysticism. His emphasis on the attainment of impersonal absolute truth in an immediate and spontaneous act of pure reason is clearly a restatement of the mystic's positive doctrine of knowldge, only using the term 'reason' where the latter would speak of 'intuition'. Non-intellectuality, immediacy, and sense of reality all fundamentally characterise its essential nature. It is non-transcendent, being the attainment of eternally self-identical absolute truth. It has even, it seems, a tinge of ineffability and unanalysability for Cousin. For he wrote: "I shall perhaps never succeed in investigating its essence." It gives him, however, a certainty without doubt. "What I know very well is, that whenever it appears to me I have the intuition of what is immovable, necessary and absolute." At a later period, Cousin expressly linked the two features of reason, impersonality and spontaneity, together into a higher, the idea of infinite or absolute, which is God, in whom the one and the many, the real and the phenomenal, are united, and who is the fundation of all thought. Here "The Unconditioned, the Absoluted the Infinite, is immediately known in consciousness, and this by difference, plurality and relation". "To think, is to know that we think, to trust one's thought, to believe in the principle of thought, ... so that all thought implies ultimately the spontaneous belief in God." "Reason", for Cousin, is God looking down upon man and revealing himself to man under the form of absolute truth." Indeed the mystic in Cousin had already decisively burst out when he said that reason in knowing the absolute in a spontaneous and immediate act is identified with it. This reminds one of Schelling's intellectual intuition inspite of Cousin's constant insistence on and of the undoubted fact of the difference between the two on account of his own psychological as against Schelling's *a priori* point of departure.

This mystic phase in Cousin's thought developed further still in his lectures of 1829, where the most fundamental ideas, extracted from the mind as pure spontaneous reason by introspection in accordance with his psychological program for philosophy, are those of the Infinite, the Finite and the Relation between the Finite and the Infinite. These ideas, he said, are basic and are met everywhere and are inseparable. Insistence on their importance leads him on in his next work on *The True, the Beautiful and the Good*—a revised form of his lectures of 1817-18 published in 1845—to uphold and emphasise more and more an alliance between philosophy and religion. Philosophy would in this alliance be reduced to a struggle against bad doctrines rather than to a pure science, and, having given up the analytical method, would find itself reunited with religion, which would in its turn concede more and more of authority to common sense and experience. What does this come to except mysticism, where philosophy finds itself identified with religion in its metaphysics and where religion, from the epistemic point of view, is realized in all its divine glory in the immediate experience of the individual?

The germ of this mystic tendency in Cousin had already begun to appear in the twenties when he rejected the doctrine of the empiricists and expressed his abhorrence of the meterialism involved in the doctrines of the eigheenth century. Materialism he styled as 'a desolate doctrine'. He endeavoured to raise the dignity and conception of man as a spiritual being. In the preface to his lectures of 1818 on *The True, the Beautiful and the Good,* he laid stress on the element of his philosophy which subordinates the sensory and sensual to the spiritual. The essentially spiritual nature of man, in other words his pure spontaneous reason, reveals a God who is both the author and the ideal type humanity, a Being who is not indifferent to the welfare and the happiness of his creatures.

Throughout the development of Cousin's thought there runs in fact a vein of romanticism which uncovers the mystic's rationalistic veil and shows him in his true colours. The reason which seeks and immediately attains fundamental truth appears finally as the mystic's experience of spirtual, as against material or analytic, truth. The sense of reality in an immediate experience of the individual reigns supreme in his spontaneous act of the pure reason. Even in describing its impersonality Cousin is different radically from the rationalist. In the 'pure apperception', he writes, the absolute is in itself and not in us. "The absolute soars above humanity and nature, dominates and rules over them both eternally, with only this difference: the one knows it and the other does not."

The pure reason of Cousin, it remains to be noticed, is an act of the mind anterior to the stage of reflections. The prior stage is the spontaneous act which he calls the 'pure apperception of truth'. Here truth appears as an intuition, as an inspiration. It is a simple experience of the true. Later, however, it is that the stage of reflection sets in the discursive and analytic act of the mind which concerns itself with an abstract analytic examination into the necessity of the truth already obtained.

This placing of the immediate apprehension of truth as a stage prior and anterior to the logical reflection is characteristic of the type of mystic tendency we find in Cousin. It further appears in his emphais upon the spontaneous character of the pure reason. The spontaneous act of the pure reason is indeed, according to him, necessarily presupposed as precedent to all reflection. For whatever is reflected implies something, something primitive and original. Our voluntary gestures, for instance, we have already made spontaneosly. It is the same with the sounds we emit in language. How could we deliberate upon the reflective use we are to make of our liberty had not a spontaneous use of it first made us aware of its existence? In like manner, in the sphere of reason, reflective judgment presupposes a prior spontaneous operation which is precisely the pure apperception of reason.

What Cousin therefore asks for is a going back from the reflective to the spontaneous point of view. No doubt, in this, "it is our lot to seek the spontaneous point of view by the help of reflection, that is to say, to destroy it by our very search." In the search, the light of the understanding which proceeds from the distinctness and definiteness of our ideas makes the deeper region of spontaneity, in which pure apperception apprehends the essential being without dividing or defining it, seem a little dark to us; so that the light of the understanding, which is a mere reflection, appears to us superior to the indistinct light of pure reason. But the latter, the more primitive and the more undifferentiated, is also the more real. Without it, judgment itself would be impossible. It is the undifferentiated truth, the That, whose elements and aspects are later brought out by analytical reflection.

The principal factor which led to this type of mystical philosophy in Cousin was his sympathy for romanticism. Romanticism called him back to the primitive and the instinctive, to the unanalysed and the undifferentiated, to the basic mysterious source of all analysis in a spontaneous immediacy of the soul. The general tendency of French electicism also influenced him in the same direction by proceeding upon the principle that truth was not to be constructed anew, but was already 'given.'

Round the World

Memory of Tolstoy

Of late the memory of Tolstoy has become dim. To read his books is no longer much in fashion. Thirty years ago it was otherwise. Possibly the entry of Gandhiji into Indian politics had then provided the inspiration. Every body knew that he had correspondence with the Count and drew ideas from him. So Tolstoy was brought into vogue and along with him several great continental writers as well. Many young students were found to grapple with the massive volumes of War and Peace (in English translation). It does not seem that now a days any undergrad will touch them with a pair of tongs.

During the early stages of the Russo-German War the memory of Tolstoy was revived by the news of the sack of his house by the German invaders. Voks published elaborate details as to the vandalism committed by Hitler's soldiers in his mansion which was there maintained as a museum. News of the recent death of his eighty-six years old daughter in Italy has turned the attention of many again to Tolstoy and his life. Tatyana, the daughter referred to, is reported to have left a diary depicting many of the activities of her great father. It should be interesting when brought out.

Nobel Prize for Ralph Bunche

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to Ralphe Bunche not only brings into further prominence a personality already prominent in public eye but focusses the attention of the world on the progress made by a group of American people during less than one hundred years. It was not till 1863 that first steps were taken by Abraham Lincoln for the liberation of the Negro slaves of the white Americans. The Proclamation was issued only as a war measure by the President in his capacity of Commander in Chief. When the Civil War started, Lincoln was not an abolitionist. He was out only to save the Union which the Southern secessionists threatened to disrupt. It was in fact by way of achieving this object that he issued the Proclamation. Thereafter when the war ended and peace returned more constitutional steps were taken not only for the abolition of slavery but for the conferment of citizenship rights on the liberated slaves. Law notwithstanding, tradition died hard in the United States as in other countries and inspite of theoretical equality in the eye of law, the Negroes have suffered grievously during the last eight decades and a half from differential treatment. But all the same they have made enormous progress in civilisation and culture.

In this regard thanks are due both to private and to Government efforts. It is true that the Government has not looked after the Negro citizens in the same way as it has looked after the whites. But all the same there is no denying the fact that much was done for the education and uplift of the former slaves and their descendants. Private efforts also have been made on a creditable scale. In this connection the name of Booker T. Washington comes uppermost in our mind. Himself a former slave, he was a prince among men and has left his memory enshrined in the famous Tuskegee Institute in the deep south. To-day there is not s single field in which the members of this American group have not shown their merit. In art and literature, science and law, they have given evidence of great ability. In the conduct of public administration, in fighting a war and in tackling the problems of peace they have shown equal genius. Ralph Bunche who is a former Professor of Political Science has already impressed his personality upon the activities of the United Nations. He is only forty-five now and has many years before him to devote to the service of humanity. We have no doubt that the increase of his own stature will mean the increase of the stature of the much wronged community he represents.

Constitutional Monarchy and Kind Edward VII

The functions, powers and influence of the constitutional monarch in England have varied during the last one century according as the personality of the monarch has varied. It is common knowledge that Queen Victoria did not during the greater part of her reign allow the monarch to be a cipher in the governance of the realm. She was a factor to be reckoned with not only in the choice of high officers but in the conduct of foreign relations. But towards the close of the long reign age made her incapable of minding official business. This made the Cabinet increasingly independent in action and indifferent to the prerogatives of the Crown. But King Edward rectified the position largely in time. In this connection the following from Lord Hardinge's Old Diplomacy is likely to be interesting to the readers :

"There is little doubt that during the last few years of Queen Victoria's reign, when her energy and industry began to fail almost imperceptibly, the power of the Cabinet gradually grew, and many important decisions of the Cabinet were carried out without the usual reference to the Queen. As far as I know there was no abuse of power by the Cabinet, but gradually the Sovereign was, chiefly on account of her health, consulted less and less. It was only a short time before the Queen's death that the Prince of Wales was permitted to know anything of the foreign policy of the country, or even to see the daily sections of the Foreign Office telegrams which were circulated to every member of the Cabinet and to all the Government Departments. When the King ascended the throne he demanded, and very rightly too, that he should not be ignored and that he should be consulted and kept informed of the policy of his Government, especially in connection with Foreign Affairs. To this demand he experienced at first a certain opposition, especially on the part of the Foreign Office, and he had, in my opinion, good grounds for complaint. However, he was not the sort of man to be thwarted by any Cabinet or Minister, and he very soon levelled all the barriers opposed to him and by the soundness of his views on all matters referred to him, soon convinced the Government that from his knowledge of men and his shrewd appreciation of events his advice was well worth taking on all questions of the hour."

But the King did not have everything as he wanted. "It was in the autumn of 1909 that I had my one and only conflict of opinion with King Edward. While Mr. Haldane was in attendance upon the King at Balmoral and Secretary of State for War, he asked the King's permission to send the Guards' Band to Cologne to play in public at the request of the Mayor of Cologne. Sir E. Grey was away in the North fishing and I was in charge of the Foreign Office. Mr. Haldane had not consulted Sir Edward Grey and as soon as I heard that permission had been granted by the King, I pointed out to Mr. Haldane that the Foreign Office had not been consulted as it should have been, and that I knew Sir E. Grey would disapprove since similar requests made from France had been refused and that in the meantime the departure should be delayed. I wrote at once to Sir E. Grey, who replied that he was opposed to the Band going to Germany and I told Mr. Haldane of Grey's objections. Mr. Haldane told the King, who was very angry and poured all the vials of his wrath on my poor head. For three weeks angry telegrams came every other day to the Foreign Office. But Sir E. Grey supported me stoutly throughout. An amusing sidelight was that twice a week I received a haunch of venison from the King at Balmoral till I could hardly bear mention of the word venison without a feeling of nausea. A lady visitor at Balmoral told me afterwards that the King told her and another lady how angry he was with me and that he was so excited that he walked up and down the room saying, "Am I King or am I not!"

Paying the Teachers

The following from the Spectator (August 11, 1950) may be full of significance to us:

"The importance of the revision of teachers' salaries on which the Burnham Committee is now engaged, can hardly be exaggerated, for it affects the whole field of education of every grade. If able teachers in sufficient numbers are not provided for the schools, the schools will not send up to the universities boys and girls adequately prepared, and the products of the Universities, a large proportion of them teachers in their turn, will be of steadily diminishing quality. The state of affairs cannot be contemplated without grave anxiety. Men cannot reasonably be asked to accept substantially worse conditions than are obtainable in many other occupations open to them. An article in Tuesday's Times contains some striking figures. A science graduate teacher (receiving at slightly increase remuneration by virtue of being a graduate) gets a various specific ages £ 393; £ 555; £ 657 and, as a final maximum, £ 673. The comparable figures for science graduates employed by a well known business firm are £ 770 ; £ 1,150 ; £ 1,750 and £ 2,050. No one, of course, can expect local authorities to pay teachers on anything like the latter scale, but at least the disparity between payments in schools and payments in business and the professions can and must be made less glaring than it is."

Freedom of Speech and Association

Sometime ago Mr. Dingle Foot, a British Liberal leader, emphasised the need of allowing the right of free speech even to Communists and Fascists. This is in line with orthodox liberal thought in England. Fortunately political atmosphere in that country is still such as not to be a serious obstacle to the maintenance of that excellent tradition. But it should be remembered that even in that country Sir Oswald Mosley had to be shut up in prison by a Government with which Mr. Foot was himself associated. In other countries, though inclined to maintain the principles of democracy, circumstances may not be even as propitious as they are in England. Even in the interests of democracy itself some of its principles may have to be acted upon for only in a modified form. In the U. S. A. for instance where freedom of speech and association is guaranteed by the constitution of the country the German-American Bund had to be banned lest it should sabotage all defence activities in the country and prepare the way there for the reception of Nazi ideas. In Czechoslovakia out of regard for democratic principles no action was taken against the activities of the Sudetan Germans in time. Their propaganda against the Czechoslovak state organisation was tolerated beyond danger point. The result was the submergence of the state and its dissolution at the hands of the Nazis. In India also the principles which John Stuart Mill had preached with such fervour have been woven into the texture of the Constitution. But we should be in no illusion as to their being acted up to in all circumstances without danger to the state. Muslim communalism was started in this country as rather a harmless demand, fortyfive years ago, for safeguarding the social, cultural and political interests of that community but ultimately it culminated in the division and disruption of India. In view of this we should beware of the starting of similar propaganda anew. It will be suicidal to allow it in the name of fundamental rights.

Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations

At the time of writing the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations has just been opened by Pandit Nehru at Lucknow. Its deliberations have not yet properly started. Whatever may be the outcome of these deliberations, there is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the Conference is from more than one standpoint of great significance at this time.

First set up nearly a quarter of a century ago, the present Conference is the eleventh of its kind. As a rule it meets in alternate years and it is for the first time that a session is being held in India. In fact India's direct association with this Conference is only recent. Before the last War either on the ground that India was not immediately on the Pacific Ocean or on the ground that she was not a full-fledged international person, she was excluded from the Conference. In a sense such exclusion was rather anomalous. Although still a dependency of Britain India was an original member of the League Nations. Consequently India's exclusion from this Conference could not be justified by her political dependence on Britain. It did not also stand to reason to argue that India was not a Pacific state. The fact was that the British Government did not entertain the idea of, widening further the international contact of this country and on that ground set its foot down on India's connection with the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

During the second World War, however, the British Government consented, possibly because of pressure of American opinion, to India's inclusion in the Conference. Even then it saw to it that only those representatives who were in its good books were elected to the Conference. To this end representatives were nominated by the President of the now defunct Indian Institute of International Affairs, this President being personagrata with the Government of India. Naturally there was protest against the arrangement followed. Under the constitution of the Institute of Pacific Relations there is to be a national body in every member-state and this body is to be entrusted with the election of delegates to the Conference. The Indian Council of World Affairs had already been constituted under non-official auspices. Consequently it was in the fitness of things that this body should be regarded as the national body for the purpose. But it was bypassed and the Indian Institute of International Affairs, sponsored by the officials, was for the time being chosen as the national body. Even then it was not its executive body but its President who was made the instrument of selection. As a result of the protest, however, the arrangement had later to be altered, and the Indian Council of World Affairs whose first Chairman was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru came to be recognised as the national body.

The Far East is in cauldron. The problems of the Pacific World are now as manifold as they are complicated. The experts now meeting at Lucknow are reported to have divided themselves into three groups for proper study and discussion of these problems. Round one table they will discuss the problems of India, Pakistan, and Burma. Round a second they will similarly discuss and thrash out problems of China, Japan and Korea. A third group will come to grip with the problems of the territories in South-East Asia. It is our hope that at the end of the two weeks' discussionour knowledge of these complicated questions will be greater and theissues clearer. We may know by then as to what we are confronted with and what steps we should take to meet the problems.

The British Labour Completes Fifty Years

The British Labour Party is celebrating its fiftieth birth anniversary at Margate at the time of writing. Started under the leadership of the late Keir Hardie, the Party made rapid strides in the following decades. British Labour Movement had of course its origin in the activities of the Chartists in the last century. But it was limited at first to the organisation of trade unions and gaining a rightful place for such unions in the running of industry and pursuit of trade. It is true that one or two labourites got into the House of Commons but this they succeeded in doing through the good graces of the Liberal Party under whose sheltering wing they served in the House. Ideas of socialism were at first preached and spread on a cautious basis by the Fabian Society. But in 1893 was established the Independent Labour Party which was more militant in outlook and its workers (including the late Viscount Snowden) carried its messages to every nook and corner of the country. Many people, not necessarily workers, were thus converted to the principles of socialism and the labour movement which had been confined hitherto very largely to trade unionists now claimed the services of a large body of intellectual socialists as well. The British Labour (Parliamentary) Party formed under the leadership of Keir Hardie drew its sinews mostly no doubt from the subscriptions of the trade unions but included in the list of its supporters both trade unionists and others.

This party got its first opportunity in the general elections held in November, 1905. It succeeded then in geting returned to the House of Commons a good contingent of labour members who sat and acted separately from the Liberal Party. There is no denying the fact that without their presence in the House it would not have occurred to Lloyd George to introduce in Parliament as Chancellor of the Exchequer the socialistic measures which became the foundation of the present day welfare state that Britain has come to be. The War of 1914-18 was, however, deletarious in its effect on labour solidarity. One wing of the party was now pacifist but a larger body of members cooperated whole-heartedly with the Government in the conduct of the War. In the Khaki elections of 1918 the Labour Party could consequently make no headway. But four years later it had the opportunity of its life. Lloyd George and his coalitionist gang were discredited, the Liberal Party had no programme and was between two stools of labour-socialism and jingo conservatism. So while in this election the Conservatives secured a majority, the Labour Party became His Majesty's Opposition. Two years later again though without amajority of its own in the House the Labour Party formed its first Government. It was a short-lived one but it gave the Labour leaders an excellent experience, which stood them in good stead five years later (in 1929) when again the Labour Party was put into power. This second experiment also lasted only two years. Mostly because of internal bickerings and mutual jealousies among leaders the Labour Government was ousted though its erstwhile leader remained at the head of the new cabinet for four years longer.

It is not necessary here to refer to the role of the Labour Party during the second World War. It is only pertinent to point out that after the debacle and surrender of Germany the Labourites withdrew from the National Government and got prepared for the general election which was held in autumn 1945. Much to the chagrin of Churchil the electors of Britain dismissal him from the Premiership and placed Mr. Attlee and his colleagues in Downing Street. During the last five years the Labour Government has had an excellent record to its credit. It has demonstrated very manifestly that if the Government is honest and efficient it may transform a capitalist state into a socialist bastion without the necessity of violence and revolution. It was a lesson which the people of the world required to learn.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Autobiography (Abridged), by M. K. Gandhi. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 253. Rs. 3-12-0. Library Edition, Rs. 5-8-0. 1950.

Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography—*The Story of My Experiments with Truth* is a well-known book, a work which will be a source of inspiration to its numerous readers for generations. To make it easily accessible and understandable to young readers, the book has been considerably abridged and divided into 6 parts—Mahatmaji's Childhood, his stay in England, his legal practice in Bombay, his days in South Africa, his beginnings in India and return to South Africa, and then the Indian movement up to 1921. It is in bulk more than double the size of *My Early Life* which ends with 1914, and it contains all the chapters of the original "of narrative content". Published with the permission of the Navajiban Trust, it is an authoritative text, and it will bring home to the reader Mahatmaji's message of truth and non-violence, the more so because it retains his language.

P. R. SEN

Hindu Muslim Accord, by Syed Mahmud. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

In the first few chapters of this reprint in book form of a series of articles originally published in "The Statesman", Dr. Mahmud traces the rise of Islamic culture in India. He passes next to the resemblances in dress, festivals, and language between Hindus and Muslims and makes a strong plea for the unification of these two communities in the interests of a strong nation. Blame is thrown on the third party, the white man, for his policy of divide and rule. It is the struggle for jobs in Government service, he thinks, that has made Hindus and Muslims distrust one another since the nineteenth century.

An interview with Gandhiji in 1947 is cited. I asked him "what then"? He replied "No, because in Hindu-Muslim unity I consider lies the salvation of India. "Even now" I asked. He answered "Yes even now".

The author winds up with a powerful plea for unity. "We see all round us in the world the ruin and destructive that hatred breeds. But love never fails, it hides within it the great secrets of life and creation. It is my most earnest prayer that we may have the wisdom to understand the true and abiding interest and the strength to stand by the right even against our own kith and kin, for the truth is after all greater even than one's community and country."

While the average Indian reader may not agree with all that is stated here, the book deserves careful consideration as it aims at communal harmony and consideration. Incidentally, a tilt is made at Christianity, No serious student of history can for a moment imagine that Muslim conquerors were gentler than victorious Christians. The reign of Aurangaeb is sufficient proof to the contrary.

Y. MATHIAS, M.A.

A History of Maithili Literature, Vol. I. (Early and Middle Periods, pp. 472+XXVIII). By Dr. Jaykanta Mishra, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Published by Tirabhukti Publications. Allahabad. Price Rs. 15.

The volume under review has earned for the author a Doctorate (D.Phil., Allahabad University) as also the blessings of such eminent persons as Dr. Amarnath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L., Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., F.R.A.S.B. and others. The present volume deals with the pre-modern period of Maithili Literature and shows considerable labour and patience on the part of the author in collecting materials. Though we know Maithili is not rich in literature, yet he has brought to light some less known and unknown poets, dramatists and prose-writers of Premodern Mithila, for which he deserves our congratulations. But, we regret, the author has not very often utilised the fine materials at his disposal with profit. The main defects arose out of wrong perspective due to his strong patriotic zeal and somewhat uncritical approach. The work deals with many extraneous subjects and it is anything but a History of Literature. In this work we find many names of the Maithili poets but very little about the quality of their poems. We regret, in his attempt to magnify the area, population, culture, language and literature of Mithila, he forgot the claims of Bengal and Bengali-speaking people. Linguistically Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuria, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya—all belong to the same group, known as the Eastern Prākrit, and the degree of affinity varies in their mutual relationship. It has been found that Old Maithili and Old Bengali were once practically the same language. The author's statement "The Early and Middle Periods of Maithili Literature ' made ' Bengali Langnage and Literature " (p. 49), is, no doubt, too bold an assertion to need any comment. Mithila was once a part of Bengal in which position it remained even for a long time under the British rule. In old days it formed a part of the kingdom of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal, one of whom (Raja Lakshman Sena) gave to the Maithilis their era 'Lasaṁ' (Lakshman Sambat)'. Once politically and culturally Mithila formed a part of Bengal or Greater Bengal, which is a matter of history. Under this condition one should not wonder if the language of Vidyāpati in some of his poetical compositions is proved to be Old Maithili and hence resemble Old Bengali. If one extends the present area of Bengal to its old dimensions, then besides other reasons, it will go a long way to justify the claims of the Bengalis to call Vidyāpati as one of their own. Not to speak of this poet, the claims of Bengal to the 'Charyyāpadas' have not been admitted by the author of Maithili language, inspite of Dr. S. K. Chatterji's verdict on behalf of Bengali. Dr. Chatterji also does not support Maithili's claim over Magahi. The author's opposition to Grierson's views regarding 'Bihari Group of Languages' is not quite convincing. The most astounding findings of the author are as regards the Vaishnava poets, Govindadas and Lochan Das (among some others). There might be more than one Poet of the name of Govindadas or Lochan Das, but the well-known Vaishnava Lyric poet Govindadas who composed poems in the strain of Vidyāpati, was a Bengali and not a Maithili. In the Vaishnava Literature of Bengal one may find conclusive proofs about the poet's nationnality. By way of examples, we may mention *Bhaktiratnākara* of Narahari Chakrabarti and the History of Bengali Language and Literature by D. C. Sen, among others. Similarly, Lochan Das, the famous Vaishnava Poet, who wrote the celebrated Bengali work *Chaitanyamaṅgal* (the life of Sri Chaitanya) and some Vaishnava Lyrics was also a Bengali, as various references about him in Bengali Literature will show. The author's adverse comments of Tagore's *Bhānusingher Padāvali* seem to be too strong and unjustified. We consider, the materials at the disposal of the author might have been better utilised by using impartial judgment. The large number of printing mistakes (over one hundred in all) and the get-up of the book are rather disappointing. The book has no Index.

TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

White Dawns of Awakening, dedicated to Sree Aurobindo, by Srimati Lotika Ghose, B.Litt. (Oxon.) rouses us to a new consciousness,—eighty years of poetic adventure by Indian Poets in an acquired language! After the Eurasian poet V. De Roziok, the Rebel pioneer Michael Madhusudhan Dutt, author of the Captive Lady, shot into fame. Discarding English and gaining immortality by his works in Bengali, Madhasudan closed his eyes in 1873 while the two poet brothers Manmohan Ghose, (born 1869) and Aurobindo Ghose (born 1872) will see the light of day followed by Sarojini Naidu (born 1876). Their elder poetic sister Toru Dutt returned to India (1876) to die at the tender age of twenty-one (1879). Manmohon and Aurobindo sailed for England (1879) to return to India after more than a decade (1893). The voices of Tennyson and Browning were hushed and Rabindranath wrote the sonnet epilogue in Bengali (1899), the *Sunset of the Century*.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century Manmohon, Aurobindo and Sarojini published most of their significant compositions, as English writers of Bengali nationality, who missed their early childhood lessons in their mother-tongue. Rabindranath on the contrary mobilised the treasures of his mother-tongue Bengali through his original English and forced his way into the Olympus of British Poetry, with his *Gitanjali* in 1912.

Manmohon's muse was silenced in 1924 but his talented daughter Lotika Ghose caught his inspiration while preparing an anthology of her father's poems with the help of Laurence Binyon, her father's college friend and collaborator in London.

Lotika Ghose is a chip of the old block. She teaches Literature in a Calcutta College; but her real self is revealed today through her teasing the Anglo-Indian muse to express the Metaphysical soul of India without discarding her foreign dress, deportment and make-up.—

"The mystic unborn in my heart is calling
Out of some shoreless sea
Whose waves are a bliss and joy unending
Whose chant is Eternity."

These opening lines are in perfect harmony with the last section of the book "Waves of Eternity." In between, she chants her hymns "At the Vedic Altar"—

"Where joy is a mystery strange,
Where silence is music sings."

This disarming simplicity in her compositions makes us pause and probe below the surface. We try to understand how is she so simple and profound in her expression. The poet prophet Sree Aurobindo, her uncle, touched her soul and transformed her art. In the last section we notice many echoes of Tagore's *Love's Gift* and *Crossing* where the elemental poetry of human pathos and awe in the Eastern Sunset overwhelm us.—

"Your festival of lights has come, oh my soul
In this dark night of your pain,
What though the roses of your hope are shed
And your heart with sorrow is insane."

or

"Oh soul will you trust the Terrible
As it comes storm-laden with tears,
Oh heart will you be his comrade,
Undaunted a stranger to fears.

Then we feel Sree Aurobinda's improvisations as it were on her lyre.—

" I have drawn your rays to shine upon me,
Though they dimmed my earthly eyes,
But the eye within me has seen the glory
Of other stars and skies.

In her voice we note the mixture of utter sincerity and mystic twilight. The poetry of the Life Divine has touched and transformed her muse.—

" My heart has felt the illusuive wonder
Of those for upper skies,
And left behind it its burden of laughter,
And joys that agonise.

" It has heard the chant of an infinite wakening
Whose hymn is a matin of light,
And seen a lambent creation dawning,
From the heart of the nether night."

Sheer Lyrics of human hope and despair are interspersed with soul-poems in this choice anthology of songs. " Friend you came " " Restless " and such poems I am sure will grip one and all who love the spontaneous expressions of the poetic soul even in her moods of abstractions. When the symbolists took the poetic diction of suggestions and symbols the readers winced or yawned for a while and then devoured their works. The same may happen in the case of our Neo-Vedantic poems, where the Atman turns its metrical rosary amidst the burning of incence and chanting of hymns to the Ineffable One. We wish God Speed to Lotika Devi in her poetic pilgrimage and recommend her poems to all genuine lovers of poetry.

KALIDAS NAG

Barsik Sisusathi, 1357 B.S. (25th year)—Published by Brindaban Dhar & Sons, Ltd., Asutosh Library, 5, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

It is the Puja Special of the popular children's magazine " Sisusathi." " Sisusathi " itself is running its 29th year and this special Puja number has completed its 25th year. This shows how this magazine has effectively captured the imagination of our children. The Puja special under review is a big volume containing contributions from Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sarker, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Dr. Hara Gopal Biswas, Sunirmal Bose, Kavisekhar Kalidas Roy, Kumud Ranjan Mallick, Narayan Ganguly, Akhil

Neogi, Ashapurna Devi, Hirendra Narayan Mukherji, Jogendra Nath Gupta, and other popular and standard writers for children. The volume is profusely illustrated by Kafi Khan, Saila Chakravarty, Purna Chakravarty, Phani Gupta, Dhiren Bal, Radhika Banerjee and other reputed artists.

In short it is a dainty volume which should form the best Puja Present for children.

B. KOYAL

Ourselves

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S VISIT TO THE UNIVERSITY

On the 18th September last, the Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa, addressed the teachers and students of the University in the Asutosh Hall. The Vice-Chancellor presided over the meeting which was attended by a vast body of both Post-Graduate and Under-Graduate students. The Commander-in-Chief who was accompanied by Major-General S. B. S. Roy spoke for an hour. He emphasised the point that the ban on the entry of the so-called non-martial groups of the Indian people into the army which was effective during the days of British rule was withdrawn immediately after the achievement of independence. In view of this it was up to the youngmen of this province who happened to suffer from the ban in the past to come forward in large numbers and volunteer their services to the Indian army. If Bengal was not now properly represented in the three arms of national defence, for that the responsibility would attach less to the Government and more to the people here. His own experience of Bengali sodiers was that they were as brave and as dutiful as soldiers in any efficiently organised state. In view of this the ban which had been imposed before was unintellgible and unwise. Now that it has been removed there should be good response to the call which the Commander-in-Chief had made on the youth of this province.

* * * *

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR EXPLAINS THE SMALL PERCENTAGE OF PASSES

In presiding over the distribution of prizes in Bishuddhanand School, the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee, referred to the small percentage of passes in the different University examinations in the present year. He pointed out that there was criticism in some quarters that the percentage was much too low in comparison with the results of previous years. This, he explained, was not due to any sudden stiffening of the standard of examinations. Practically the same gentlemen set the questions, same examiners looked over the scripts and the same head examiners supervised the marking. Besides, none of them were given any special instruction as to strictness in standard. The only thing that was done by the University authorities in the present year consisted in following the rules and regulations regarding the declaration of results. In previous years some of the standing rules were either suspended or enforced in a modifed form in order that more students might pass. This year nothing was done in this direction. Those only who would normally pass under the rules were declared to have passed.

It is true that many families have been adversely affected as a result of the low percentage of passes. Many colleges which depend largely or exclusively on the fee fund for their upkeep have also been hard hit. But at the same time we are glad to learn that in both schools and colleges a new seriousness as to proper teaching has become of late noticeable. Both the teachers and the students are now convinced that there is now no short cut to success. Days of slovenly and slip-shod work are over. Close attention to studies is now indispensable. The guardians are also being awakened to their responsibilities. Let us hope that low percentage of passes will be a spur to new energy and hard work among the students.

* * * *

DIPLOMA COURSE IN JOURNALISM

On the seventh October last the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, formally opened the Diploma Course in Journalism which the University has started on the initiative of a number of well known Calcutta journalists. The Vice-Chancellor presided over the function which was attended by a large body of journalists of the city.

For nearly two decades the question of opening such a course had been hanging fire. But no definite step could be taken before the present session. There had been two schools of thought. One school has always been of opinion that it is one of the responsibilities of the University to offer instructional facilities to students who will take up journalism as their profession. The University was training youngmen for law, for engineering and for medicine and surgery. Journalism has also now become one of the important learned professions. Consequently the University should set up a well-planned course in this field as well. The other school has, however, been of the view that journalism is an art which one may learn only by long experience inside the office of a newspaper, a periodical and a news agency. It is the duty of the University to provide liberal education to boys and girls. A graduate of the University is expected to have a good intellectual foundation and good grounding in such subjects as History, Economics, Constitutional Law and ancillary other subjects. Thereafter if he joins a newspaper office he will pick up the art of editorial writing, of sub-editing items of news, of arranging the get-up of the paper or of collecting and presenting news according as his proclivities may warrant. No theoretical training under the auspices of the University will be of any avail in this regard.

The objections which are raised against a University diploma or degree in journalism should be equally applicable in regard to other professional subjects as well. But few will urge the University to give up its responsibilities as to these professonal subjects. There was a time when law was the concern only of the Inns. But now-a-days without facilities for learning this subject on a comprehensive basis no University is worth the name is bears. In some of the American Universities, particularly in the famous Columbia University of New York, there is elaborate arrangement for a degree course in journalism. America is not the country to support a course unless its utility is considerable.

The Vice-Chancellor in his address met the objections which have been raised by some critics against the inauguration of the course. The Chief Minister delivered an interesting speech dealing with many aspects of the Indian press today. He hoped that journalists trained by the University will keep aloft the high traditions set by the doyens of this city. The Secretary to the Standing Committee, Mr. Chapala Kanta Bhattacharya, pointed out in his short report that more than three hundred applications were received. Out of them fifty have been selected. More than thirty of them are already associated with the press, daily or periodical. The rest have also made arrangements with newspapers and news agencies for practical training. Let the small plant of today grow in time into the mighty banyan under whose shade the profession of journalism may thrive and prosper.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. R. 2

It is notified for general information that under sub-Section (1) of section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (Act VIII of 1904) the Governor has been pleased to sanction the following change in Chapter XLIX A of the Regulations relating to the Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery :—

"In Section 1, line 2, (page 407 of 1945 Edition) the word 'annually' be replaced by the words 'twice every year'."

The change will be given effect to immediately.

Senate House, — S. C. GHOSH
The 18th September, 1950. — *Registrar (Offg.).*

Notification No. R. 1

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XI of the Regulations relating to the constitution of the Boards of Higher Studies in Applied Chemistry and Radio-Physics and Electronics, have been sanctioned by Government.

The words 'and two nominees—one from the All-India Council of Technical Education and one from the Central Government' be added after the words 'Three Technical Experts' at page 42 (1945 Edition), clause 17(*iv*) (for Applied Physics), at page 43 (1945 Edition), clause 17(4) (for Applied Chemistry) and at page 5 (Amendments to Regulations), clause 4 (for Radio-Physics and Electronics).

The changes will be given effect to immediately.

Senate House, — S. C. GHOSH,
The 18th September, 1950 — *Registrar (Offg.)*

NOTICE

C. 1006/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Prabhatkumar College, Contai, shall be affiliated in Biology to the I.Sc. standard of the Calcutta University, with permission to present candidates for the examination in that subject from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of candidates using unfair means in the I.Sc. Examination, 1950.

The examinations of the following candidates have been cancelled and they have been debarred from appearing any examination at this University until 1952.

I.Sc. Examination

	Roll and No.		Name of the candidate	College
1.	Gau.	3	Jitendranath Baruah	Cotton College, Gauhati
2.	Karim.	15	Sadhan Prasad Naug	Karimganj College
3.	Karim.	37	Nagendrachandra Paul	Do.
4.	Karim.	105	Sashisekhar Bhattacharyya	Do.
5.	Shi.	62	Bijaykumar Bhuyan	St. Anthony's College, Shillong.
6.	Shi.	126	Satya Nath Saikia	Do.
7.	Shi. N.	25	Anangamohan Mazumdar	Do.
8.	Tez.	23	Sudhindranath Basu	Darrang College, Tezpur
9.	Tez.	64	Nripendranath Sarma	Do.

Gauhati,
July, 4th, 1950.

P. DATTA,
Registrar,
University of Gauhati.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

No. 4296-9379/50-G.
Dated August, 10th, 1950

FROM
THE REGISTRAR,
Panjab University,
SOLAN (Simla Hills)

To
The Principals of the Colleges affiliated to the Panjab University, Solan

Sub :—*Possession of unauthorised Matriculation Certificates*

Sir/Madam,

I am to inform you that the following two candidates with particulars noted against their names were disqualified in the Matric. Examination held in 1948 but their Matriculation Certificates had been issued to them prior to that. These persons should not be allowed to derive any benefit on the basis of these Certificates either by appearing in any *higher Examination or for any other purpose* :—

	Name and father's name	Roll No.	Period of Disqualification
1.	Saligram Sharma, S/o L. Lakshmi Datt, of Gorkhal (Simla Hills).	3017	1948-1949
2.	Surjit Singh, S/o S, Narain Singh of Bariwala (Dist., Ferozepore)	3153	1948-1949

Yours faithfully,
TRILOCHAN SINGH,
Assistant Registrar, Co-ordination
for *Registrar.*

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of candidates using unfair means and for other reasons in the Matriculation Examination, 1950.

(1) Candidates 1-43 have been debarred from appearing at any examination of this University until 1952.

(2) The 1950 Examination of candidates 44-45 is cancelled.

(3) Candidate 46 is debarred from appearing at any examination of this University in future.

	Roll and No.		Name of the candidate	School
1.	Dhub.	252	Abdul Alim	Govt. High School, Dhubri
2.	Dhub.	325	Suryya Kumar Moochaharee	Do.
3.	Dib.	P27	Harendra Nath Baillung	Private candidate
4.	Gau.	99	Basantakumar Goswami	Cotton Collegiate School
5.	Gau.	715	Sandhimohan Das	Jagara High School
6.	Gau.	805	Dharani Dhar Sarma	Karara High School
7.	Gau.	FP43	Hemprava Das	Female Private candidate
8.	Gau.	P32	Chandankanti Datta	Private candidate
9.	Gau.	P91	Rameshchandra Paul	Do.
10.	Goal.	3	Shorabuddin Ahmed	P. R. Govt. High School
11.	Gola.	12	Langtuk Engti	Govt. Bezbarua High School
12.	Gola.	16	Syed Khalilur Rahman	Do.
13.	Gola.	P38	Bongshi Dhar Chutia	Private candidate
14.	Gola.	67	Mona Ram Rabidas	Govt. Bezbarua High School
15.	Imph.	85	Khomdram Chandrasekhar Singh	Johnstone High School
16.	Jor.	183	Laksheswar Borah	Poly-Technic High School
17.	Jor.	278	Madhab Chandra Nazir	Bezbarua High School, Jorhat
18.	Jor.	505	Md. Abdul Wahab	Namti High School
19.	Karim.	11	Subodh Sengupta	Govt. High School, Karimganj
20.	Karim.	312	Mati Lal Das Purkayastha	Nilwani High School
21.	Lakhim.	P2	Md. Nurrur Rahman	Private candidate
22.	Lakhim.	P30	Brindeswar Sonowal	Do.
23.	Now.	P95	Niranjan Bardoloi	Do.
24.	Shi.	248	Prabhatchandra Das	Laban Bengali Boys' High School
25.	Shi.	259	Amarendra Mojumdar	Do.
26.	Shi.	273	Surjyakumar Das	Islamia High School
27.	Shi.	P75	Satishchandra Bara	Private candidate
28.	Sib.	51	Hira Nath Gogoi	Govt. High School, Sibsagar
29.	Sib.	110	Gunindranath Das	Bezbarua High School, Sibsagar
30.	Sib.	153	Amiya Kumar Hazarika	Do.
31.	Sib.	161	Md. Soffiullah	Do.
32.	Sib	163	Sadananda Das	Do.
33.	Sib.	186	Profulla Ch. Hazarika	Do.
34.	Sib.	202	Hemanta Nath Dutta	Do
35.	Sib.	279	Badheswar Phuken	Do.
36.	Sil.	106	K. Jogeswar Singha	Earle High School, Lakhipur
37.	Sil.	323	Md. Abdul Mannan Barbhuya	Govt. High School, Silchar
38.	Sil.	345	Dhirendrachandra Roy	Do.
39.	Sil.	362	Monodhir Deb	Do.
40.	Sil.	P55	Nanda Kumar Singha	Private candidate
41.	Sil.	P88	Md. Kala Raja Laskar	Do.
42.	Tez.	22	Kumud Chandra Baruah	Govt. High School, Tezpur
43.	Tez.	127	Swadeshchandra Datta	Bengali Boys' High School, Tezpur
44.	Dib.	P85	Prabhash Chandra Sirkar	Private candidate
45.	Gola.	P59	Mukhyeswar Baruah	Do.
46.	Lakhim.	P31	Jogo Dhar Gogoi	Do.

Gauhati University,
August 8th, 1950.

P. DATTA
Registrar.

Memo. No. Ex/M/21/50/7649—916, dt. Gauhati the 11th August, 1950.
Copy forwarded for information to the Registrars of all Indian Universities.

Sd./ Illegible.
Head Asst. Exam. Branch, G. U.

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of candidates using unfair means in the I.A. Examination, 1950.

The examinations of the following candidates have been cancelled and they have been debarred from appearing at any examination of this University until 1952 :—

I.A. Examination. 1950

Roll and No.		Name of the candidate	College
Bar.	8	Surjya Kanta Boro	M. C. College, Barpura
Dhub	62	Ajitkumar Bandyopadhyay	B. N. College, Dhubri
Dhub.	68	Md. Makbool Hussain Mollah	Do.
Dib.	7	Amalendumohan Ray	Dibrugarh College
Dib.	28	Nirmalkanti Mazumdar	Do.
Dib.	69	Proma Kanta Gogoi	Do.
Dib.	71	Purnachandra Bora	Do.
Dib.	88	Sarat Kumar Baruah	Do.
Dib.	81	Narayan Chandra Baruah	Do.
Dib.	93	Bidhubhusan Rudra	Do.
Dib	N34	Anilendra Bhattacharyya	Do.
Dib.	N52	Pradyutkumar Bhattacharyya	Non-collegiate student
Dib.	N53	Faizur Rahman	Do.
Gau-	58	Bhabendrachandra Das	B. Borooah College, Gauhati
Gau.	60	Parsu Ram Talukdar	Do.
Gau.	335	Sureshchandra Chaudhury	Cotton College, Gauhati
Jor.	63	Probodhchandra Kakaty	J. B. College, Jorhat
Jor.	154	Nilambar Sharmah	Do.
Jor.	190	Rabiram Barman	Do.
Jor.	215	Dimbeswar Doley	Do.
Karim.	93	Saradaprasad Banik	Karimganj College
Karim,	N3	Binaykrishna Deb	Do
Now.	121	Uma Ram Barah	Nowgong College
Shi.	98	Ramendrnath Das	St. Edmund's College, Shillong
Shi.	105	Shibaranjan Datta	Do.
Shi.	N24	Prafullachandra Datta	St. Anthony's College, Shillong
Shi.	(Provisional 3)	Mrinalkanti De	Non-collegiate student
Sil.	2	Kabindranath Bhattacharji	G. C. College, Silchar
Sil.	15	Kutub Uddin Kazi	Do.
Sil.	24	Joykumar Sinha	Do.
Sil.	86	Saradindu Das	Do.
Tez.	17	Md. Sultan Hussain	Darrang College, Tezpur
Tez.	41	Shishirkumar Seal	Do.

P. DATTA,
Registrar,
University of Gauhati.

24th July, 1950.

NOTIFICATION OF THE KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

No, 3223 of 1950

It is hereby notified that the under-mentioned candidates have been found guilty of having used unfair means at the College and University examinations hold in the first half of 1950 and are hereby declared to have failed at these examinations, to have forfeited their claims to exemptions if any, earned this year or in previous years and are further debarred from appearing at any College or University examination before the date mentioned against each :—

Seat No.	*Name*	*College*	*Date*
		(1) F. Y. ARTS	
	S. S. Kallur	Vijay College, Bijapur	1st January, 1952
		(2) INTER. ARTS	
470	Shivaputrappa M.	Neerapur Lingaraj College Belgaum	Do.
		(3) INTER. SCIENCE	
377	Gadigeppa A. Kooli	Lingaraj College, Bellgaum.	Do.
380	Basawaraj D. Muchandimath	Do.	Do.
382	Abdul Majid Abdul Raheem Myageri	Do.	Do.
385	Jayadev N. Patil	Do.	Do.
386	Rudragouda B. Patil	Vijay College, Bijapur	Do.
391	Ishwarappa K. Tuppad	Lingaraj College, Belgaum.	Do.
		(4) B.A.	
24	Mohammad Usman Hasansaheb Darugar	Karnatak College, Dharwar.	Do.
25	Behram Maneckshа Mistry	Do.	Do.
48	Shantaveeraswamy Veerappayya Hiremath	Do.	Do.
		(5) B.Sc. EXAMINATION	
1	Chandramappa Siddappa Jagati	Karnatak College, Dharwar.	Do.
46	Ramarao B. Waikar	Do.	Do.

D. B. PATRAVALI,
Registrar,
Karnatak University.

Dharwar, 21st July, 1950.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY

No. EC/349, dated the 1st September, 1950

In accordance with the standing order 28 of the Syndicate the following candidates who took recourse to unfair means at the various Supplementary Examinations of 1950 are penalised as noted against each :

MATRICULATION

Roll No.	Name	Institution	Penalties imposed
45	Sri Satyanarayan Panigrahi S/o. Bacho Panigrahi, Dist. Ganjam.	Board High School, Aska	Result of 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Annual examination of 1952.
127	Sri Krishnachandra Rath, S/o. Sri Ganeswar Rath, At and P.O. Bhawanipatna, Dist. Kalahandi.	Braja Mohan High School, Bhawanipatna.	Do.
230	Sri Biswanath Sahu, S/o. Srihari Sahu, P. O. and Vill. Chitrada, Dist. Mayurbhanj.	Baripada High School, Baripada.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Supplementary examination of 1951.
1405	Sri Lokanath Misra, S/o. Sri Basudevo Mishra, Raja Street, Jeypore, P.O. Jeypore, Dist. Korapur.	Board High School, Jeypore.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the Examinations prior to the Annual examination of 1953.
1439	Sri Surya Narayan Bebarta, S/o. Sri Gourhori Bebarta, Samanta Street, P.O. Jeypore, Dist. Korapur.	Jeypore Centre (Private).	Do.
1716	Sri Dibakar Mohapatra, S/o Raghunath Mohapatra, Vill. Bolgarh, P.O. Bolgarh, Dt. Puri.	Puri Zila School, Puri.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the Examinations prior to the Annual examination of 1952,

INTERMEDIATE IN ARTS

393	Sri Haricharan Das, S/o Late Damodar Das, Auli Rajakothi, Ganesh Ghat, Cuttack.	Christ College, Cuttack.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
06	Sri Chintamani Ram, S/o Bamadev Ram, Vill. Kandha Nayagarh, P.O. Tangi, Dist. Puri.	Christ College, Cuttack.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to to the Supplementary Examination of 1951.
615	Sri Nabaghana Pradhan, S/o Dinabandhu Pradhan At Naba Utkal Hotel, P.O. and Dist. Puri.	Private (S. C. S. College Centre, Puri).	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.

INTERMEDIATE IN SCIENCE

729	Sri Ganapati Nayak, S/o Guna Nayak, At Bapuji Sebashram, P.O. Nimakhandi, Dist. Ganjam.	Khallikote College, Berhampur.	Result for 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1951.

University Office, Cuttack.
The 1st September, 1950.

G. C. TATH,
Registrar.

Memo. No. EC/350 dated the 1st September, 1950.

Copy forwarded to the—

1. Superintendent, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack for favour of publication in the next issue of the Orissa Gazette.
2. Headmasters/Headmistresses of all High Schools.
3. Principals of all Colleges.
4. Registrars of all Indian Universities.
5. Director of Public Instruction, Orissa, Cuttack.
6. Inspectors of Schools, Northern, Southern and Special Circles, Orissa for information.
7. Editor. The Samaj/The Prajatantra/The New Orissa for favour of publication in the form of a Press Note.

G. C. TATH,
Registrar

NOTIFICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF POONA

No. Ex./Bar/1/9636

It is hereby notified that the following candidates have been declared to have failed at their respective examinations and have further been debarred from appearing at any of the examinations of this University until the dates shown against their names for having resorted to unfair means at the examinations at which they appeared :—

No.	and name of the candidate	Examination at which appeared	College	Date until which debarred.
551	Maske, Audumbar Digambar	Inter. Arts	S. P. College, Poona 2.	1st January, 1952
751	Mane, Bhalchandra Bhamrao	Do.	N Wadia College, Poona 1.	Do.
754	Marwadi, Ramchandra Gangabisan	Do.	Do.	Do.
799	Bharucha, Sillo Rustomji	Do.	Do.	Do.
1008	Inamdar Sayedabdulwahbab Sayedhassan	Do.	D. A. V. College, Sholapur.	Do.
1513	Chavan Ramchandra Bhairu	Do.	Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Do.
1802	Patil, Bajkrishna Harischandra	Do.	M. J. College, Jalgaon	Do.
852	Zala, Vrajlal Hamjibhai	Inter. Science	N. Wadia College, Poona 1	Do.
1218	Kalkarni, Bhimsen Krishnarao	Do.	Willingdon College Sangli	Do.
1366	Tilak, Bhalchandra Gangadhar	Do.	Rajaram College, Kolhapur	Do.
1367	Achrekar Pratap Atmaram	Do.	Do.	Do.
207	Shah, Jayantilal Vadilal	Inter. Commerce	B. M. College of Commerce, Poona 4	Do.
781	Zope, Girdhar Mitharam	Junior B.Sc.	M. J. College, Jalgaon	Do.
33	Kanaparthy, Venkatasubbarao Sundararao	Second LL.B,	Law College, Poona 4.	Do.

D. V. JOSHI,
Registrar.
University of Poona.

Poona,
14th July, 1950.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1950

THE WORSHIP OF THE GREAT MOTHER IN THE INDUS RELIGION

Nanimadhab Chaudhury, M.A.

I

Introduction

Sir Jhon Marshall's theory of the existence and wide prevalence of the worship of the Great Mother and her many local forms in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period has been generally accepted by scholars, Indian and foreign.

After a careful examination of the several types of terra cotta female figurines unearthed in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan pre-historic sites Marshall has compared them on the one hand, with parallel finds in Western Asian countries belonging to pre-historic and later times, and on the other hand, with parallel finds at several later sites in Lower India. He has pointed, as a piece of corroborative evidence, to the prevalence of Mother-goddess worship in India among the Hindus from very early times and among the tribal peoples in different parts of the country. Thereafter, he has proceeded to the conclusion that the Indus female figurines were local forms of the Great Mother whose worship prevailed in ancient times from Iran to the Mediterranean world and survives in India to the present day. The most elaborated part of Marshall's theory is that the Indus Valley Mother-goddess worship was an eastward expansion of the Western Asian worship of the Great Mother. This part of Marshall's theory received special stress at the hands of the late Dr. John Hutton who came to the conclusion that Mother-goddess worship came to the Indus Valley from Anatolia via Mesopotamia. (Census Report of India, 1930, Volume I, Part I, pp. 393, 394, 396). While linking the Indus Mother-goddess worship to the present day Mother-goddess worship among the Hindus and tribal peoples both Sir John Marshall and Dr. Hutton overlook, as European scholars generally do, the Ṛgvedic evidence of Mother-goddess worship.

It is proposed in the present paper to examine carefully the evidence and arguments used by Sir John Marshall in the support and development of his theory.

Three types of finds: Marshall has divided the terra cotta female figurines found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa into three classes. Some of these he holds to be toys and others ex-votive offerings. "The majority of these types portray a distinctive and uniform type, *viz.*, a standing and almost nude female wearing a band or girdle about her loins, with elaborate head-dress and collar, occasionally with ornamental cheek cones and a long necklace".[1] Female figurines have been unearthed also in Baluchistan. "The figurines from Baluchistan are of two types, both differing from the Indus Valley in that they are not full lenghth images, but consist of head and body only ending in a flat base".[2] In the first type the face is pinched like a bird's and there are long and elaborate necklaces, with shell or other pendants attached.[3] In the second type "the goddess wears a sort of hood over her head and a series of necklaces or torques. Her face is flat and horribly grotesque, with high forehead, cavernous eyes and distorted mouth. While there is nothing repulsive in the aspect of the earlier type the latter type is clearly intended to inspire horror"[4].

Marshall holds that these statuettes represent the Mother-goddess.[5] Before examining Marshall's arguments we would refer to the views of a few other scholars on the finds of similar statuettes at pre-historic sites in India.

In his report on the excavations in Sind[6] Mr. N. G. Majumdar describes a number of finds of female figurines at Chanhu Daro (Pl. XXII) and Lakhiyo sites (LK. 1 to 5 and LK. 54 and LK. 58) most of which are mutilated. LK. 2 has only the head with cup-like ears and high head-dress. This mutilated figurines are described as representations of the mother-goddess. No reason is given as to why these figurines should be regarded as representations of the mother-goddess. In the Annual Report of the A.S.I. for 1924-25 Mr. K. N. Dikshit reports among the finds (at site A) "a complete terra cotta female figure possibly used as a cult image in the worship of the mother-goddess." [1] This figure has an umbrella or basket-shaped head-dress. (Pl. XXII (d) terra cotta and other objects found at Mohenjo Daro). In the plates illustrated in the Report there occurs one female figurine (Pl. XXII (d) fifth from the left) which appears to be carrying something in the arms, a jar or a child. In the plates given in the Annual Report of the A.S.I. for 1925-26 there occur several female figurines. Pl. XX (Mohenjo Daro sites HR and VS) shows one female figurine with flattened base, cup-like ear ornaments and inverted pitcher-shaped head-dress, which "looks like a divinity". There are other figurines with turban-like and basket or mushroom-shaped head dresses Pl. XXXVII (1 (c)) shows a grotesque female figurine enciente. In the Memoir of the A.S.I. No. 37 Sir Aurel Stein reports as follows on a find at Periano Ghundai site in the Zhob Valley: "Special interest attaches to the small relief figurine (PW 9-Pl. IX) made of fine clay and showing a hooded human head with a high and exaggeratedly large nose and female breasts, closely resembling reliefs were found on the surface of Periano Ghundai [2] and also at the mounds at Kaudani and elsewhere (see Pl. IX). The close agreement of all these in archaic treatment and the beak-like nose suggests that the representation of some tutelary deity may be intended." [3] Similar figurines were found at sites at Kaudani,[4] Moghul Ghundai,[5] Dabar-Kot and Sur-Jangal (Lorlai district).[6] Describing a find at the site at Dabar-Kot he writes, It "agrees in all details with the female figures from Periano Ghundai Kaudani and Moghul-Ghundai. If a conjecture may be hazarded it looks as if these little figurines so uniform in features and style might have been intended to represent some tutelary goddess".[7] In Memoir No. 43 of the A.S.I.[8] Sir Aurel Stein describes a number of finds of similar figurines found among the remains at the head of Rakhasan, at the sites in the Kej Valley, at the ruined sites at Kolwar and at Mashkai. A small bird-like head of terra cotta found at Katatuk-Damb (N K.4 a.—Pl. VI) is held by him to belong "undoubtedly to a very primitive rendering of the female figure found as a draped bust at the Chalcolithic sites of Periano Ghundai, etc. and evidently representing a goddess".[1] Describing a terra cotta figurine found at the mound of Kulli (V. vii.3.—Pl. XXII) he writes, "What imparts particular interest to this representation is the suckling babe shown here at the breasts of the figure". Again, "This strikingly confirms the view previously advanced that these figurines represent a divinity of fertility, 'the mother-goddess of many Eastern cults' ".[2]

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[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation, vol.* I, ch. v, p. 45. Pl. XCV. 7, 8, etc

[2] *Ibid.* Pl. XII. 3, 4, 5.

[3] *Ibid.* Pl. XII. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

[4] *Ibid.* pp 49f.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 50f.

[6] N. G. Majumdar, *Memoir of the A.S.I. No. 48, 1934.*

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[1] *Annual Report of the A.S.I., 1924-25, p. 64.*

[2] Sir Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, Memoir No. 37, p. 262, Pl. IX.*

[3] Sir Aurel Stein, *Memoir No. 37 of the A.S.I.* p. 38.

[4] Ibid. p. 42.

[5] Ibid. p. 45.

[6] Ibid. p. 60; p. 75.

[7] Ibid. p. 60.

[8] Sir Aurel Stein, *An Archaological Tour in Gedrosia Memoir No. 43. of the A.S.I.*

About 92 specimens of terra cotta figurines were found at the Mehi site (Trench IV.1, 2.) Reporting on these finds Sir Aurel Stein writes "I think it may be taken for certain that all the figurines of which Pl. XXXI reproduces a score of typical specimens are intended to represent a female (prominent breasts, elaborate ornaments, coiffure with long tresses). Throughout we observe the identical and very archaic treatment of the face which is almost bird like". ... "The figurines, whenever their lower portions survive invariably end below the waist in a flat base. This proves that all of them were meant to be set up. ...Curiously enough the only almost perfect specimen is III. 6. 16. ...one of those found on the burial deposits of ashes and stones."[3] In a paper entitled "Early Relations between India and Iran" read before the East India Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, Sir Aurel Stein said that at some sites where trial excavations were made the abundance of terra cotta figurines of the mother-goddess seemed to indicate the existence of a cult similar to that proved for Mohenjo Daro and essentially Indian as far west as the present Perso-Indian frontier.[4]

Marshall's Evidence

Marshall holds that these statuettes are representations of Mother-goddesses on three types evidence, namely—

1. evidence of the instances of the worship of Mother-goddesses prevailing among the Hindus and among tribal peoples;

2. evidence of analogy based on parallel finds of female figurines in different parts of Western Asia and Mediterranean countries;

3. evidence of analogy to certain finds of terra cotta female figurines in the Gangetic Valley and elsewhere.

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[1] Ibid. p. 3.
[2] Ibid. p. 126.
[3] Sir Aurel Stein, *Memoir No. 40 A.S I. pp. 161-62.*
[4] Published in Statesman, Calcutta, Sunday Edition.

It is now proposed to enter into an examination of these evidences used by Marshall for establishing and developing his theory.

First evidence: interpretation in the light of Mother goddess worship among Hindus and tribals.

Marshall's view is that, "Even, however, without the analogy of these images from Western Asia there would be a strong presumption in favour of the examples from Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Baluchistan being effigies of the Great Mother-goddess or one or other of her local manifestations".[1] Explaining why there would be a strong presumption he states that,

1. the worship of the Divine Mother is deep-rooted and ubiquitous in India;
2. her local forms are the numerous *gramadevatas* worshipped by the Hindus in different provinces;
3. she is worshipped under a multitude of different aspects;
4. like the Mother-goddesses in Western Asia the India Mother-goddesses too, originated probably in a matriarchal state of society;
5. Mother-goddesses hold a prominent position among the national deities of the non-Aryan population of India.

He finds an additional argument in favour of his thesis that Mother-goddess worship is of non-Aryan origin in the consideration that "As a fact, there is no example of the ancient Aryans whether in India or elsewhere, of having elevated a female deity to the supreme position occupied by these Mother-goddesses".[2]

It is an unreliable process of argument to try to interpret the religious ideas of this little known people inhabiting the Indus Valley several thousand years ago by means of reference to the religious conceptions and special mode of their expression belonging to historical times among Hindus and tribal peoples in India, without making an attempt, at the same time, to prove the continuity of such conceptions and modes through minglings and clashes of races with the passage of time. What lies at the back of Marshall's mind when he uses the existence of Mother-goddess worship among the tribal peoples as a serious argument is the belief that Mother-goddess worship is of non-Aryan origin, the Indian tribal peoples of non-Aryan origin have got it from the Indus people who were non-Aryans and that the Hindus have borrowed it from them. All these views which are open to serious objection Marshall accepted from other scholars and proceeded to use them in his interpretation of the Indus and

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[1] Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation, vol. I, Ch. V, p. 51.
[2] Marshall, op. cit., p. 52.

Baluchistan figurines. The excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India have given us only the figurines; no other find, directly or indirectly helping to understand the import of these figurines, have been forthcoming. Under these circumstances, a mere reference to the fact that Mother-goddess worship is widely prevalent among the Hindus and tribal peoples in India is not sufficient reason why the Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Baluchistan figurines are to be accepted as effigies of the Great Mother-goddess.

It may also be noted that with regard to some aspects of the material civilisation of the Indus people who had important seats at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa we have evidence which speaks for itself. With regard to their spiritual culture, so long as the inscriptions of the people occurring on different objects, are not deciphered[1] it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty about the real significance of different objects which are interpreted as being of religious import, except in the objects whose religious significance is too patent, *e.g.*, statuettes in the *yogi* attitude, the cult of the Peepul etc.

Second evidence: Parallel finds in other countries.

The terra cotta female figurines unearthed at Mohenjo and Harappa, barring the two types described by Marshall as toys and ex-votive offerings "consist of a uniform type of standing, nearly nude female figurines with a band or girdle at the loins with elaborate head dress and collar and occasionally with ornamental cheek cones and long necklaces. In many of these figurines the ear ornaments take the form of shell-like cups suspended by bands on either side of the head while the head dress is more or less crescent shaped or ends in points".[2] The Baluchistan figurines which are not full length figures are of two types, one type having a bird like pinched face, with necklaces with shell or other pendants and with hands resting either on the waist or on the breasts which as a rule are not prominent,[3] and the other type with hood, necklaces and ugly faces. These figurines are, according to Marshall, representatives of the Mother-goddess, because "female statuettes akin to these have been found in large numbers and over a wide range of countries between Persia and the Aegean, notably in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia,

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[1] Dr. E. J. Thomas gives a short account of the findings of Prof. Hrozny who claims to have deciphered the Indus script based on an article published in a Belgian periodical. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1940. Details are not available.

[2] Marshall, op. cit., p 49. Pl. XII. i; Pl. XCV. 1,7,8,13.
Pl. XCIV. 1, 5, 12. ; Pl. XIV. i.

[3] Ibid / Pl. XII . . 3, 4, 5.

Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt".[1] "The generally accepted view concerning these statuettes is that they represent the Great Mother or Nature Goddess (also known as the Lady of the Underworld and Mother Earth) whose cult is believed to have originated in Anatolia (probably in Phrygia) and spread thence throughout most of Western Asia".[2] Accepting the view that the Indus Valley figurines represent mother-goddesses Marshall writes further, "Its existence (of the cult of the Mother-Goddess) in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan during the Chalcolithic period proves that the cult had a much wider diffusion than has been supposed hitherto. It must have spread over the Near and Middle East in the Neolithic if not in the Palaeolithic age".[3]

Three objections to the second evidence.

Marshall's second evidence, namely the evidence of analogy based on parallel finds in the early religions of the countries mentioned above is open to three serious objections:

1. The evidence of Mother-goddess worship in the early religions of the countries mentioned above are far more complete than the evidence available or collected in regard to the Indus Valley and Baluchistan figurines.

2. No known marks or symbols of divinity accompany the Indus and Baluchistan figurines and as such their sacred import is doubtful.

3. On a comparison of the representations in art of the ancient Mother-goddesses in other countries with the Indus and Baluchistan figurines Marshall's argument of analogy completely breaks down.

We may now pass on to detailed consideration of the grounds of these objections.

First objection.

The first objection to the argument of analogy is that the evidence is far more complete in regard to Mother-goddess worship in the other countries than in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan.

Mother-Goddess worship in other countries.

Mother-goddesses were worshipped in pre-historic times over an wide area including Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, the islands in the Aegean, etc. The evidence of Mother-goddess worship in these countries is in the multitude of details collected quite complete while the evidence available in the case of the Indus Valley and Baluchistan figurines which Marshall would interpret as Mother-goddesses is nil.

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[1] Ibid. p. 50.

[2] Marshall, op. cit. p. 50

[3] *Ibid.*

Reference for instance, may be made to the epigraphic and other documentary evidence. Such evidence is ample in the case of Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Cappadocia, Egypt, etc. There is no epigraphic evidence to throw light on the import of the Indus Valley finds. It is true that a large number of seals with inscriptions have been found in the Indus Valley but as they have not yet been deciphered it is not known whether they are of any help for the interpretation of the religion of the Indus Valley people and import of the female figurines.

We may now give short resume of facts known about the worship of some of the principal Mother-goddesses in the countries mentioned above by Marshall for the purpose of comparison with the evidence used by him in the interpretation of the import of the Indus Valley and Baluchistan figurines.

Among Mother-goddesses worshipped in Western Asian countries reference may be made first to Anahita the Iranian Mother-goddess.

Anahita the Iranian Mother.

Anahita was the Mother-goddess of the Iranians to whom Zoroaster sacrificed, called upon to do so by Ahurmazda. In ancient times she was worshipped by Yima Khshaeta Thraetaona, Kavaus, Kava Kusruva and others. Artaxerxes Mnemon is said to have been the first to teach the Persians to worship anthropomorphic statues of Anahita and he set up the image of Aphrodite-Anaitis at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Damuscus and Sardes.[1] Originally a personification of fertilising waters[2] she became the purifier of the seed, the womb and the milk of the female and was invoked by marriageable girls and women at childbirth.[3] She was also a goddess of war riding a chariot drawn by four white horses and she bestowed victory.[4] She is described as a beautiful maiden,[5] "with a maiden's lovely body" "a maid full noble."[6] Her worship spread to Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Lydia and the Roman world. In Pontus and Cappadocia she became identified with the indigenous mother goddess Ma, in Lydia and in the Latin countries with the great Phrygian Mother (Cybele) in association with Mithra.[7] She has been held to be identical with Anath, the great war-goddess of Syria who came to be adopted in the Egyptian religion[1] and who has been identified with the Chaldean mother Anat and the Babylonian goddess Antum. Anunit was the name of the patron goddess of Agade found by Sargon and she was worshipped as a goddess of war.[2] The statue of Anunit at Agade was carried away by the barbarians from the north.[3] She was identified with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and with Innini the Sumerian goddess of battle and a virgin goddess. Anunit who is called the northern Semitic type of Innini had also a temple at Erech.[4]

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[1] Reference to the text of Berossus in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I. p. 414.

[2] Ardvi Sura Anahita means the wet, strong and spotless one. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, p. 279. The origin of the goddess has been referred to above.

[3] *Vendidad* VII. 16, Yast. v. 5.

Yast. V. 11, 13 ; Yast. V. 120.

[5] *E. R. E.* Vol. I, pp. 414f. [6] Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 279. [7] *E. R. E. Ibid.*

Originally a personified river-goddess, probably a hill stream,[5] Anahita rose to be the giver of fertility to the earth and women and and a great goddess of war giving victory. The aspect of giver of fertility in her conception and her association with the Mithra-cult were responsible for the introduction of the custom of sacred prostitution observed at her sanctuary at Prez in Armenia.[6] Anahita was thus the goddess of fertility and a goddess of war. There is another aspect in her conception, she was a maiden goddess. That these aspects which we find united in Anahita represented independent goddesses is shown by the worship of two goddesses Anit and Tannit in association with Sebak. Tiele writes, "Tannit and Anit to Anahid were two forms of the same widely spread Mesopotamian goddess who is met with among the Phoenicians, Arabs, Assyrians, Hebrews and even among the Persians and in later times also among the Greeks and Romans ... Tannit called simply " the goddess of heaven " is the virgin, Anit who wears the head-dress of a mother and is called 'the Great Power' *i.e.* the productive power which is the maternal power."[7] Tiele thinks that their worship was brought to Africa from Arabia.

The fertility-giving aspect was derived from the fertilising, beneficial water. From a giver of fertility she became also a giver of strength and the war-goddess aspect was well developed in Iran. Haoshyanha sacrificed to her a hundred horses, a thousand cows and ten thousand young animals. She gave him strength to conquer all the demons and men and to establish an empire.[8] Yima Khshaeta (Jamshed) received the same boon from her and Thraetaona (Fredun) worshipped her to destroy demons. As regards the conception of Anahita as a maiden-goddess it is to be noted that her cult was originally independent of the cult of Mithra. Mithra is not mentioned in the Gathas and was ignored by Zarathustra[1] but the Mihir Yast[2] shows the high position of Mithra in Iran. The transformation of Mithra was, it has been suggested, partly due to Babylonian influence and partly to contamination with current beliefs in Asia Minor.[3] It is quite likely that the Babylonian influence which transformed the character of Mithra transformed the character of Innini also by adding new features to her original conception of a maiden, war-goddess.

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[1] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II. p. 347 [2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 395.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 424. [4] *Ibid*, p. 444. [5] Yast, V. i. [6] *E. R. E.* Vol. I, p, 414.
[7] C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion tr* by J. Ballingal, 1882, p. 135.
[8] M. Hauge, Essays, p. 198.

Innini-Ishtar . . the Sumero-Babylonian Mother-goddess.

It has been suggested that Ishtar was a primitive Semitic goddess and her conception was brought into Babylonia by the first Semitic settlers.[4] The name Ishtar has been equated with Ashdar, Ashtar, Athtaret or Athtar, Asirat, Ashera, Ashtart or Ashtarte, Ashtoreth, etc. Before her introduction in Babylonia and identification with Sumerian goddesses whose attributes she collected Ishtar or Ashtar was probably a water-goddess. It has explained that etymologically Ashtar in a reflexive sense may mean "the self-watering," *i.e.* "the spring" and in a passive sense "the watered" or "fertilised." In a Babylonian hymn Ishtar is described as "one who causes verdure to spring forth."[5] Ishtar retained her original connection with springs after her introduction in Babylonia.[6]

In Babylonia the Semitic people took over the culture of the Sumerians who were an older people there. Although "the Semitic Babylonians spoke a Semitic tongue they regarded Sumerian as a sacred language. They kept Sumerian names for Gods and temples and used Sumerian words in a modified form for many things besides those directly connected with religious rites."[7] The Sumerian culture in Assyria was earlier than it was in Babylonia as the Sumerians had passed into Babylonia through Assyria which they had first occupied.[8] According to Langdon the number of Sumerian deities was more than five thousand. "The Sumerian pantheon in variety and numbers exceeds that of both Greek and Roman combined."[9] As regards the treatment of the Sumerian deities by the Semites it has been said,

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[1] *E.R.E.* Vol, VIII, p. 752.
[2] Mihir Yast yasti English translation by Darmester, S.B'E. XXIII.
[3] *E.R.E.* Vol. VIII, pp. 752f.
[4] *E.R.E.* vol. VII, p. 428.
[5] *E.R.E.* vol. II, pp. 116 117 Note.
[6] *E.R.*E. vol. II, p. 428,
[7] C.H.W. Johns, *Ancient Assyria* 1912, p. 7.
[8] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 469.
[9] S. H, Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, (Mythologies of All Races Series); p 88.

"The gods of the old Sumerian Olympus such as could be easily identified by the Semites with their own deities were retained under their own names: *e.g.* Babbar, Nanar, Innini and Enlil became Shamash, Sin, Ishtar and Bel."[1]

According to Langdon "the primitive name of Innini probably rests upon the primitive identification with the planet Venus . . . Upon the theological principle she was created by Anu as his female counterpart."[2] Erech was famous in Sumerian history as the home of the cult of Anu the father of all the gods and of the great virgin goddess Innini.[3] "As a counter-part of heaven Innini became associated from unknown antiquity in an abstract way with Anu as his female principle," . . . "but Anu was never more than an abstract figure in the Pantheon."[4] The consort of Anu was Antu.

Besides Innini whose principal seat was at Erech there were other important mother goddesses with seats at different places. At Shuruppak Nintil the Earth-mother of Nippur was worshipped under the local name as Sud or Sudam.[5] At Ur were worshipped Nima the goddess of irrigation and Gutumdug the patroness of childbirth and healing.[6] At Uma the chief goddess was Nindaba the grain goddess under the name Ninnura.[7] At Adab the mother-goddess worshipped was Aruru.[8] Nippur was the seat of the national cult of the earth god Enlil. His consort was Ninlil.[9] Isin was the seat of the cult of the goddess Gula. Gula was the goddess of healing and was known also as Bau, Nintindigga.[10] All these goddesses and others (Ghestu the goddess of vine, Nindulla the goddess of flocks, Ninkharsag the goddess of birth, Ishkara the goddess of fountains, Ninsun, Ninegal, who were local forms of Ninlil the Earth-mother, etc.) came to be looked upon as forms of Innini. "The great virgin goddess Innini and her mystically-begotten son Abu or Tammuz are the most impressive figures in Sumerian theology and ritual."[11]

Aspects of Innini

The name Innini has variants *e.g.* Ninama, Innanna, Nana, Ninni, Nina, etc. As Nina or Nana Innini, was a *goddess of water*. The sign for Nina 'fish-house' shows that originally she was a water-goddess. This is also indicated by the dedication to her of a spring and a boat.[1] Offerings of fish were made to Innanna.[2] Innini was a *virgin goddess.* She was the female counterpart of Anu the father of all the gods, but in Babylonia Antum was his proper consort and Innini was regarded as his daughter. She had no consort and was a maiden.[3] Dumzi, Abu or Tammuz was variously regarded as her mystically begotten son, brother and husband.[4] She was a *war-goddess* in the Gilgamesh epic. From the earliest times she was regarded as a war-goddess by the Sumerians and was called the "lioness of battle." Her symbol was bow.[5] Gudea dedicated weapon-bearers, warriors to Innanna.[6] Hammurabi says that he conquered with the weapons which Nana entrusted to him.[7] She was both the *creatrix of life and its destroyer.* Identified with Gushea she gave the growth of plants.[8] As Nindulla she was the giver of increase of flocks and herds. As Ninharsag she had the horned head-dress of a mother.[9] She destroyed Eban with disease and death.[10] Men prayed to her as the cause of sickness and suffering.[11] As the *storm-goddess* she was "the lofty one who causes the heaven to tremble, the earth to quake, the flaming fire who causes the bird Zu (the storm cloud) to fly from the house, who casts down the mountains like dead bodies." [12] She was the *mother of the gods and men* as Ninharsag.[13] She was the *leader of mankind, creatrix of wisdom and mistress of justice.*[14]

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[1] *Cam. Anc. Hist.* Vol. I, p. 524.
[2] Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 108.
[3] *Cam. Anc. Hist.* Vol. I, p. 396.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 377.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 379.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 389.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 390.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 391, 392.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 393.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 396

After her introduction into Babylonia Ishtar came to absorb Innini of Erech, Nina of Lagash and Ninevah, Anunit of Agade, Ninlil of Nippur, Aruru of Adab, Bau of Kish and there were Ishtar of Arbela, Zarpanit or Ishtar of Babylon, Ishtar of Ashshur etc., Antu the consort of Anu, Damking the consort of Ea, Ningal the consort of Sin, A the consort of Shamash and a number of other goddesses were identified with her.[15] At Babylon she was regarded as the consort of Bel or Marduk and was called Bêlit. Ishtar absorbed Anunit the Akkadian goddess of the north. During the rule of the 1st Dynasty when Babylon was under the Amorites the West Semitic goddess Ashtart (Biblical Ashtoreth) called Ishtar of the West came to be known in Babylonia. During the rule of the 3rd Dynasty Ishtar was identified with the Kassite goddess Mirzir.[1] Ishtar assimilated all the attributes of Innini and other mother-goddesses of the Sumerian pantheon and she developed other aspects in Babylonia. She was called the bride or wife of nearly every god of the Babylonian pantheon and the early kings called themselves her husbands.[2] She became the "glad-eyed *goddess of desire.*" In a hymn she called herself "a loving courtesan" and a "temple harlot".[3] "In this aspect she was depicted as a naked woman with emphasised sexual features or as lifting her robe to disclose her charms".[4]

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[1] *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (1907) VI. I, 104 99-22, Quoted in *E.R.E.* Vol. VII, p. 430.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVII, pp. 71-79. *Quoted in E.R.E.* Vol. VII, p. 430

[3] Kleinschnftliche Bibliothek (Schrader) 1889, VI, p. 210. Quoted in E.R.E. Vol. VII, p. 428.

[4] *Cam Anc, Hist.* I, pp. 425, 443.

[5] Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 157.

[6] *V.A.B.I.* 104, 14 (25. 26) *Quoted in E.R.E.* VII, p. 432.

[7] Code. XL, 24 *Quoted in Ibid.*

[8] *Craig Rel. Texts* I. pls. 15. 17. *Quoted in Ibid.*

[9] Ward, op. cit. p. 404.

[10] *K.I.B. VI*, 198. Quoted in *Ibid* VII, p. 731.

[11] *P.S.B.* A. *XXXI*, 59 *Quoted in Ibid.*

[12] Reference in *E.R.E.* VII, 430.

[13] E.R.E. VII, p. 431.

[14] King, *Seven Tablets I*, 222 f. *Quoted in E.R.E.* VII, p. 431; *Ibid*; *Jastrow, Rel. Bab.* ii, 112, *Quoted in E.R.E.* VII, 431.

[15] *E.R.E.* Vol. VII pp. 428.

It has been noted that Ishtar was connected with water. From Ninlil she acquired the title "Mistress of the great mountain". Innini as war-goddess was called, as has been noted, "lioness of battle" and at Nineveh Asurbanipal established the cult of Ishtar of battle. Her symbol was a bow or lion or 5 or 8 pointed star Sirius.[5] As a war goddess she was often compared to a lion, an angry, wild ox, a jackal.[6] As a grain goddess identified with Nindaba Innini was represented as a seated goddess, her throne adorned with a lion.[7] As creatrix of animals Ishtar *received the attributes of a cow.* On boundary stones her symbol was the cow. Innini-Ishtar as the *earth-mother* was the intercessor between men and the gods. The earth-mother represented by the group Gula-Bau-Ninkharsag identified with Innini-Ishtar "is constantly appealed to as the sorrowful mother to whom also the woes of humanity bring grief and who is the steadfast suppliant of mankind before any god".[8] "The earth-goddess as the female principle of Anu received the title Ninnana, Nininni, Innini, but as goddess of childbirth Nintud, Aruru, Ninharsag, Ninkarrka, . . . as patron of medicine she was Bau".[9]

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[1] Jastrow, *op. cit.* i. p. 180; *quoted* in *E.R.E. Ibid.*
[2] *E.R.E.* VII, p.430.
[3] *P.S.B.A.* XXXI p. 70; *quoted in E.R.*E. Vol. VII, p.430.
[4] Reference in *Ibid.*
[5] Ward, *op. cit.* pp. 161, 380, 296, 387.
[6] Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar, 1914*, p. *106*, Pl. i.
[7] *E.R.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 430.
[8] *Cam. Anc. Hist.* I, p.442
[9] *E.R.E.* VII, p. 430.

Reference has been made to Dumzi or Tammuz with whom Innini-Ishtar was associated. "Tammuz was a mythical king of Erech. The great cult of the dying and resurrected god was presumably attached to his name because he had sacrificed his life for his people".[1] "In the Sumerian myth Tammuz was the brother of the virgin goddess but the Semitic myth made him the son of the earth-mother. Two feasts in the calendar of Lagash and Nippur were called the Month of the festival of Tammuz and the Month of the mission of Innini (the journey of Innini to the lower world to find her lost brother).[2] Tammuz has been variously regarded as the god typifying the changing season, personification of vegetation, as a god of agriculture, as a sun-god and herdsman, etc. "The antiquity of the association of Tammuz with the flocks in Babylonia is shown by the text in the Amherst Tablets.[3] From this it appears that the flocks of Tammuz the sun-god of spring were the clouds illuminating the setting sun".[4] "The myth of the departure of Tammuz to the region of Eris-ki-gal regarded as a sun legend means that the growth of vegetation was stopped when the sun's warmth was withdrawn".[5]

The composite conception of Innini-Ishtar shows that the goddess had the following aspects:

1. A goddess connected with water.
2. A virgin goddess.
3. A goddess of war giving victory in battle.
4. Creatrix of life and its destroyer.
5. Earth-mother, goddess of fertility, of vegetation, maternity, of increase of flocks, etc.
6. Goddess of desire.
7. Goddess of wisdom, mistress of justice.
8. Mistress of heaven, mother of men and of the gods.
9. Goddess connected with the mountain and the lion.
10. A goddess associated with a young male god, related as brother, son or husband.

Worship outside Babylonia.

According to the Pan-Babylonian School Ishtar was the original mother-goddess of Western Asia. It is held that "in Elam Innana of Erech coalesced with Anahi after the conquest of Elam by the Indo-European Medes and Persians. In S. Arabia Ishtar was the male

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[1] *Cam. Anc. Hist.* I, p. 367.
[2] *Ibid*, p.461.
[3] I. London, 1908, No. 119.
[4] *E.R.E.* XII, p. 189.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 190.

Athar who was sometimes addressed as father-mother or mother-father and was described as the giver of children".[1] In Canaan, Phoenicia, Phoenician colonies and Syria there were worshipped mother-goddesses recognised as variants of the type represented by Ishtar. It is stated that "during the period of the Selucid Greek rule the religions of the East and the West were fused with extra-ordinary rapidity in Syria and Egypt . . . The mythology of the Babylonian mother-goddess was grafted on to the myths of the ancient local goddesses Aphrodites and Astartes"[2].

Influence of the Sumero-Babylonian Religion.

We have referred in some detail to the Sumero-Babylonian mother-goddess because of the great influence of the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon on the religions of other countries in Western Asia. Langdon writes, "The Sumero-Babylonian cults established themselves in the very midst of the old Canaanite Aramaean, Phoenician, Moabite cults. The mythological conceptions of their deities were assimilated to or transformed by the doctrines taught in the great temples of Sumer and Accad. Their legends and myhts were almost entirely of Sumero-Babylonian origin".[3] Regarding the influence of the Sumero-Babylonian conception of the earth-mother it is stated, "Nippur as the pre-historic seat of the worship of the earth-mother, creatrix of man and his intercessor in life and death became the national shrine of Sumer and all converts to the Sumerian religion. As such its appeal to the religious sentiments of the Semites in Mesopotamia and Elam was equally strong. Sacrifices came to her temples from the cities of Akkad and Elam and from Maer the centre of the West Semitic converts on the middle of the Euphrates".[4] According to Langdon, "the great and ubiquitous cult of the Virgin Earth-goddess in Canaan, Phoenicia and Syria seems to have been entirely borrowed from Babylonia".[5]

Ashtart the Canaanite and Phoenician Mother.

The name Ashtart is equated with Astarte, Ashtar (Moabite), Ashtoreth, Ashirat, Ashirta, Ishtar, etc. Ashtart was worshipped by the Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians and in the Phoenician colonies.[6] It has been noted that this West Semitic mother-goddess came to be known in Babylonia at the time of the 1st. Dynasty and she was identified with Ishtar as Ishtar of the West. Paton opposes the general view that Ashtart was derived from Ishtar which is based on the grounds that Ishtar is mentioned in Babylonian inscriptions long before the earliest mention of Ashtart, that Palestine was profoundly influenced by the Babylonian religion in the 3rd millenium B.C. and that the name Ashtart is derived from Babylonian "Asharu" and he prefers to think that she was a primitive Semitic mother-goddess.[1]

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[1] *E.R.E.* vol. II p. 116.
[2] L. B. Paton, in *E.R.E.* Vol. VII, p. 434.
[3] Langdon, *op. cit.* Introduction xvii.
[4] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, vol. I, p. 444.
[5] Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 103.
[6] *E.R.E.* vol. II. p. 115

Ashtart was a goddess of *fertility and maternity*. She is called *creatrix of the gods,*[2] *mother and creatrix of men.*[3] In Babylon she was known as Mu'allidtu or Mulitta "she who causes to bear", from which is derived the name Mylitta in Herodotus.[4] She was a *goddess of war*. "She appears to Ashurbani pal robed in flames, with quivers on the right hand and on the left a bow while she draws a sword out of sheath".[5] Reference has already been made to her connection with water. She was also a *goddess of desire* and sacred prostitution was associated with her cult as it was with the cult of Ishtar in Babylonia.[6] Ashtart was well known in Egypt and her name first appears in the annals of Thothmes III (B.C. 1478).[7] She was identified both by the Greeks and Phoenicians with Aphrodite[8] Ashtart as Ashtoreth was connected with the cult of Israelite Yahweh.[9]

The Syrian Mother-goddess.

The name of the Syrian mother-goddess was Atargatis or Adargatis derived from Athar or Ashtar. According to Jensen[10] Atargatis is derived from a hypothetical Hittite goddess Tarkhu but the phonetic relations of the various forms—Canaanite Ashtart, Ishtar, Athar, Ashtar, etc., prove that she was worshipped by the Armaeans from very early times. The name first appears in the annals of

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Reference to *Haupt, Akadian and Sumerian Cuneiform writings* 116*f* obv. 6 in *E.R.E., vol. II, p.* 116.

[3] Zimmern, *KAT 3428f*; *quoted in E.R.E.* vol. II, p. 116.

[4] Herodotus I. 131, 199.

[5] K.I.B. II pp. 227, 251; quoted in E R.E. *Ibid.*

[6] *E.R.E. Ibid.*

[7] Muller, *Asien*, pp. *162, 313*; *quoted in E.R.E.* vol. II, p. 117.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 314.

[9] *Cam. Anc. Hist.* vol. II p 348.

[10] Jensen, *Hittier und Armenier*, 1898, pp. 157*f*. quoted *in E.R.E.* vol. II, p.165.

Ashurbanipal.[1] Like Ashtart she was connected with water and offerings to her cast into sarced spring.[2] "Atargatis is only a local form of the Semitic goddess Ishtar-Athar. Like Astarte she was a goddess of *life-giving water or fertility*." In Armenia she was known as Tharatha.[3] Anath the Syrian goddess of war has been identified, as has been noted, with the Sumero-Babylonian Antum, consort of Anu 'Annuit, Anaitis, Anit and Anahita are held to be phonetic equivalents of the name Anath. She was worshipped as a war-goddess in Egypt as early as the reign of Thutmae III.[4]

(To be concluded)

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[1] *K.I.B.* II. 215 note 4; quoted in *E.R.E*. *Ibid*.
[2] Willhausen *Reste* 76 in *E.R.E. Ibid.*
[3] *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, p. 167.

THE NĀGA CULT OF ANCIENT KĀŚMĪRA

SUNIL CHANDRA RAY, M.A.

Kāśmīra was one of the principal centres of serpent worship in India. Though detailed evidence is lacking there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., it might have been the principal religion of Kāśmīra. In the Mahāvaṁśa, it is said that Aśoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantikā to preach Buddhism in Kāśmīra. When the Śramana reached the valley, he found that Aravala, the king of the Nāgas, was ruling over it. Aravala was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantikā, however due to his divine powers remain unaffected from rains and storms. This furiated the Nāga king who sent lightning and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in order to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantikā the Nāga king Aravala together with his followers submitted before the monk, and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism of a large number of Nāga worshippers of Kāśmīra-Gandhāra.[1]

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kāśmīra in the 7th century A.D., relates that according to the native records, Kāśmīra was originally a dragon lake.[2] A very detailed and vivid account of how the Arhat Madhyandikā (apparently Madhyantikā) rescued the valley of Kāśmīra from the Nāgas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled five-hundred Arhats in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādin sect.[3] The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D., points out that when Madhyntikā went to Kāśmīra to preach Buddhism, he found the Nāgas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyantikā, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nāgas.[4]

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[1] Mahāvaṁśa, XIII, 3,

[2] Watters-On Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 265.

[3] Journal Asiatique, 1914, pp. 535 ff.

[4] History of Buddhism—Bu-ston, tr. E. Overmiller, Vol. II, p. 90.

The prevalence of Nāga worship in early Kāśmīra receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The Nīlamatapurāna, probably a work of the 7th or 8th century A. D., records at great length how Kāśmīra was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla, the son of Kāśyapa, was the Chief. According to this work at first human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year—during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Piśācas and human beings had to leave the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nīla was satisfied with a Brāhmaṇa called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kāśmīra during the winter also. The Nāga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

Most of the rites prescribed by Nīla are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Nāga or serpent. Thus Nīla was worshipped on the festival of the first snowfall. The Nīla and the Nāgas were also propitiated on the Irāmanjarī pujā festivity which took place in the month of Chaitra. Another ceremony called Varuṇa pancamī was held on the fifth day of Bhādra and was connected with the worship of serpent king Nīla.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa also records the name of the principal nāgas worshipped in Kāśmīra, the total number of which was 527. The four dikpālas of Kāśmīra, mentioned by the author of the Nīlamatapurāṇa were four Nāgas—Bindusāra in the east, Śrīmadaka in the south, Elāpatra in the west and Uttaramānasa in the north. From a remote period great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nāgas as is shown by the long account of them given in the Nīlamatapurāṇa. A large number of temples built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them clearly point out the popularity of Nāga-cult in ancient Kāśmīra. The Nāgas were supposed according to the Nīlamatapurāṇa, to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernāg, Anantnāg, Sernāg etc. show traces of ancient naga beliefs.

That the Nāgas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley is also testified by Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Kāśmīra was a land protected by Nīla, the lord of all Nāgas.[5] Even when Buddhism had undermined the Nāga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worships in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before.[6] There is also a story of Susrava Nāga and his alliance with a Brāhmaṇa is depicted in details.[7] King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which according to Kalhaṇa was Nāga in its origin.[8] Nāga Mahāpadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake is said to have showed King Jayāpīḍa, a mountain which yielded copper.[9] Another Nāga, called Piṇḍāraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamangala, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta.[10] Among the festivals connected with the nāga-cult, Kalhaṇa speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king Taksaka "frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators" which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of Jyaistha.[11] Kṣemendra also speaks of the festival of Taksakayātrā *i.e.* the worship of the serpent king Taksaka, when for three days and nights the wine-shops remained open.[12]

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[5] Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 28, 182.

That the Nāga-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazl. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A. D. 1556—1605) there were in Kāśmīra 45 places dedicated to the worship of Śiva; 64 to Visṇu, 3 to Brahmā and 22 to Durgā, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.[13]

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[6] R.T. I, 185.
[7] Do. I, 201-273.
[8] Do. III, 530.
[9] Do. V, 592-617.
[10] Do. VII, 167-75.
[11] Do. I, 222.
[12] Samayamātṛkā, edited—Kāvyamālā, ii-88.
[13] Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, tr. Jarret, second edition, R. A. S. B., 1949, p. 356.

ANCIENT INDIA IN THE FORGOTTEN WORLD

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The cultural aspect of ancient India in the Old World was unique and most conspicuous. When civilization first dawned in mankind, the four countries which came into prominence in this respect were Egypt, the Near East, India and China. The subject being vast and complex enough to do it justice in a limited space, only the case of India is here considered and that also as briefly and cursorily as possible.

From a very early period, say from about 2500 B.C., if not earlier, the geographical and ethnical conceptions of India have undergone many radical changes, and she was not in the past what she is now. There was a time in the dim past, when India was known as the "Land of the "Sapta Sindhavas" or "Seven Rivers." This name as found in the ṚgVeda has been changed into "Hapta Hindu" in the Zend-Avesta of the old Persians as they pronounced "Sapta" as "Hapta" and "Sindhu" as "Hindu". The Indus (the river "Sindhu") and her the then six affluents were collectively taken to mean the above "Sapta Sindhu". From "Sindhu" "Hindu" and then "India" were the normal sequences, and the ancient Greeks[1] followed the ancient Persians in naming this country and her people.

As the Vedic Aryan settlement ancient India was first limited to the Punjab country (the land of the "Five Rivers") and then gradually extended herself up to the rivers the Jamuna and the Ganges, the countries of this whole area being then known as the "Brahmāvarta," "Brahmarshi-deśa" and the "Madhya-deśa". To the ancient Aryans, India aftewards was known as "Bhāratvarsha" and this country ("Varsha") was part of the continent of "Jambu-dvīpa" ("Dvīpa", continent or island, here continent) as mentioned in Sanskrit literature. When loosely used, by "Jambu-dvīpa" only "Bhāratvarsha" was sometimes meant.

In the Pre-Vedic and Vedic days N.W. India once formed part of a sub-continent composed of a number of countries. These were India, Egypt, the Near and the Middle East and Turan (Turkistan in Central Asia up to the borders of the Kirghiz country). The affinity of culture, religion and language of the peoples of this area sometimes tempted scholars to call it by one name "India," which is, of course, under dispute.

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[1] For the connotation of the terms "India" and "Indians" as understood by the ancient Greeks—See Elphinstone, *History of India*, Appendix III, p. 250ff.

As with the march of time, the settling peoples from the west of the Suleiman range advanced towards the east and south of India, the culture, religion and ethnic elements changed conditions in these areas with each step of their migrations. Gradually Indian contact to the west of the above hill-range became less pronounced and contact with the east and south of India became more close, thereby giving birth to the rough sense of the present Geographical India.

To be more precise, as Geographical India added lands to the east and south of the Punjab, she lost the same to her west. Thus, she lost South-West Asia, Iran and Central Asia, but steadily gained all the lands up to the Patkoi Hills, Manipur Hills, Lushai Hills and Chittagong Hills to her east. To the north the Himalayas remained as her northern frontier and to the south first the Vindhya ranges and then up to Cape Comorin, Physical and Geographical India extended her limits. But this was not the final step. As time rolled by, she steadily and step by step gained all the lands of Burma, Siam and Indo-China up to the Pacific Ocean, to her east. With these countries the Indonesian and Melanesian islands, always culturally and sometimes even politically, became a part of ancient India. In this manner the Himalayan country of Tibet including even the present Chinese province of Sikang also formed an integral part of the sub-continent of India. Many of these momentous changes in the boundaries of India in different senses, happened chiefly due to race-migrations and political factors and roughly within the 2nd century A.D. (Kushan Empire). The present limits of Political India, therefore, evolved much later due to freaks of fortune and political chess-game over which unfortunately India had no control. But it seems certain that the spread of ancient Indian influence in the South-West Asia was due to the contact of North-Western India (specially the Punjab) with that part of Asia, while Indianisation of the Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Asia including the adjoining groups of islands, was due mainly to the cultural and commercial contacts as well as painstaking efforts of East and South India and specially of the ancient Bengal.

In respect of the ethnic elements, the principal race inhabiting the South-West Asia has always been the Caucasians, while in India of the present dimensions the races have been the Caucasians, the Austrics and the Mongolians with some traces of the Negritoes. In the South-West Asia also known as the Near-East including the Middle-East, the two contending factors were the Semitics and the Aryans (divided into Indo-Germans, Indo-Iranians and the Indo-Aryans). They were the two principal branches of the Caucasians, according to the old method of race-divsions. Among the Semitics, the ancient Egyptians, the Phoenicians and the older Babylonians and among the Aryans the later Babylonians (the Sumerians), the Anatolians (the Hittites), the Mitannis, the Amorites and the Cassites may be named. The Assyrians, the Chaldaeans, the Phrygians and the Iranians (including the Medes and the Persians) also belonged to the above two groups—the first two being Semitic and the last two Aryan. Egypt and Babylonia were the oldest kingdoms in this zone followed first by the Hittite kingdom and then by the Assyrian, Chaldaean, Vedic Indian, Median and the Persian kingdoms, among some others, rising in succession, the last two kingdoms having arisen in Iran. Egypt, though strictly speaking, does not belong to South-West Asia, being an African country, is, for all practical purposes, considered as connected with it. The kingdom of Babylonia ruled by conflicting races /arose in Mesopotamia, the land of the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, and is known now as Iraq. In culture, thought, language and religion the Egyptians, the Mitannis, the Cassites, the Hittites, the Sumerians, the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans (the Vedic Aryans) were all very closely connected.

In religion some of the Vedic Aryan and the Mitannian deities were the same (both the peoples being perhaps once neighbours) such as Indra, Nāsatya (the two Asvins), Mitra and Varuna. The goddess "Mā" with a lion resembled the goddess Durgā of the Indo-Aryans and worshipped almost universally in South-West Asia and in some of the Mediterranean countries like Greece and Rome, though the name and the image differ to some extent in some of these countries, as in Crete, Egypt, Greece and Rome. The worship of the goddess Durgā, under different names and appearances, is very old in India, though in Bengal the present form of worship and image originated, according to some scholars, during the time of Rājā Kaṃsa-Nārāyaṇ of Tāhirpur, and so in the 16th century. The Iranians also worshipped the god Mitra (the sun-god) along with some others.

Indo-Aryan (Vedic Aryan) Sanskritic names prevailed in many parts of the Near East as the names of the Mitanni kings will show.[1] These names were Dushrata (Sans. Daśaratha), Munidān, Dudhalia and similar others. The Mitannian and the Sumerian cultures very closely resembled the Vedic Aryan culture as the Fârah excavation has already proved.[2] Similarly, the hieroglyphic inscriptions like those of the ancient Egyptians and cuneiform writing of the ancient Babylonians on clay tablets support in the same direction. The older culture of Babylonia was Semitic and later Aryan. The cuneiform script, stated above, stood for non-Semitic and Aryan agglutinative tongue, which is a proof of the Aryan character of the Sumerian people. The Sumerians later on incorporated many Semitic deities in their pantheon, as also changed the appearance of their own deities to suit new conditions. According to Hall, "it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race."[3] According to Rostovtzeff, the Sumerians might be connected with the old Dravidians, as he considered the Harappa (Punjab) and the Mohenjo-Daro (Sind) finds, pointed out to the same direction.[4] However, these are, after all, theories. There was an element of non-Aryan people in Ancient Iran, as mentioned by the Greeks. They were, perhaps, the same people as the Brahuis of Beluchistan and the Dravidians of India.

It should be mentioned here incidentally, that as the Greeks before Alexander the Great were for a long time under the influence of the Persian empire, so after Alexander the Great, they fell in the east under the influence of ancient Buddhist and Hindu cultures of India. The case of the Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Greek King Menander of the Punjab-side, who turned into a Buddhist and immortalised in the Pālī work Milinda-Pañho, is a case in point.

The mode of writing of the Kharosṭhi alphabets of ancient India as used by the Emperor Aśoka in some of his inscriptions had similarities with the Aramic alphabets and the style of writing is still current in writing Arabic and Persian. Similarly, Hindu Astronomy and the terms of the Zodiac have connections and resemblances with the ancient Chaldaean and the Greek systems. The Greek and Hindu systems of philosophy have many things in common. The Cynic Philosophy of Greece may be cited by way of an example and the credit in this field may go to the earlier civilization of the Hindus. Many folk-tales and stories also passed to Europe from India *via* South-West Asia. The stories of the Sanskrit "Pāncha-tantra" and "Hitopadesa" were some of them.

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[1] It may be noted here that the Vedic Aryans settled in North-Western India only, at first, and then spread themselves in this country already occupied by other highly civilized peoples before them. These peoples or races were the Austrics, the Dravidians, the Pamirians, and the Mongolians who occupied various parts of the country and also succeeded one another, the less civilized Negritoes being perhaps the oldest. (See archaeological and other researches).

[2] M.D.O.G., Nos. 15, 17.

[3] Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 73-74.

[4] Rostovtzeff, Journal Eg., Arch. Jan., 1920.

Trade-relations of the South-West Asia with ancient India were once very brisk and profitable. In Manu's Code (Chap. VIII), there is a clear reference of the sea-voyage of the ancient Hindus or Indo-Aryans. Ancient India had once trade relations with the Mediterranean countries, Egypt, Arabia, Phoenicia, Babylonia and many other countries to her west.[1] Barygaza or Baraoch was an important port in the western sea-board of India. Among various articles of export from India related in the Periplus the muslin of Bengal may be noted. Some Hebrew words are of distinct Indian origin, like "Kof" (Sans. "Kapi," ape) and "Thukki" (Tamil "Tokei," a peacock) showing contact with India.

Ancient India had once very close connection with her northern neighbours. Tibet, the land of the Lamas, was one of them. It is a vast country or rather a plateau with a large number of snow-clad mountains, hills, valleys, deserts and lakes. The average height of the country from the sea-level is about 12,000 ft., and some parts are even over 18000 ft. Tibet is bounded to its north by the mountain ranges of Kieunlun and Altyn Dagh, to its east by the hilly Chinese province of Sikang with undefined boundary-line of hills and forests, to its south by the majestic Himalayas and to its west by the junction of the arms of the Himalayas and the Karakorum mountain ranges. The extreme western portion is now politically under the Government of Kashmir and is known as Little Tibet or Ladak with Leh as its provincial capital. In the western part is situated the mountain range known as the Kailās mountain and the lake known as the Mānas-Sarovara within the political jurisdiction of Tibet. Its chief river is Sampo which is nothing but the upper course of the river Brahmaputra of Eastern India. Though this huge table-land of Tibet is about 1400 miles in length (east to west) and is about 500 to 600 miles in breadth (north to south), it contains a population of hardly over 50 lakhs, and this population is most dense in the Lhasa valley which contains the capital of Tibet (Lhasa—13,000 ft. above sea-level). This capital is situated in the eastern part of Tibet. Tibet has always become a mystery-land being shut out on all sides by impenetrable barriers of nature. To the north of Tibet lie the Chinese provinces of Sinkiang and Ching-gāi, the former containing the great Tāklā-mākān desert. To her east lies the Chinese province of Sikang and to her south and west lies the great sub-continent of India with the great Himalayas containing the highest peaks in the world.

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[1] Elphinstone, History of India, p. 182.

On all sides of Tibet, there are some gorges, tracks and passes through which she keeps limited contact with the outside world. Tibet is approachable from India through risky mountain-passes and tracks of Kashmir, Kumaun, Gharwal and Kalimpong. These are mainly trade-routes and the best of them with the minimum distance from Lhasa is the Kalimpong-route of Bengal. There are also some routes and tracks from India to Tibet via Nepal and Bhutan, but Kalimpong-route being the best and shortest, besides Almora and Leh; through this route late British Government of India under the Governor-Generalship of Lord Curzon once sent a military expedition to Tibet,[1] in 1904 A.D.

Tibet was once known to ancient Indians as the Kimpurusha-vasha and Kāmboja. This country always influenced their imagination and references are not wanting about it in Sanskrit literature. If one stretches his imagination further, he may think this land as the second heaven inhabited by the Devas towards which Yudhisthir with his brothers and Draupadi made their final exist from this world, as related in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. It was also the land of the Yakshas of the ancient Sanskrit literature with the reminiscenses of the Rākshasa King Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa epic, who tried to conquer this mountainous region. Whether it meant a clash between the Pamirians (Yakshas) and the Austrics (Rākshasas) in a legendary age is difficult to guess. However, these are all only vague speculations. Many other peoples are said to have lived either within Tibet or in the outskirts of the Himalayas. These were the Kimpurushas, the Vidyādharas, the Kinnaras, the Gandharvas, the Piśāchas and the Bhūtas, etc. Who were really these peoples requires careful investigation.

Tibet has long and close legendary as well as historical connections with India. According to Tibetan traditions it was first organised as a well-established state due to the rule of a prince of North-India (a son of king Prasenjit of Kośala) in the 4th century B.C. Tibet is a sacred country for the Hindu-Buddhist India.

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[1] As the result of the treaty between India and Tibet after the Tibetan expedition, the MacMahon Line fixed the boundary between the two. Thus India received not only the whole of the Himalayas, but also some portions of Tibet itself. From Bengal two trade-routes lead to Lhasa. Of these, one is the Kalimpong-Giyantze route via Jelep. La and the other is the Kalimpong Gangtok route via Nathu-La ("La" means a mountain-pass).

Many of the big and holy rivers of North-India have their origin either in Tibet or in its neighbourhood. Thus, the rivers Indus, the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Brahmaputra may be named by way of examples. The Kailas mountain and the lake Mānasasarovara of Tibet are specially sacred to the Hindus from time immemorial and the pious Hindus visit the two annually. Even the Tibetan Buddhists hold the two sites in high esteem and reverence. Mt. Kailas, to both the Hindus and Buddhists are holy as believed to be not only the abode of Hara-Gauri but also of the Bodhisattvas.[1]

It is very peculiar that Indian and perhaps, Bengali influence penetrated both into Tibet and the neighbouring Chinese province of Sikang to its east. In Sikang one important trade-centre has the Indian (and possibly Bengali) name Jaykundu and another place has the name Sārgañja.

Tibet had occasional warfare with Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan and Bengal. She conquered and kept under subjection a part of North-Bengal for sometime, after the death of Emperor Harshavardhan of Kanauj in the 7th century A.D. Tibet also at different times waged war against Mongolia, Turkistan and China. But with all these struggles her cultural and spiritual regeneration depended on India alone.

It is wellknown that Tibet not only received her Buddhism from India but also her scripts which she received from Kashmir. Tibet received her religious reformation mainly from Bengal. The Tibetans as a race are considered distinct from the Chinese and the standard expert opinion is that they are Tartars and so Mongolians all the same. But, they may as well be Pamirians who once mixed up with the people of ancient Bengal. The Pamirian Saivism possibly found its centre in the area of Mt. Kailāsa in the dim past. However, in historical period, the Tibetans followed the animistic "Pon" religion followed by Buddhism which gradually gave place to what is known as Buddhistic Lāmāism. The Buddhism of Tibet is known as belonging to Mahāyāna group or branch and is also of Tantrik type which was first introduced by Tāntrik monk Padma-Sambhava of Udayana (North-West India) in the middle of the 8th century A.D.

Tibet being turned into a theocratic state long after the introduction of Buddhism, the head of the monk-class or order also became the head of the state. Thus, the head-monk or head-Lāmā came to be known as the Dālāi Lāmā from 1573 A.D. Lāmāism is a combination of animistic "Pon" religion and the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Tāntrik type.

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[1] Swami Pranavānanda—" Explorations in Tibet ".

In the middle of the 13th century A.D., Kublai Khan, the grandson of the celebrated Chenghiz Khan, conquered China and occupied its throne. He then conquered Tibet and adopted the Tibetan Lāmāism in 1247 A.D. He invited Sākya Pandit, the chief Lāmā of the Sākya monastery in Tibet, to his Chinese Capital and from the time of the Lāmā's nephew who succeeded him as the Lāmā, the Lāmā-rule in Tibet was introduced. The title Dālāi Lāmā was first conferred by Altan Khan, a King of Mongolia, in 1573 A.D. to the cheif Lāmā of the Tāsi monastery of Tibet, the full title being "Dālāi Lāmā Vajradhar." The second Lama, known as the "Panchen Lāmā" remained in charge of civil affairs.

The Buddhist saint (monk) Dharmapāl went to Tibet from India in 1013 A.D. In 1042 A.D. the great Bengali monk and scholar Atish Dipankar Srijñān went to Tibet from the Buddhist monastery of Bikramsilā, being invited by the King of Tibet to bring in certain religious reformation. This monk passed many years previously outside India and was much respected in Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan and Indonesia.

Tsrong-San-Gampo, a King of Tibet (613-650 A.D.) married a princess of China and a princess of Nepal. Both the princesses were Buddhists in faith and as a result of this the above king also adopted Buddhism and strengthened its cause in that country by his royal support.

Tibet owes much to Bengal for her religious regeneration. The Bengalis helped considerably to transform Mahāyāni Buddhism of Tibet into its Tāntrik form. Besides this, Tibet also preserves early Buddhist-Saivite Nāth-panthi literature of Bengal (The Caryyā-padas) which was once very popular in the latter country. The Hindu and the Buddhist religions, both have the same source and both, at a later stage, have the common bond of fellowship in Tantrikism, a kind of mystic practice and conception, once current in many countries of Asia and Africa. As Bengal was the the greatest stronghold of Tantrikism, the early Bengalis with its help achieved much success in unifying various countries of south-east Asia.

Buddhism first entered China from India in about 200 B.C. In 65 A.D. it became widely established in the Chinese empire. To the Chinese people, India has always been their holy land, the cradle of their sacred religion. In course of time when dispute arose on many points of Buddhism, among multifarious Chinese schools of thought and various sects, due perhaps to degeneration of this religion, many pious Chinese travellers and scholars visited India, the birthplace of Buddhism, at different times, to get a first-hand knowledge of their sacred religion. The invaluable record left by the Buddhist missionaries and scholars are like beacon-lights to furnish incidentally valuable information with regard to India of a particular period and her connections with the Central and East Asia.

Among the Chinese pilgrims stated above, the earliest known was Chi-tao-an. After him and among the more notable visitors may be named Fa-hien (399 A.D.-414 A.D., *i.e.*, during the Gupta Period). He was followed by Hoël-Seng and Song-yun, a century after. Then came Hiouen-Thsang, Hiuen Tsang or Yen Chwang (7th century A.D., *i.e.*, during the reign of Harshavardhan of Kanouj). After this traveller, Khinie, besides some other Chinese travellers, visited India in the 8th century A.D. Of the above, the records left by Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang are most valuable. Some facts are gleaned below from their accounts.

From Fa-hien's records we learn that he started from China and passed the territories of Oïgours, Khotan, Cabul, Udayana and Gandhara (Candahar?). These countries and places were on his land-route to India, and show incidentally the link of traffic between China and India *via* Central Asia. It seems this was one of the principal land-routes through which trade and commerce were carried on between India and China in old days.

Hiuen Tsang's visit to India was by far the most important for the most valuable informations supplied from his itinerary. "He starts from the N. W. extremity of China, and pursues his adventurous route through the country of the Oïgours and other Tartar tribes ; thus he mentions the kingdoms of O-ki-ni and Kai-tehé (Kharushar?). At the latter place he stops sixty days, on account of the snow interrupting the roads ; and he thence goes to Pa-lou-kia, which seems to be the same as the modern province of Aksu. In all these countries he finds Buddhism more or less prevalent. He then crosses the mountain Ling-chan (Musur Aola), which occupies more than a week ; here he loses several of his companions from hunger and cold, and many of the beasts of burden. He next skirts the shore of the lake Thsing-tuhi (Issikul), and arrives at the city Sou-ché, where he meets with the Turki-Khan ; he notices that his people were fire-worshippers. He then travels on to Tche-chi (Chash on Tashkend), crosses the Jaxartes, and visits Samarkand, which is entirely inhabited by fire-worshippers. He, then, proceeds through the pass called the 'Iron-Gates' (Derbend), enters the kingdom of Tukhara, and crosses the Oxus. He describes Tukhara as divided into twenty-seven states, which though to some extent, independent, are generally subject to the Turks. Here he finds Buddhism held in respect and still more so in Balkh, where there were 100 convents containing 3000 monks. He next reaches Bamyán (where Buddhism is very flourishing), and crosses the Hindukush. He then visits Kapiśa (the Capissa of Pliny), which is under a Kshatriya king, to whom ten kingdoms are subject ; here he finds 100 convents with 6000 monks, but also scores of temples and many sects of heretics, some of whom went about naked, others rubbed themselves with ashes or wore skulls as ornaments. Near the capital he passes, on a mountain called Pilusára, the first of the long series of Asoka's Stupas or monuments erected over relics. On leaving Kapiśa he crosses a mountain range to the east, and then enters Northern India.''[1]

A. Stein and Sven Hedin at recent times explored many unknown parts of Central Asia and their startling discoveries have now much added to the stock of knowledge of these regions, specially of the Taklamakan and Gobi deserts, where the remains of a long-lost civilization of forgotten peoples lie buried under the earth and sands for ever. A word about Mongolia may not be out of place here while we mention the Gobi desert. Mongolia with its Gobi desert still preserves the very ancient civilization of the human race. It was identified by late Umesh Vidyaratna as the earliest home of the Aryans, though other scholars mention different places. The present Mongols form a branch of the great Mongolian race and are Buddhists. "The Monks of Mongolia still preserve the Indian title of Pandita." Pandit Tāranath, the famous Lama of Urga (Mongolia) and Tibet flourished in the early 17th century A.D.

As mentioned before, Ancient India gradually extended her frontiers to the East and to the South-East up to the Pacific as she lost, in course of time, her contact and hold over South-West Asia. Racially speaking the Austric people[2] inhabited India migrating from the South-East Asia and the adjoining islands, in the pre-historic period, before possibly the Dravidians, the Pamirians, the Mongolians and the Aryans. The Vedic Aryans came last in India and cemented together the culture of all. Traces of this fact may be surmised from various sources and specially from the Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappā finds. A great part of Central India is still occupied by the Austrics and a large percentage of Indian population still possess Austric blood in them. Linguistic researches of Przyluski, Bloch and Levi also point to the same direction.

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[1] See Elphinstone—History of India, Appendix 9, p. 282.

[2] See Levi, Przyluski and Jules Bloch—"Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India." According to Pargiter Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Sumha have oceanic origin, as linguists point out certain Bengali words to that direction, *i.e.*, Austric.

In the period when India expanded to the East it was the Aryan culture which already predominated in India made its influence felt in the Far-East and in the Pacific islands. The religions, through which this change was effected were Hinduism (both Pauranik and Tantrik) and Buddhism (of Hinayāna type).

It was mainly Vaṅga (ancient Bengal) with Kaliṅga and Dravida (mainly the Chola country of the Madras Province) which took leading parts in spreading Indian culture in the Far-East. Migration of Indians, commercial activity, religious teachings, cultural propaganda and political conquests were some of the instruments through which Indo-China (with Burma and Siam) and Indonesia were thoroughly Indianised. Later on the Arab Muslims, in course of their trading activities, proselytized Indonesia and otherwise made their influence felt in the Malaya peninsula and Indonesia followed by the Chinese who have infiltrated in large numbers in Indo-China and the Malaya peninsula being moved on the same principle, at the present time.

In the Buddhist Jātaka stories references of contact of ancient India with the Far-East through the Austric people may be well surmised. It is stated in one of these stories that a Nāga (Austric?) prince who eloped with a princess of Banaras, where he spent some time, was later on followed by an emissary of the king of Banaeas in the quest of the princess. This emissary took ship in the port of Bhṛigukachha (Baraoch) of Western India and finally reached somewhere in the South-East Asia where he found the princess and managed her return....

It may be assumed that the Indian sailors visited the Far-East and the Indians settled there at a much later period, just as the Austric people entered India and settled here, perhaps, due to pressure of population and tribal struggles, at a much earlier period. The evidences of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (circ. 1000 B.C.) and Ptolemy (circ. 100 A.D.) pointed clearly about the sea-faring habits of the Bengali sailors along with those of Greece and Rome. The inscription of Sitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan mentioned about the rule of the Chandra dynasty of South Bengal in Arakan and the western part of Burma. Similarly, the Pattikera dynasty of East-Bengal had political connections with Burma in the 11th-12th century A. D. The Rajas of Tipperah also occasionally invaded and conquered parts of Burma, as we learn about the achievements of Raja Amar Mānikya of Tipperah (circ. 1597-1611 A.D.). The Burmese and the Arakanese did the same, showing extreme cruelty, with regard to Assam and the East and Lower Bengal at a much later period, *e.g.*, in the 17th and 18th centuries, along with the Portuguese pirates. However, the Arakan Court in the 17th century also befriended Bengali literature by patronising the great Muslim poet of Bengal, Alaol who lived there, through its minister Māgan Thakur. The Hindu religious sect known as the Nath-Panthis went to Burma from Bengal (circ. 12th-13th century A.D.) and spread their cult in that country, specially in Upper Burma, where Burmese of that faith are still found, although normally it is a Buddhist country. In trade and commerce East India and Burma are very closely connected.

Epigraphic record of the 4th century A.D. has been discovered in Malacca which describes of a Bengali navigator named Mahānābik Buddha Gupta, a native of Rakta-mrittikā, who paid a visit to that country and made some pious donations. He was, perhaps, a naval officer of Emperor Samudra Gupta (being his contemporary) whose fleet visited Indonesian isles, in course of naval warfare in these parts. The famous Allahabad Prasasti of General Hari Sena corroborates this surmise. The Hindus and Buddhists of those days used to establish colonies in the Malaya peninsula (among other places), such as, Pan Pan, Nagara Sri Dharmaraja, Katha and Jaya, as R. C. Majumdar in his work "Suvarnadwipa," (p. 65 ff.) has very well pointed out. The settlements of the Chinese Thāis in Siam, Upper Burma and Eastern India, a few centuries back, show considerable connections between East India and the Far-East. Some Burmese names of towns are quite Indian such as Haṃsāvatī (Henzada), Śrīkshetra (Prome), etc.

Cultural and political contact between Siam and Bengal were once very prominent. Assamese tradition still refers to a past war between the king of Vaṅga and a king of Siam in the 14th century A.D. There was a time when the boundaries of Bengal and Siam touched in the Bassein region, the river Irawaddy forming the natural boundary of both. According to Wood, the historical accounts of Siam and Burma state that the boundary of Siam under King Naresuen (Naresvara) of 16th century A.D. reached the frontiers of Bengal. (W. A. R. Wood, "A History of Siam," Chap. 10). In Siam, side by side with Buddhism, Paurānik Hindu culture is running very strong. The Hindu epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, are still read, recited and played in Siam.

The migration of the Thāis from the South-China in the 13th century, to Siam, Upper Burma (*e.g.* The Shans) and East-India (*e.g.*, the Ahoms and the Manipuris) due to the attack of Kublai Khan has far-reaching consequences in Siam. In this country they have seized the political power from the hands of the Austric Mon-Khemirs but have succumbed to the cultural influences of India. They are now resisting vigorously the present pressure of Chinese influence and immigration, a part of the programme of Chinese expansion. The Siamese folk-songs, the folk-dance, the folk-lore, traditions and many social customs—all clearly point out the strong influence of Hindu-Buddhistic culture of India in that country and even the Siamese language has absorbed many Indo-Aryan words in their use, in every-day life and in names of towns and rivers such as the town Authiya ("Ayodhyā") and the river Mekong ("Mā-Gaṅgā") etc. The Laos people of North Indo-China also cherish many Indian tradions in their society and choose Indian names from the Hindu epics.

Cambodia has connections with India from about 1st century A.D. The name Cambodia has been connected by scholars with the Kāmboja people of India who first came to settle here from the side of India. Who were these Kāmbojas is a subject of contention among scholars. The north-west India, the western Himalyas, Tibet, Bhutan and the north-Bengal have all been found to contain these Kāmboja people, who were taken to be non-Aryans. In ancient days the Chinese named the country of Cambodia as "Fou-Nan." The old Cambodian people contained in them the Mon-Khemirs, an Austric people, who were related to the indegenous Siamese people, and in fact, the major parts of Siam and Cambodia were once politically one and the same country.

About the earliest Indian settlements in Cambodia, the country is associated with the two names Cambu (reminding the name Kāmboja) [1] and Kaundinya (two of the same name) who visited this land at different times in about the 1st or 2nd century A. D. Whether they were originally Bengalis (which is the most probable) needs careful investigation. Old Chinese records mention of the establishment of diplomatic relations by Cambodia with Bengal, and so with India in the 3rd century A.D. (*circa* 230 A.D.). The magnificent temple of Aṅgkor Bhaṭ is a bright example of the ancient Indian influence in Cambodia.

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[1] "Kāmboja" and "Kamboja" might be two different peoples, the latter belonging to Cambodia.

The country Annam was once known as "Champā", the ancient land of the "Chām" people. In East-India the flower "Champaka" or "Champā" is well-known and in East-India there was an ancient kingdom in Bhagalpur side known as "Champā." In Bengal Chāmpā flower and the name designating places (like Chāmpāighāt) and persons are very common. The Chāms, as people, might not be Aryans, rather according to many European scholars they might be Mongolians and so allied to the Chinese. According to one Indo-Chinese epigraph, a King of Champā (Annam) married a princess named Gauṛendra-Lakshmī in the 13th century A.D. and the name of the princess suggests that she might come from Gauṛ or Bengal.[1]

Like the countries mentioned above, Indonesia and Malaysia also had once very intimate connection with India through Bengal and the Tamil-Telugu country. The Pāla Emperor Deva Pāla (circ. 815—855 A.D.) of Bengal maintained a friendly relationship with Balaputra Deva of the Sailendra dynasty of Java as proved by the epigraphic records. According to Dr. Sutterheim, the mother of Balaputra Deva was the princess Tārā of Bengal, daughter of Emperor Dharma Pāla. The architectural remains (both Hindu and Buddhistic) in Sumatra and Java and the Hinduism in religion are still followed in Bali, as well as many traditions, place-names and individual names testify ancient Indian heritage in that country. At the village Prambanam in Bali the images of the goddess Durgā exist even now testifying to the spread of Hindu religion and influence abroad.

The Hindu sage Agastya of mythical period is remembered with reverence in these distant isles as also the legends of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. It was very likely that the Tamil fleets also visited these islands. The local peoples of various denominations, such as the Mālayas, the Kanakās, the Dyaks and the Illānons of Indonesia and Sulu Sea isles in their habits of life and movements bear many characteristic features of ancient Indian cultural influence. Though at a later period the Arab traders settled and proselytized the local people superficially yet the hold of Indian Hindu-Buddhistic culture and traditions are very strong in Malay and the Indonesian isles. The Hindu people from the eastern sea-board of India still flock in this region, in large numbers. Many Telugue people of the eastern side of India still work in the mines and forests of Burma and rubber plantations of Malay. They are locally known as the "Korāngis." The "Suvanna-bhumi" (the golden land) and the "Suvanna-Dwip-puñja" (golden islands) by which Indo-China and Indonesia were once known to Buddhist India still testify ancient India's contact with the Far-East. Many of the Buddhist Jātaka stories are full with the glowing and detailed descriptions of the ancient Indian oversea adventures and intimate knowledge of these regions, specially of the Indian ocean and Pacific ocean zones. It may not be too much to say that culturally the distant Pacific isles had strong ties of relationship with Ancient India. In the fields of religious beliefs, superstitions, manners and customs, architecture and sculpture, this is very prominently discernible. The peculiar customary unfinished figures of the images of the Hindu diety Jagannath along with Balaram and Subhadrā of the temple of Jagannath at Puri in Orissa, have their prototypes in Oceania which lead some scholars to consider that either the same or similar people once inhabited in various parts of India and Oceania spreading the same belief, culture and artistic style.

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[1] For Cambodia, Annam and generally for the Far-East see R. C. Mazumder—"Champa"; B. R. Chatterjee and N. P. Chakravartty—"India and Java" (J. J. I. S.); B. R. Chatterjee—"Indian influence in Cambodia"; P. C. Dasgupta—"Deities of the Pacific World" (Modern Review, December, 1949); see also Bulletin—L'ecole Francaise de extreme Orient, Vols. IV and XII.

In disseminating a particular culture and religious belief, Bengal seems to take the leading part in south-east Asia and Oceania. According to Fergusson, Bengal gave to the world her peculiar style of curvilinear roofing.[1] The dilapidated ancient temple of "Jatār-Deūl" in South-Bengal has strong similarities with the Indo-Chinese style of temple-construction. The magnificent temple-architecture of South-India by the Dravidians has its counter-part in Indonesia. The Chola naval strength and maritime activity (including colonisation) in Eastern waters along with the same of the Bengalis are well-known enough to need any comments. Even in the Bengali literature of a particular kind known as the "Maṅgal-Kāvyas" which were current in Bengal between the 13th and the 18th century A.D., one gets vivid idea of Bengal's once-glorious oversea trade and maritime activity of a forgotten period of her history. The Bengali folk-lore also supports this impression. The great Bengali ports of Saptagrām, Tāmralipta (Tamluk, from whence the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Hieun Tsang sailed for China) and Chittagong once attained international reputation. The mention of vessels called

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[1] See Fergusson—Indian Architecture.

"Janga-Dingā" in the above literature and "Sāmpān" still in vogue in Chittagong dialect, reminds one of Chinese connection with Bengal as in China the junk vessels and sāmpāns are still in use. The temple of "Uṣnīṣ-vijaya-dhārini" in Japan is said to contain a manuscript whose script resembles old Bengali script—thus pointing out Bengal's early contact with that far off country of Japan in a forgotten period, if we stretch our imagination too far.

Racially speaking, some names of peoples or tribes inhabiting ancient India from the dim past require clear illucidation. Much difference of opinions exist with many of them—some of such names are the "Daradas", "Pallavas", "Sakas", "Bhutas", "Pisāchas" (with "Paisāchi" dialect), "Kāmbojas", "Chinas", "Yakshas", "Rakshas", "Gandharvas", "Vidyādharas", "Kinnaras", "Bānaras", "Nāgas", the "Mallas" and the "Yavanas". With many scholars the Daradas were the Himalayan Dards, Bhutas were the Bhutiās of Bhutan, the Kāmbojas were the N. W. Indians, the Tibetans and the Bhutiās, Chinas were the north-eastern foreigners of Mongolian blood including sometimes the Tibetans, the Sakas were the Central Asiatic tribes, the Yavanas were the ancient Greeks and the neighbouring foreigners, the Pallavas (of South-India) were related to the Brāhuis of Beluchistan, the Nāgas and the Rākshas or Rākshasas were the South-east Asiatics of Austric blood, the Bānaras were the old Dravidians or Negretoes, and the Mallas were connected with the N. W. Indian tribe (of the Greeks) Malloi (Dravidian sense hills or hilly), Mālay, Malacca etc. The Mallas were a people of unknown origin, possibly Austrics. As regards an ancient place called "Uttar-Kuru" mentioned in Sanskrit literature and history wide difference of opinions exist regarding its identification. Some scholars take it as a part of Kashmir, while others like late Umesh Vidyāratna located it in Mongolia and Taklamakan. Though most of the scholars favour the view that the Vedic Aryans came to India from outside, yet some hold that they were original inhabitants of this country. Difference of opinions exist also as regards the location of their original home, if they came from outside India of the present connotation.

Eminent Indologists with untiring energy have been collecting extremely useful materials from divergent sources like Art, Architecture, Literature, Folk-lore, History, Foreign records, Anthropology, Geography etc., which will one day, we hope, help construction of a real Cultural and Political History of India with her invaluable contributions to the World.

THE MYSTIC STATE OF ECSTASY AND CONSTANCY WITH GOD

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Moulana Rumi in his Masnavi says, 'The Ecstatic or' passing state ('*hāl*') is like the unveiling of the Beautiful Bride, and the constancy (with God) or permanent station (maqām) is being alone with the Bride.'

Hāl chun jalwa ast zān zībā arūs ;
Wīn maqām ān khalwat āmad bā arūs.[1]

'Hāl' is the ecstatic state which is momentary, and in this state the devotee is in a flood of rapture. It is also called 'Wajd' (Finding) where the seeker finds out what he is seeking for. And 'maqām' is the state of constancy (with God) which is permanent ; but this constancy with his beloved is not known to others. The other term used for 'māqām' is 'tamkīn' (fixity). Here he is living in the Abode of God, though outwardly it may be that he is talking or conversing with the public, his mind being always at 'fixity' with God, his Eternal Beloved.

Rumi continues to sing of these two states : There are many a sufi who enjoys 'hāl,' but he that has attained to 'maqām' is rare amongst them. The momentary ecstatic state may be attained by any one who has absorbed himself in one thought without caring for any other thing for the time being, as we find in his story of the king and the handmaiden where the king without finding any other way to rescue his beloved, the handmaiden, from her sickness of the mind, 'he entered the mosque and proceeded to the mihrāb (prayer niche) and the prayer carpet was bathed in tears of the king. When he became aware of himself from his immersion of 'Fanā' (unconsciousness of one's self, being merged in the Divine will), he opened his tongue in praise and applaud with a happy mood, 'O God, your least gift is a great domain over the world, what shall I pray to you ?—For you know every secret . . . . .' As from the depth of his heart, he raised forward his prayer, the Sea of His Bounty began to surge. Slumber overpowered him at the time of his weeping and he saw in dream that an old man has appeared before him, saying, 'Good news, O King, your prayers have been granted ; (now) if any one . . . . .'[1] And thus the king gets what he seeks for.

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[1] **Masnavi, Vol. I, 1485, ed. by R. A. Nicholson.**

. These ecstatic states are generally obtained by the seeker in his earlier periods in dreams. He is not yet pure of all bodily desires. For the moment he becomes unconscious of the outward activities, either of the body or the mind, and concentrates his spirit in one thought which is his Ideal, he realises it face to face. But as it is not possible to retain the concentration for a duration of time, in slumbering dream the effect of the concentration is realized. Gradually when by sacrificing all carnal desires, a soul becomes steadfast in concentrating his mind on a single thought which is his ideal, he realises the same even in his waking moments. Physically this is called Trance, which in mystic terms may be said as 'Ecstasy or Rapture, or the finding of the object he seeks for. Of this ecstasy or rapture, there is reference in every religion—not only in religions, but in every state of life, whether of the scientists, the philosophers or the teachers of religion, as Myers, the famous Psychologist, says in his 'Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death.' It is hardly a paradox to say that the evidence for ecstasy is stronger than the evidence for any other religious beliefs. Of all the subjective experiences of religion, ecstasy is that which has been most urgently, perhaps to the psychologists most convincingly, asserted ; and it is not confined to any one religion . . . . . From the medicine man of the lowest savages up to St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul, with Buddha and Muhammad on the way, we find records which though morally and intellectually much differing, are in psychological essence the same.

But we are not concerned here with psychological[2] aspect of ecstasy, but with the mystical aspect of it which has been finely depicted by Miss Underhill in her Mysticism where she says, "While on its physical side ecstasy is an entrancement, on its mental side a complete unification of consciousness, on its mystical side it is an exalted act of perception. It represents the greatest possible extension of the spiritual consciousness in the direction of the Pure Being: the 'blind intent stretching' here receives its reward in a profound experience of eternal life. In this experience the departmental activities of thought and feeling, the consciousness of I-hood, of space and time—all that belongs to the world of Becoming and our place therein—are suspended. The vitality which we are accustomed to split amongst these various things, is gathered up to form a state of 'pure apprehension': a vivid intuition of—or if you like conjunction with—the Transcendent. For the time of his ecstasy the mystic is, for all practical purposes, as truly living in the supernatural world, as the normal human being, is living in the sensual world. He is experiencing the highest and most joyous of those temporary and unstable states—those 'passive unions'—in which his consciousness escapes the limitations of the senses, rises to freedom, and is united for an instant with the 'great life of the All'."[1]

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[1] Masnavi, Vol. I (second poem). Here these lines are adapted from 'the king and the handmaiden' of Prabuddha Bharata, Oct., 1946.

[2] Masnavi, Vol. II, p. 260.

Rumi has explained the states of ecstasy and constancy—with God which are best understood in the pages of his Book, through the sequence of the ideas of the lines of his poetry. Yet we can quote lines which will speak of themselves of those states. He says, "Verily in my death (of carnal desires) is my (new spiritual) life, O youth, how long shall I be parted from my home (or origin which is the Abode of God)—until when ? If there were not in my staying (in this world—which is the consciousness of my own self), my separation from God, he (Prophet Muhammad) would not have said, 'Verily we are returning to Him' (Qurān, II, 151). The returning one is that one who comes back to his (native) city and (thereby) approaches the unity (of God), (fleeing) from the revolution of time."[2] Our Consciousness of our own selves separates us from the One unity of God; the moment we shall be relieved of our Carnal desires, the conflicting struggle of which brings forward the conception of good and evil, which in turn creates in us the ideas of space and time, we shall realize our Oneness with God. We know that every religion is a way to realization ; and the rules of religion are to be observed only to reach that state of ecstasy which is the realization of God, the unveiling of the Beloved. The veil which hinders us to see the face of the Beloved, is mystically referred to the ignorance or Sins in us, and so long we are attached to these Sins, we are far removed from the sight of the face of God.

Rumi also says, "As the workshop is the dwelling place of the worker, any one who is outside of it, is unaware of Him. Come then into the workshop, that is, non-existence, so that you may see the work and the worker together. As the workshop is the place of clairvoyance, then, outside the workshop there is only blindfoldness."[3]

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[1] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 267.
[2] Masnavi, Vol. I, ed. by Nicholson, p. 241.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 288.

The existence of this world and with it the creation of us, originated from non-existence, which has been compared to the workshop of the creator; and this world of us is only the product of that workshop. If we like to realize the mystery of creation and with it the essence of God, we must go to non-existence, which we originally had; and this original position we may restore only by dying to self (Fanā). With our dying to self, we shall reach the state of ecstasy which is a place of clairvoyance, and everything will be seen clearly in its reality. "That state," says Sir Radhakrishnan, "is a state of rapture and ecstasy, a condition of ānanda, where the creature as creature is abolished, but becomes one with the Creator, or more accurately realizes his oneness with Him. We cannot describe this perfection accurately. We use Symbols. The nature of eternal life is a condition of ānanda, or freedom, a state of joyous expansion of the Soul, where heaven and earth are felt to flow together."[1] This the Upanishad of the Hindus describes as Moksha, or release—release from the chains of the desires of the worldly attachments.

The reality of that state is not possible to describe exactly. Only one who has got that position can understand the reality of his situation which is same as His. Moulana Rumi has explained it thus: Intelligence is here silent, or it leads to error; for the heart is with Him, indeed the heart is He. The reflection of every image is lost everlastingly from his heart realizing the (true) meaning of plurality and its unity. Every new image that falls on the heart (in its state of ecstasy) is appearing therein without any imperfection. The men of polished hearts have escaped from scents and colours (*i.e.*, worldly attachments); they behold beauty every moment without delay. They have relinquished the form and musk of knowledge. They have raised the banner of the eye of mystical intuition."[2] The later part of Rumi's verses referred to just now, is the state of constancy with God where the mystic beholds the beauty of God continually.

Mahmud Shabistary in his Gulshan-i-Raz (the Garden of Mystery) which contains the essence of mystic theory utters, thus:

> But till you do not utterly gamble away yourself,
> How can your prayer be a true prayer?
> When your essence is pure from all stain,

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[1] Radhakrishnan, Philosophy of the Upanishad, p. 113.
[2] Masnavi, Vol. I, pp. 214-15.

Then it is that your prayers are 'a joy of the eyes'[1]
There remains then no separation,
Knower and Known are one and the same.[2]

Islamic mysticism has generally been described by the Sufi teachers in their poetical language. And although higher things not easily understood by common conception is best to be described in poetical language, but prosaic description is necessary while dealing on the state of facts. They have also described it in their prose works, but here also they have often become mystical in their way of description —mystical, here, I like to mean, not wholly said, for mysticism itself is that which is to be realized, a state which is beyond description. It is al Ghazali, the pioneer in Islamic Mysticism, who has tried to explain it in his philosophical bent of view.

"Says al Ghazali in his Ihya, 'In such a state of absorption, the mystic is unmindful of himself, he does not feel what happens to his body, and this state is called 'fanā.' It means that he has become absorbed in Another, and his concern has become one concern and that is his Beloved; there remains in him no room for any but the Beloved that he should turn towards him, whether that be himself or another. This is the state which means attainment by the seeker of the Sought. Again he says in his Mishkatal anwar, 'When the worshipper thinks no longer of his worship, but is altogether absorbed in Him whom he worship, that state by the gnostic is called fanā, when a man has passed away from himself that he feels nothing of his bodily members, nor of what is passing without, nor what passes within his own mind. He is absent from all that, and all that is absent from him: he is journeying first to his Lord, then in his Lord. But if during that state the thought occurs to his mind that he has passed away completely from himself, that is blemish and defilement. For perfect absorption means that he is unconscious not only of himself, but of his absorption. For 'Fanā' from 'Fanā' is the goal of 'Fanā.'

"Orthodox theologicians, al Ghazali continues, may regard these words as meaningless nonsense, but that is not so, for this state of the mystics in relation to Him whom they love is similar to your state in relation to what you love of position, or wealth or a human love, when you may be overcome by anger in thinking of an enemy, or so engrossed in your beloved that you perceive nothing else, and do not hear when some one speaks to you nor see one who passes, though your eyes are open and you are not deaf, for this absorption makes you oblivious of all else and even of the absorption itself. For any attention to the absorption means being diverted from the cause thereof. So having explained to you what is meant by fanā, you should cast aside doubt and cease to deny what you cannot comprehend......This absorption at first will be like a flash of lightning, lasting but a short time, but then it becomes habitual, and a means of enabling the soul to the world above, where pure and essential Reality is manifested to it and it takes upon itself the impress of the Invisible world and the Divine Majesty is revealed to it......and at last it looks upon God face to face. When such a mystic returns to this world of unreality and shadows, he regards mankind with pity, because they are deprived of the contemplation of the beauty of that Celestial Abode and he marvels at their contentment with shadows and their alurement by this world of vain deceits. He is present with them in body,... but absent in spirit; wondering at their presence, while they wonder at his absence.

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[1] Quran, 32, 18.
[2] Gulshan-i-Raz, translated by Whinfield, p. 52.

"These gnostics have ascended from the low lands of unreality to the mountain heights of Reality and at the end of the ascent they have seen for themselves that there is none in existence save God alone, and that 'all things perish save His countenance' (Qurān 88, 28), all things have been foredoomed to mortality save the One Himself."[1] Moulana Rumi also sings in the same tone. 'All things perish save His countenance: unless you are in His countenance do not seek to exist...whoever is uttering 'I' and 'we,' at the door (of the Abode of God), he is turned back from the door and is continuing in not (non-entity)."[2] Our lives without seeking after the realization of God are useless, and as long as we have not reachad the state of unity of all things in God, we are really wondering in non-entity that has no lasting benefit. But when the Sufi rises to that highest stage where he realises the absolute unity of everything in God, he can declare like the famous saints of Islamic mysticism, 'an al Haq' (I am God), Subhānī mā azma shani (Glory be to Me, how great is My majesty), or like the Vedantists 'Soham' (I am He), or like the Christian mystics, 'I and my Father is One.' But the words uttered by passionate lovers in a state of ecstasy should be concealed from the ordinary public, as they will not be able to comprehend such a state of ecstasy, and such words may lead them astray.

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[1] Quoted by M. Smith in his Life of al-Ghazali.

[2] Masnavi, Vol. I, p. 188.

How finely Moulana explains in his poetic fashion in the fourth Volume of his Book, the uttering of Bayazid, a Sufi teacher of the 9th century A.D., who exclaimed in his state of ecstasy, 'Glory be to Me, how great is My majesty.' Said that master of sciences (of Sufism) expressly in a state of ecstasy, Behold, there is no God but I, so worship Me.' When that ecstasy passed away they (his disciples) said to him at dawn, 'you said such and such, and this is improper.' He replied, 'This time, if I make a scandal, come at once, dash knives at me. God is pure of the body, and I am with the body; you should kill me, if I say like this.'...Though Qurān is from the lip of the Prophet (Muhammad), if any one says God did not speak it, he is an infidel. Wen the 'huma' [1] of selflessness took to flight, Bayazid (again) began (to utter) these words. The flood of bewilderment took away his reason, he began to speak more firmly than he had spoken first, within my mantle (body) there is nothing but God, how long will you seek (Him) on the earth and in heaven ? His disciples became frenzied at this, and dashed their knives at his body. Every one who plunged a dagger into the Sheikh was reversely making a gash in his body. There was no mark on the body of that master of sciences, but these disciples were wounded and drowned in blood.......O you, who stab the selfless ones with the sword, you are stabbing your body with it. Beware (of it), for the selfless one has died away (in God) and is safe, he is dwelling in safety everlastingly. His form is lost, and he has become a mirror—nothing is there but the image of the face of another. If you spit at it, you spit at your own face ; and if you strike at the mirror, you strike at yourself. If you see an ugly face (in the mirror), it is you ; and if you see (there) Jesus and Mary, it is you. (For), He is neither this, nor that. He is simple (without having any reflection of the attributes of good and evil) ; He has placed your image before you.......O you, who are drunken with the wine (of love), you are on the edge of the roof ; sit down or descend (from your highest state of ecstasy), and peace be with you. Every moment you became delighted, know that, that delightful moment is the edge of the roof. Be always anxious of that delightful moment, and conceal it like a treasure and do not divulge it."

In the same way, another famous Sufi, Mansur al Hallaj, declared 'an al Haq' (I am God), and let us see how Rumi explains it. He says in his fihi mā fihi, 'when a fly is plunged in honey, all the members of its body are reduced to the same condition, and it does not move. Similarly, the term istighnaq (absorption in God) is applied to one who has no conscious existence or imitation or movement. Any action that proceeds from him, is not his own. If he is still struggling in the water, if he cries out, 'Oh, I am drowning,' he is not said to be in the state of absorption. This is what is signified by the words 'an al Haq' (I am God). People imagine that it is a presumptious claim, whereas it is really a presumptious claim to say 'an al abd' (I am the servant of God), and 'an al Haq (I am God) is an expression of great humility. The man who says 'I am the servant of God,' affirms two existences, his own and God's, but he that says 'an al Haq' has made himself non-existent and has given himself up and says, 'I am God,' *i.e.*, I am naught, He is all ; there is no being but God's. This is the extreme of humility and self-abasement.

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[1] A Fabulous bird, often compared to God Himself.

Again, in his Masnavi, Rumi says, "He who (says that he) is without pain is a brigand; for to be without pain is to say 'I am God.' To say that 'I, out of the time, is a curse and to say that 'I' at the proper time is a mercy (from God). 'I' of Mansur (all Hallaj) certainly was a mercy (to him from God), but 'I' of Pharaoh[1] was a curse (on him) ; mark this well. Consequently, it is incumbent to behead every untimely bird for the sake of precaution. What is (this) beheading ?—(It is) killing the fleshly soul in the Holy war, and renouncing self."[2] Any sense of 'egoism' should be crushed, by sacrificing the fleshly soul, and renouncing oneself to God.

Tamkin or maqan is the last stage, where one has renounced his self and is subsisting in God. Here fanā gives place to baqā, mortality to immortality. This is the life of the Saints in God—the unitive life, the 'Jibanmukta' of the Gita (of the Hindus). "The 'Jibanmukta' or the freed soul, possessing the body," says Sir Radhakrishnan, "reacts to the events of the outer world, though he does not get entangled in them. Spirit and body are an unreconciled duality, and the spirit can attain its perfection only when the sense of the reality of the body is shaken off."[3]

"Al Ghazali relates how Junayd said of his own experience of the unitive life: 'I have been talking with God for thirty years and people suppose that I have been talking with them'—this becomes easy only to one absorbed in the love of God, with an absorption which leaves no room for any other. He also quotes other words of Junayd which he may have felt were applicable to his own experience "The journey from this world to the next (*i.e.*, to give up worldly things for spiritual) is easy for the believer; the journey from the creatures (*i. e.*, separation from them and from dependence on them) to the creator is hard; the journey from the self (*i.e.*, renounce 'egoism') to God is very hard, and to abide in God is harder still." [1]

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[1] An important charcter in the Qurān, and was a cruel, unjust king; he was proud of himself and consequently was crushed in the hand of Divine Power.

[2] Masnavi, Vol. II, p. 386.

[3] Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 576.

'To abide in God' is really the hardest of all experiences in life. When any one has reached that stage, though he is living in this world, he is beyond this world; he has no pain, he is suffering no trouble, both of the body and mind. He is like a vast ocean where tranquility prevails. He becomes one with the eternal permanently, while ecstasy is the stage where he is one with Him temporarily. Again, a verse may be taken from the Devani-Shamsi Tabriz of Moulana Rumi, where a discussion is being made between the lover and the Beloved, and which states mainly the stage of maqām (constancy with God):

> "He said, 'where is calamity? said I 'In the Lane of Thy Love.'
> He said, "How fare you there? Said I 'In steadfastness (istiqamy)' ".[2]

All calamity will vanish away from the heart, when a persen will be able to abide in God constantly.

The life of a man who has realised God has been finely described in the Masnavi where Moulana Rumi says 'Their senses and understandings within them are tossed, waves on waves, in (the sea of) 'they are brought before us (on the day of Resurrection).'[3] When night comes, it is again the time of bearing the burden; the stars which had become hidden, go again to work, God gives back to the senseless ones their senses, troops after troops with rings (of mystical knowledge) in their eyes, who are dancing, and waving their hands in praise of God, and triumphing and crying, 'O Lord, Thou hast brought us to life.' Those crumbled skins and bones have become (like) horsemen and have raised the dust (behind them).'[4]

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[1] Margaret Smith, Life of al Ghazali, quoted from his Ihya ulumuddin.
[2] Nicholson, Selection from Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz, XIV, 12.
[3] Qurān, 36, 32.
[4] Masnavi, Vol. I, p. 226.

The man after realising God has gained a new life ; he is passing his life in this world like a horseman who is raising dust behind him while he gallops, thereby making others not to realise his state of a perfect man. Mystically, the Resurrection is the state of Realisation. With the realisation of God, the mystery of creation is solved, and he works out the daily business of life, as he is allotted to, but he always feels that he is living in the life of God.

EXTRACTION OF $(4n+1)^{th}$ ROOTS BY INSPECTION

By S. N. Sen, M.A. (Cal.), B.Com. (Lond.), A.S.A A.,
A.C.A. (England)

The undernoted telegram of P.T.I.—Reuter appeared in several daily papers on October 8th, 1950.

Nineteen-year-old Shakuntala Devi of Bangalore astounded television audiences in Britain last night when she appeared in a special programme to demonstrate her abilities as a lightning mathematician.

She gave quick answers to problems set her by the B.B.C., ranging from the fifth roots of nine-digit figures to what day of the week it will be on any given date. She answered every problem without a pause.

When further problems were set to her, she challenged the figures and said they were wrong.

The B.B.C.'s programme sponsor did some checking and confessed that "she was right and the B.B.C. wrong."—P.T.I.—Reuter.

The method of extracting the 5th, 9th, and in general, the $(4n+1)^{th}$ root, within certain limits, by a moment's inspection, was also discovered by me about eleven years ago. I had some correspondence at that time with Dr. J. C. Ghosh, who was then the Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. The reply of Dr. Ghosh, I find, is dated 22nd December, 1939. Finally, however, I did not publish the paper as the trick appeared so easy that it looked more like magic than mathematics.

The fifth powers of the first nine natural numbers are 1, 32, 243, 1024, 3125, 7776, 16807, 32768 and 59049, from which it is evident that the fifth roots of figures up to five digits are always the same as the last digit. If anything between 10 and 99 is raised to the fifth power, the number of digits in the expansion must lie between six and ten inclusive. If out of them, the digits exclusive of the last five lie between 1 and 32 or 32 and 243 or 243 and 1024, the left-hand-side digit of the fifth root will obviously be 1 or 2 or 3, and so on. The fifth root of 1048576 can therefore be given in an instant as 16 and of 418195493 as 53. The extension to decimals follows easily. In the 5th power of 5·3, the decimal point will be followed by the last five digits.

In exactly the same manner, one can also give the 9th, 13th, 17th, or in general the $(4n+1)^{th}$ root of any number, if the root is confined to two digits. The operator must of course, before the demonstration, commit to memory the relative powers of the first nine natural numbers. For examples, the 9th power of unity is one and of 2 is 512. Any number of which the digits exclusive of the last nine lie between 1 and 512 and which actually has a 9th root confined to two digits, must have 1 in the place of tens of the 9th root and the same figure in the place of units as there is at the extreme right of the given expansion. The 9th root of 68719476736 can therefore be given in an instant as 16. Similarly, the 17th power of 2 being 131072, one can give the 17th root of 295147905179352825856 as 16 in an instant, as the last digit is 6 and the digits exclusive of the last 17 lie between 1 and 131072.

The principle can easily be extended even to fifteen digits, of which the fifth root will be of three digits. Take, for instance, the figure 355. The digits add up to 13. Cast off 9 and you are left with 4. The fifth power of 4 is 1024, of which the digits add up to 7. Therefore, without going into elaborate explanations, the digits of the fifth power of 355 will also add up to 7, after casting out nines. If then we are given the number 5638216721875, of which the extreme right-hand-side digit is 5 and the digits exclusive of the last ten lie between 243 and 1024, we can conclude that the fifth root has 3 in the place of hundreds and 5 in the place of units. Since the digits of the given number add up to 7 (after casting out nines), it is obvious that the digits of the fifth root must add up to 4 (after casting out nines), and since we are already in possession of 3 and 5, the middle digit must be 5. The sum of the digits of the corresponding fifth roots and fifth powers can be obtained from the fifth powers of the first nine natural numbers given above. The fifth roots of figures of more than ten digits cannot be given in an instant but the time taken for calculation will not be much. Complications will also arise if the digits of the root add up to 3, 6 or 9.

Extension of this last principle to the $(4n+1)^{th}$ root is not difficult. The 17th root of a number of thirty-four to fifty-one digits may thus be found to be a three-digit figure.

SOME PROBLEMS OF BRITISH* NOVELISTS TODAY

By P. H. Newby

> Mrs. Pendennis's tranquil beauty, her natural sweetness and kindness, and that simplicity and dignity which a perfect purity and innocence are sure to bestow upon a handsome woman, rendered her quite worthy of her brother's praises.

These are the words Thackeray used, just a hundred years ago, to introduce readers to the mother of Arthur Pendennis. It is an elegant sentence and for that reason alone it is unlikely we should find a contemporary novelist writing anything quite like it. But there are more important reasons and since they will explain some of the peculiarities and problems of the present-day writer it will be as well to take a closer look at them.

Thackeray, we see, is giving us an assessment of Mrs. Pendennis. He does not, to begin with, show us the lady in action, performing deeds or holding conversations which would reveal all her good qualities. Thackeray merely tells us that Mrs. Pendennis was sweet and kind—and we believe him! The modern novelist lacks this authority. He rarely speaks out in his own character and even when he appears to do so, and when the story is told in the first person, we do not have to read very far before realising that the "I" of the novel is to be regarded with just as much objectivity as any of the other characters. The novelist seems to have arrived at the point reached by the dramatist a long time ago when he gave up the use of the Chorus, the Prologue or any other kind of commentary on the action. The people in his story appear to speak and act for themselves and we who read are meant to draw our own conclusions. To give an extreme example, Miss Ivy Compton-Burnett (one of the most distinguished of living English novelists) writes her books almost entirely in the form of conversation.

It is not easy to give reasons for this "withdrawal" of the writer. In part, it may well be a reaction from the Victorian novel where the writer appeared on the stage all too frequently with hand uplifted to arrest the action while he gave a short lecture on the evils of drink or the respect due to women. Of much greater importance, three-quarters of the way through the nineteenth century, was the realisation that there existed a certain something called "the art of the novel," and when Henry James began publishing his carefully considered explorations of that art it became evident that the age of innocence was over.

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* Through the country of the British Information Services.

ALL-IMPORTANT FACTOR

But these are literary considerations—and novels are written with something more than theories and the reading of other men's books. In my view the all-important factor that has brought about such a change in the novel is nothing less than the various transformations that have taken place in society, transformations which are (broadly speaking) due to the disintegration of an age of comparative confidence and prosperity into one of doubt and apprehensiveness. The creative writer holds himself in the background for the good reason he lacks the certitude to come out and give us a good talking-to. And if we went behind the scenes and tackled him he would conceivably say something like this: "The characters in my novel are the result of my experience, my observation, my imagination. I feel quite strongly about them. But—with a shrug—" don't take them on my valuation. See for yourself!"

This changed attitude of the novelist towards his art is, in some respects, a great gain; his book will carry no dead weight of moral reflection, there will be fewer passages where people are merely talked about instead of brought to life, the narrative will be full of suggestive detail. But against these advantages must be set a number of limitations. The "withdrawal" of the writer seems to have led to a narrowing of the novel's range. Breadth of treatment has been sacrificed for intensity; instead of the old-fashioned oil painting where a whole crowd of people are shown coming and going against backgrounds of town and country the writer tends to choose three or four of them and subject them to a rigorous examination. More than that, the time of the novel's supposed action is frequently cut down from a matter of years to one of days. One of Britain's younger writers, Philip Toynbee, has recently written an experimental novel which confines itself to the happenings of a single tea party. The objection to this excessive concentration is that it frequently leads to distortion, for moments of crises are emphasised and not related to the long tracts of normality in everyday life; worse (from an artistic point of view) it is often very tedious.

THE PROBLEM

The problem, then, is how to combine the old amplitude with the new intensity. It is only secondarily a literary problem, and when we consider it we have to take into account a number of secondary issues which are bothering the younger British writers in particular. Creative writing, to be healthy, must stem directly from an author's personal experience; and in the case of people born since 1918 it is no exaggeration to say this experience falls uneasily into two parts; first, childhood and adolescence; secondly, war. The intelligent creative writer is cautious about writing out of his war experiences. He realises that even now he has not reached that point of detachment which will allow him to present to the world something more than journalism. Possibly, too, he has a natural aversion to re-living, in the imagination, years which were so painful. The alternative, childhood and adolescence, he has embraced with some eagerness and it is quite remarkable how many novels about children have been presented to the reading public during the past few years. Books by Miss A. L. Barker, Francis King and Olivia Manning come immediately to mind. These are among the more promising of our young writers.

No doubt there are other forces at work here than a mere desire to draw upon experience. Miss Barker, for example, is preoccupied with children because their innocence and bewilderment can be used to express the bewilderment of adults in this time of doubt and uncertainty. And this reflection leads us straight back to the central problem which all writers have to tackle if they wish to produce something more than the somewhat limited fiction of recent years.

I have said that it is only secondarily a literary problem. Primarily it is one of faith. Perhaps it is not immediately obvious that there is much connection between a creative artist's beliefs and the work he gives to the world. (What did Brahms believe? we might ask. And did it matter?) Yet a little reflection will show that it is easier to write out of confidence and hope than it is to write out of frustration, indifference and despair.

LARGER PATTERN

In the past the British novelist has been sustained by a compelling belief in the importance of, art (Henry James), or by the unexacting, common-sense attitude towards life we find in a writer like Thackeray, or by that most persistent of British literary strains, romanticism. Today none of these will quite do. The British novelist is having to think as he has never thought before; some of them, like Graham Greene, have embraced Roman Catholicism, an interesting young writer like Alex Comfort is a political anarchist. No one of any ability is, so far as I am aware, a Marxist; and that is probably significant. Everywhere there is a striving for some comprehensive view of the world which will yet preserve that very English affirmation of the importance of the individual.

Throughout the nineteenth century the typical British novelist seemed to survey the panorama of life from the depths of a comfortable armchair, and he passed comments on the scene with kindness and confidence. Then, as times changed, he rose, examined details here, details there, and tended, in his enthusiasm, to forget the larger pattern. It is this larger pattern which is now becoming his preoccupation and his problem. The comfortable armchair has been switched away but it is reasonable to suppose that his observations will be all the better for their having been made, solidly and squarely, on his own two feet. The younger writers have the opportunity of initiating a new and exciting phase in English literature.

Round the World

New House of Commons.—

On the 26th October last was formally opened the new House of Commons at Westminster. This was certainly an event which recalled many memories. If we regard the Saxon Witenagamot as the foundation of the modern Parliament, it then must be said that since Britain was unified under one King Parliament has been a feature of its governmental organisation. In fact we cannot think of Britain without its Parliament. It was, of course, much later that the Parliament took its modern shape. But even then though the Model Parliament of 1295 was actually no model for the future organisation of the British legislature, for well nigh six centuries it has consisted of the existing three factors, namely the House of Lords, the House of Commons and the King. A body so hallowed by traditions has naturally been the source of inspiration to all those for whom representative government enshrines political wisdom and ensures administrative stability and efficiency. But just as it has been the centre of attraction to democratic-minded people, so it has been the chief *bete noire* of those to whom dictatorship is a political ideal.

It is not unnatural on this score that the building accommodating the British House of Commons would be the target of Hitler's bombs early in the second World War. The building so destroyed was, however, only hundred years old. In 1834 was gutted by fire the old historic building which, it should be remembered, did not accommodate all the members of the House. The new structure which replaced the old was, however, so fashioned as to have the same deficiency, though the British public did not feel it. A chamber sufficiently spacious to accommodate six hundred and odd members would have been too big to admit of debates on a conversational level. It was also a fact that in average not more than sixty per cent. of the members would be in attendance. In view of that it would be enough if the chamber had sufficient accommodation for about three hundred and fifty. This principle which has become so hallowed by tradition has not been abandoned in the case of even the new building which replaces the one destroyed by Hitler's bombs. This would certainly inconvenience a large number of members at the present time and scramble for seats may very well become a new feature of Parliamentary life. It should be remembered that the Government and the Opposition Parties have in the present House of Commons almost equal membership and trial of strength between the two sides has become a common spectacle at Westminster. On that account members have to attend more regulary and want of accommodation for many will be a disadvantage.

Against it, however, is counted the chief advantage that members may speak from their seats and are not required to mount a rostrum and harangue from there the different rows of audience in front.

The opening of the new House of Commons chamber by the King was marked by the presence of the Speakers and Presidents of legislatures from all parts of the Commonwealth. The Speaker of the Indian Parliament, Mr. Mavlankar, was there with his wife. The ceremony was a significant one. It declared to the world that representative government through free parliaments has survived Hitler's threats. It further declared that there was determination on the part of the members of the Commonwealth to maintain free institutions against attacks of other totalitarian ideals and systems.

United Nations after Five Years.—

The United Nations was born on the 24th October, 1945. Its anniversary was observed on the 24th October last both at the headquarters at Flushing Meadow and in all important centres of the members-states. At the headquarters where the Assembly is in session it was addressed by President Truman who referred to many of the achievements of the U.N. during the last five years. He particularly referred to the action taken in Korea under U.N. auspices against the forces of aggression which had been let loose by the Communists.

While it is heartening to find many statesmen in different parts of the World depicting the United Nations as the hope of mankind, it is pertinent here to point out that this organisation is at the present time passing through a period of acute crisis. Whether it will survive this critical state, it is very difficult to say.

The charter which governs the working of the U.N. was the result of a compromise between different points of view. One of the main provisions of this document is related to the authority and jurisdiction which have been assigned to the Security Council. It occupies in fact a crucial position in the whole organisation. Any attempt to bypass this Council and have its functions and powers exercised by any other organ of the U.N. will be not only a violation of the charter but will be tantamount to going back upon the compromise on which the charter is based. It may be pointed out that the Security Council is not working as it was expected to work on the ground of the exercise of veto by the U.S.S.R. In fact its activities have been practically paralysed as a result of the obstructionist attitude of the Soviet Government. But while this is regrettable, it is a fact that the power of veto vested in each of the five permanent members of the Security Council is sanctioned by the charter and is one of the basic principles of the organisation. If consequently this power is now exercised, we may not like it but we cannot declare it unconstitutional. The exercise of military power by the U.N. was also provided for by the charter but only according to a certain procedure. In the absence of the adoption of that procedure any exercise of military authority and the conduct of a military campaign on the part of the U.N. seems to be inconsistent with the charter.

It is quite intelligible that U.S.A. and states supporting it will be chafing under the restraints of the charter. They may even think that the spirit of the charter is being violated by the non-cooperative attitude of the Soviet Union. But they must realise that the founders of the U.N. knew fully that it would work only if the different permanent members worked in union. If they cannot so work now, there is an end of the U.N. as it was conceived at Dumbarton Oaks and Sanfrancisco. The main objective in starting the U.N. was to maintain world peace through a recognised international machinery. Obviously it was assumed that there would be sufficient cooperation among the important members of the organisation in working the machinery so provided. If, however, the cooperation is not forthcoming, peace cannot be maintained through that machinery. In other words it is time for the members of the U.N. seriously to ponder over the future of the organisation. It is no use trying to circumvent the existing provisions of the charter and work it otherwise than intended. No amendment of the provisions would be admissible except according to procedure laid down in the charter itself. In view of this it is better to recognise the fact that the great powers are now at the parting of the ways.

Constituent Assembly for Kashmir.—

One of the wisest steps taken recently in Kashmir by the Government of India is the intsruction it has issued to the Kashmir authorities to set up a constituent assembly at the earliest convenience. In 1947 when the Ruler of Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union, the Government of India approved of it only as a provisional measure. Until this accession was ratified by the people of the state it could not be final and irrevocable. Until recently it was taken for granted that the accession was to be ratified only by the holding of a plebiscite in the state. But the dispute between India and Pakistan as to the procedure of holding this plebiscite could not be resolved by the United Nations. Nor could this body come to any decision as to the reference made to it by the Government of India regarding the invasion of Kashmir territory by the forces of Pakistan. The question cannot indefinitely hang fire. Accordingly Pandit Nehru announced in Srinagar recently that the matter would be decided in the near future by a constituent assembly which would be set up soon. One of its important functions would be the determination of relations between the Union of India and Kashmir. Let us hope that we shall not hear any more of plebiscite.

American Mid-Term Elections.—

Early last month were held the biennial elections to the lower House of the American Congress as also the elections of one-third of the Senators. Mid-term elections usually go against the party in power. The recent elections were no exception to this rule. The Democrats still maintain a majority both in the House and in the Senate. But in the latter this majority has dwindled to one of two only. In the lower House also the majority has been reduced considerably. Not only the Senatorial majority is very precarious but it may be on crucial occasions illusory as well. Most of the Southern Democrats are in the Party only for traditional reasons. Their heart is in the Republican camp and on certain important issues they are not unlikely to cast in their lot with their Republican colleagues.

In view of this many expect President Truman to be ill at ease with regard particularly to the foreign policy he is to pursue. Under the Constitution the conduct of foreign relations is a responsibility vested in the President. But all appointments he is to make including diplomatic appointments have to be ratified by the Senate. Similarly all treaties he is to sign have to be approved of by two-thirds majority by the Senate. It is true that formal treaties are not many and not unoften the President circumvents this obligation of consulting the Senate by entering into what are called executive agreements. But for all that the Senate exercises great authority in regard to foreign policy and no President has been able to hold out for long against a hostile Senate. Either he is to yield or he is to sulk discomfited and isolated in the White House. It should be remembered besides that American foreign policy today has to be backed up by considerable financial aid. This money the Congress alone can vote. With its precarious hold over the Senate there is no knowing if the Government will find it possible to secure the grant if the policy behind it is not liked by the Senate.

The responsibility for conducting foreign relations, we have seen above, attaches to the President and the Secretary of State is only his subordinate and not colleague. The policy pursued by Mr. Acheson is the policy not so much of the State Department as of the President. But as the Senate cannot reach the President who under the Constitution will in any event sit tight at the White House for two years more, it may attack him via the Secretary of State. We are told that Mr. Acheson has become the *bete noire* of the Republican Party and by concentrating its venom upon him it may express its displeasure with the President for his present lines of action. The Republicans seem to think that the United States policy towards China has not been as strong as it ought to have been. Chiang Kai-shek and his discredited Kuomintang, supporters have not been given the backing they deserved. There is time yet to modify the Government attitude. Only by removing Acheson from the State Department they can bring home to President Truman that such a change of policy has become imperative.

The foreign policy of the United States was, it should be recognised, fully bi-partisan for eight years from before 1940. During the last two years also the bi-partisan principle was not wholly abandoned. By 1939 war clouds were thick over the American sky. President Roosevelt profited by the experience of Woodrow Wilson and refused to conduct his foreign relations on party basis. He associated with his Secretary of State help and assistance of the Republican leaders and as a result whatever step was taken in the foreign field was the result of consultation and cooperation between the two parties. The Republican leader, Mr. Vandenburg, proved a tower of strength to the President in chalking out this bi-partisan policy. During the last two years, however, though formally bi-partisanism was not abandomed the illness and virtual withdrawal from politics of Mr. Vandenburg made cooperation between the two parties in the conduct of foreign relations increasingly difficult. The augmentation of Republican strength in the Senate as a result of the recent elections makes Republican cooperation indispensable. But bi-partisanism may not be possible with Mr. Acheson in office. The latter is too suspect in Republican eyes for that cooperation. So some interesting changes in the Truman Cabinet may be on the offing.

Along with Congressional and part Senatorial elections the Governors of some of the States were also elected early last month. Mr. Dewey who completed his second four-year term of the Governorship of the State of New York stood as a Republican candidate for the third term. The electors have fulfilled his desire and granted him another term as Governor of the Empire State. It is too early yet to speculate as to what Mr. Dewey will do two years hence in regard to the Presidency. He was twice defeated and the Republican Party Convention may ordinarily be reluctant to back him for the third time. But we do not know if his recent success is an indication of change of weather for him.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Farmer Speaks, by I. W. Moomaw, Ph. D. (Lately Principal, Vocational Training College, Ankleswar). Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1949. pp. 199 Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Moomaw lets his readers listen to the voice of India, because India is the farmer. The struggele of the farmer, heroic in its nature, to eke out a subsistence in the midst of the circumstances in which he is placed, is described from experience. During 1937-38, regarded as a normal year and prior to the inflation of prices consequent on the World War II, a first-hand study of farm operations and other aspects of the farmer's life was undertaken with 192 'backward-class' farmers of South Gujarat. The presentation is graphic, because extracts from typical interviews are given in the first part printed in *pica* type, and the information obtained through the survey is condensed and classified in the second (in the smaller type), the author's observations coming up only in the third and concluding part.

Our world is moving apace, and twelve years old statistics may well at first seem to be out of date, and the Hon'ble Mr. V. L. Mehta who contributes a foreword has pointed out how his Government has already tackled some of the problems mentioned in the book, like the village indebtedness. But the picture retains its importance on account of its basis in facts carefully collected, and the book should be carefully scanned in these days when rural conditions are being studied for more reasons than one. The farm income in particular will be studied keenly because however concerned we may be in the well-being of the peasant population, we have not yet been able to collect data on the subject. The book is written in a simple and vivid style, well documented and the tables, figures and photographs add to the interest.

P. R. Sen

Shikshatatva (in Bengali), by Sri Jogendranath Chatterji, M.A., Diploma-in-Teaching (London), Principal, Teachers' Training College, Calcutta Corporation. Orient Longmans Ltd. 1950. pp. 248. Rs. 5.

This is adopted and translated from Sir Parcy Nunn's well-known book, *Education: Its Data and First Principles*. Sir Percy's book has been so long closely perused by all interested in education, and the Bengali translation will make the contents available to those who cannot follow the original, specially to teachers in training. Sri Chatterji's style is lucid, and he has succeeded in presenting a version in simple Bengali, and for that reason it deserves a welcome. It is a laudable enterprise.

The handicap against which he has worked has been the technical terms, and he has given a list of these at the end. He has no doubt consulted the list of technical terms published by the University of Calcutta, and other competent authorities, but there are words which still call for comment. For one thing, many terms in the list are not technical at all; ability, class, dream, error, habit, intelligence, school, teacher, university—these are general and common terms. For another, there has been no need of placing the English term in the brackets after the author has ventured on a Bengali equivelent—*e.g.* ডিফো (Defoe), রবিন্‌সন ক্রুশো (Robinson Crusoe), etc.—the practice should have been confined to technical terms not well-known to the averege reader. A third point might be made against such terms as স্বতঃচালিত for autonomous—it should have been either স্বতশ্চালিত or স্বয়ংচালিত—the laws of pronounciation as set forth in grammar hardly leave any scope for a deviation.

P. R. Sen

Bapu—My Mother, by Manubehn Gandhi. Published by Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 56. Price, Annas Twelve.

Kumari Manu Gandhi, a grandniece of Mahatmaji, accompanied him in his Noakhali campaign remaining with him till his martyrdom. She contributed some articles to a Gujrati journal describing some everyday incidents in the life of Mahatmaji during this fateful period. These articles have been rendered into English by her friend Srimati Chitra Desai.

It is perhaps needless to add that every article breathes sincerity and brings out one more noble feature in the character of the great Saint. It is a book worth reading and keeping.

H. C. Mookerjee

Fateful Year. By Acharya J. B. Kripalini. Published by Messrs. Vora and Co., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 150. Price—Rs. 2/12.

This small, nonetheless important and interesting, book is a collection of the speeches and writings of Acharya Kripalini, Congress President for the year 1946. The speeches deal with subjects of temporary interest but they possess an abiding value on account of the sincerity and genuineness which infuse all of them.

H. C. Mookerjee.

The Way Out. By E. M. Meleen, M.A. With a foreword by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India. Published by the Oriental Watchman Publishing House, Box 35, Poona-1, India. Pp. 306.

Dr. Mookerjee, in his foreword to the book writes, "An impression sure to be left on the readers' mind, after a perusal of the book, is that the urge toward a higher and a better life is not confined to any particular country, colour, caste, or creed, and that we in our different ways are slowly groping towards the solution of our spiritual problems." He further remarks, "It is more than probable that many a reader will find himself unable to accept *in toto* everything that the author has to say."

Mr. Meleen has begun his book in an unbiassed way taking a broad view of the spiritual side of man. The many illustrations in the book go to confirm the view that he is opening the case for a permanent solution from an impartial point of view. But as he approaches closer and closer towards the end of his book, he leans more solidly or rather solely upon Christianity for the solution forgetting that people believing in other creeds might not subscribe to his views. If he believes that Christianity is the only universal religon, he has absolute right to preach it but the introductory chapters might have been written differently. Such spiritual beliefs as are recorded in the Upanishads and in Sufism are sublime truths and they cannot be passed over in silence. We have however nothing but praise for the author who has made an honest attempt in his quest of truth, the realisation of which has become an urgent necessity of the world. The book is well bound and profusely illustrated.

J. N. Mittra

The Tell-Tale Picture Gallery, Occult Stories by H. P. Blavatsky and W. Q. Judge, Published by International Book House, Limited, Bombay, pp. 218. Price Rs. 2.

Here is an entertaining book of short stories based on occult themes. Madame Blavatsky was the founder of the Theosophical Society at New York, 1875, while Mr. W. Q. Judge was one of its co-founders. Both writers travelled widely and have produced stories that are really stirring.

The first half of the book is devoted to stories by Madame Blavatsky. She reveals herself as a master story-teller. Horror is piled on horror in "A Bewitched Life," a tale reminiscent of the work of Edgar Allan Poe. "The Ensouled Violin" and "The Cave of the Echoes" are excellent examples of creepy stories. Themes are drawn from almost every country. Egyptian dervishes, Japanese Yamalooshi, Roumanian mediums, German charlatans, Indian rishis, and polar Methusalahs satisfy the wildest dreams of the lover of the fantastic and the bizarre. Apt quotations thrown in here and there enhance the narrator's skill, *e.g.*, when Stenio plays his violin solo "The Witches" one voice was heard—

"Discordant, and unlike to human sounds;
It seem'd of dogs the bark, of wolves the howl,
The doleful screechings of the midnight owl;
The hiss of snakes, the hungry lion's roar;

The sounds of bellows beating on the shore;
The groan of winds among the leafy wood,
And burst of thunder from the rending cloud:—
'T' was these, all these in one..................''

It detracts from the value of the 'creepy' story when we reflect that it is easier to reel off half a dozen stories of this type than to write a couple of pages of a book like "Cranford."

Mr. W. Q. Judge dominates Part II of the book. "The Tell-Tale Picture Gallery" after which the book has been named is the best story. It reminds one of Addition's "Vision of Mirza." In the set of stories about the island and the serpent, the ordinary reader strains his ears in vain to catch the underlying message. The plots are uninteresting and he feels he has been cheated by an allegory of which he understands only a small part. Stories that aim only at teaching some doctrine, for examples, re-incarnation, soon become wearisome. Both "Karmic Visions" by Blavatsky and "True Progress" by Judge are no means entertaining.

Madame Blavatsky expressly intended to convey her philosophy through the medium of the short story. The Glossary includes ten items of oriental psychology on which these stories are based. While most readers may not believe in these to them more or less fantastic theories, the book is worth its price in entertainment value.

Y. Mathias

Ourselves

TEACHING

Doubts have been expressed in some quarters as to whether the standard of our degrees will be raised by lowering the percentage of passes. It is pertinent to point out in this connection that although prvention of unjustified passes is by itself not enough for the purpose, it may be certainly a good incentive to greater attention to studies by the candidates and to greater emphasis on the quality of teaching both by the teachers themselves and by the authorities of the institutions concerned. We have pointed out previously in these columns and we are repeating it here that already both students and teachers have become more alert in recent months than they have been for some years previously and it is expected that this will bring in better results in the future than in the present year.

In schools everything hinges on the work of the teachers. Boys and girls have, of course, to cooperate with teachers but it is for the latter to shape their mind and bring out the best from them. Only a few outstanding students may survive indifferent teaching. Even they may not secure the grounding, the outlook and the accuracy in knowledge which good teaching alone happens to ensure. In the lower rungs of the school, teachers who are to be useful should not only be well grounded in the subjects they teach but should have besides both zeal and knack of teaching. It is difficult to say if this knack is born of experience, or is engendered by training or is native to certain men and foreign to the genius and temperament of others. But any how both zeal and knack have to be combined with their ready acquaintance with the subjects to be taught. Some may even say that zeal is the most important ingredient of good teaching. It is this zeal, however, which has for many reasons become rare in these days. In the higher rungs again the teachers must have not only great enthusiasm for the subjects they would teach but must have comprehensive and up to date knowledge of them. Without this latter qualification their teaching may not be effective. Unfortunately both in the higher and in the lower rungs of the schools the services of teachers of the requisite standard have become for a number of years difficult to secure. We should remember that at one time our schools could boast of the services of such men as Rajnarain Bose, Ramtanu Lahiri and Sivanath Sastri. We have named only a few of the most well known. But side by side with such men were working in schools for decades many other lesser luminaries who made excellent contribution to the shaping and disciplining of the young mind. While slackness in other spheres has become so prominent during the last thirty years, it is not to be expected that in the sphere of teaching a higher standard will be maintained. Besides, while teaching was an ideal with many in older days, it has become strictly a profession to-day. And a profession which is far less lucrative than other learned professions naturally becomes the dumping ground of less successful, less ambitious and less alert people.

In Europe at one time even those families which hated Jesuit principles were compelled to appoint Jesuit teachers for their children. This they did because they alone had any reputation for good teaching and could shape the mind of young boys. It is true they shaped it in their own way but all the same they helped in developing the faculties which otherwise would have remained dormant. Similarly in cities like Calcutta also there are many families which to-day prefer to have their children educated in establishments other than the schools with which we are familiar. It is our hope, however, that the present conditions in the schools will gradually improve. But to this end the teaching profession has to be considerably toned up. This can obviously be done by making it financially more attractive than it happens to be at the present time. It should, of course, be emphasised in this regard that even those financially better placed have not always the reputation of exerting themselves properly in the classes. In fact the old traditions of good, conscientious and effective teaching have broken down and in the present state of general indifference and half-hearted teaching even those teachers whose conditions of service are more satisfactory not unoften only fall into line and become no exceptions. On this account it is essential that somehow new traditions have to be built up and the rot arrested and stopped.

The present writer remembers with pride how in the lower rungs of his school career he was not required to go in for much of home study. The teachers saw to it that much of the preparation of the lessons was done in the class hours. He remembers also with pride how in the higher rungs some of the senior teachers would both in classes and outside class hours inspire interest in the lives of poets and authors, in the events of history and in the study of books which were to strengthen understanding and help in learning the art of writing. It was the pleasure of the teachers to take pains in this regard without hope of reward. This tradition of infusing enthusiasm for study was even at that time breaking down and since then it seems to have disappeared except in rare cases. But time has come to make every effort to revive it. It has to be borne in mind that without a comprehensive training in the schools there will be no sure basis of either higher or technical education.

In the colleges good education depends on many factors. The number of good and enthusiastic students, library and laboratory facilities, hostel accommodation and general atmosphere—all these count almost as much as the quality of teaching in the classes. College boys and girls learn as much from their teachers as they learn from each other. It is common knowledge that except in one or two institutions these other ingredients of good collegiate education are largely lacking. In a college where most of the students are below average in calibre and generally indifferent in spirit it is unwise to expect that even few good students there will develop the outlook and acquire the education which may at once be expected in an institution better placed in this regard. But inspite of handicaps of such character something may certainly be done if the teachers have opportunity of giving their best to the students. Conditions of service, however, are not everywhere favourable for drawing the best out of the teachers. Time has come for taking stock of the situation and improving the conditions of service of the teachers and toning up otherwise the atmosphere of the seats of higher learning. The colleges cannot be left where they are without danger to the interests of higher education in the province.

* * * *

THE LATE DR. P. K. SEN

The death of Dr. P. K. Sen has been announced from New Delhi where he was staying as a member of the Parliament. A well-known barrister practising at Patna he had also an excellent reputation as a scholar. The special field of his study was penology. It was on that subject that he delivered his lectures at the Calcutta University as Tagore Law Professsor for 1929. Dr. Sen was also for some years the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State and in this capacity gave evidence of his administrative capacity. When the Constituent Assembly was formed, he was chosen as one of its members by the Legislative Assembly of the province which he had made his own. We offer our condolences to the members of his family.

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SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress will be held in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Calcutta University on the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd December, 1950. Professor S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, University of Oxford and Indian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. will preside over the session. The sectional Presidents are: Professor Humayun Kabir, Prof. A. C. Mukherjee (University of Allahabad), Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan (University of Madras), Professor S. C. Dutt (Retired Professor, Gauhati, Assam). There will be three symposia on the following subjects:—(1) The Place of the Philosopher in Modern Society, (2) Has Sri Aurobindo refuted Māyāvada? (3) Fundamentals of Living Faiths. A special feature of the session will be the presence and participation of foreign delegates and delegations. The American Philosophical Association and Mind Association, England, are sending their representatives.

The following foreign delegates are coming:

Dr. A. C. Ewing (Representing Mind Association and the Royal Institute of Philosophy, England), Profs. F. S. C. Northrop and George P. Conger (American Philosophical Association), Dr. Gardner Murphy, Prof. Constantin Regamey (Swiss Philosophical Society).

A Local Reception Committee has been constituted with Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri, Minister of Education, West Bengal Government, as Patron and the Hon'ble Justice Sri Sambhunath Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, as Chairman.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. R. 3.

It is notified for general information that under Sub-Section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904) the Government of West Bengal has been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapter VII of the University Regulation Section 1 and 2 which be replaced by the following :—

"(1) The Registrar shall be appointed by the Senate at a Special Meeting to be held for that purpose only. He shall be appointed for five years only for such shorter term as the Senate may, for special reasons determine but at the end of every such term he may be re-appointed. The term of office of the Registrar shall commence from such date as may be determined by the Syndicate unless the Senate otherwise directs. If a vacancy occurs in the office of the Registrar at any time the Syndicate shall appoint a person to officiate until a permanent appointment is made. Such officiating appointment shall not be made for a period exceeding one year.

(2) The Registrar shall be a graduate of position with adequate experience of educational administration preferably in a University. He shall be a whole-time Officer. He may be a Member of the Senate, but shall not be a Member of the Syndicate. His salary shall be in the grade Rs. 800-50-1000 and the Senate shall be competent to make the appointment on a higher initial salary in the grade."

SENATE HOUSE,
The 26th September, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

GAUHATI UNIVERSITY

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of the candidates using unfair means in the B.A. and B.Com. Examinations of 1950.

The examination of the following candidates have been cancelled and they have been debarred from appearing at any examination of this University until 1953 :—

Roll & No.		Name of the Candidate	College
Dhub	12	Benoy Kumar Das	B. N. College, Dhubri (B A.)
Karim	24	Md. Abdul Hye	Karimganj College (B.A.)
Karim	N. 6	Md. Qutubuddin Ahmed	Non-Collegiate (B.A.)
Sil	7	Gojendrachandra Paul	G. C. College, Silchar (B.Com.)

No. Ex/BA/21/50/8772-95, dated Gauhati the 13th September, '50. Copy for information forwarded to :—

(*a*) The Registrars of all Indian Universities,

Sd/- Illegible,
Head Assistant,
Examination Branch, University of Gauhati.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

Order

No. 8544 Dated Nagpur, the 11th September, 1950.

The following examinees, having been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1950, are disqualified for admission to any University Examination to be held before the year 1952, *viz.*—

Serial No.	Roll No.	Name in full	Examination	College
(1)	70	Satyanarayan Hanumant Rao Bhoosreddy	Intermediate in Science	Ex-student (Nagpur Centre)
(2)	436	Abdur Rashid	Do.	Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amravati.
(3)	457	Chandrakant Purshottambhai Patel	Do.	Do.
(4)	133	Muneer Ahmed	Do.	Ex-Student (Khamgaon Centre)
(5)	233	Shankarlal Uderam	Intermediate in Commerce	G. S. College of Commerce Wardha.

By order of the Executive Council,
Sd/-Illegible,
Registrar,
Nagpur University.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY (SOLAN)

Notification

Dated September, 13, 1950.
N. S. T./5277-5312.

1. The following students who attempted to obtain duplicate copies of the Matriculation Certificates of the Punjab University, Lahore, even though they had not actually passed the Examination, are disqualified as being not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future Examination :—

(*i*)	Ram Sarup, son of Shri Thakur Das, Royal Hotel, Simla.	Matric. Examination, 1942. Roll No. 29950.
(*ii*)	Radhay Krishna Yadava, son of late Shri Manoo Lal Yadava, C/O. B. K. Yadava, Reader to Special Magistrate, Jubbulpore.	Matric. Examination, 1945, Roll No. 18036.
(*iii*)	Har Krishan Yadava, son of late Shri Manoolal Yadava, C/O. B. K. Yadava, Reader to Special Magistrate, Jubbulpore.	Matric. Examination, 1945. Roll No. 21061.

2. (*a*) The following candidates who attempted to obtain success in the examination through forged Result Notifications and forged Result Cards are disqualified as being not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination :—

	Name of candidate	Roll No.	Examination.
(*i*)	Laljibhai Taank, son of Manji Bhai.	2539	B.A. November, 1949.
(*ii*)	Gopal Singh Joon, son of Ch : Nand Rad.	5039	B.A June/July, 1949.
(*iii*)	Risal Singh, son of Ch : Ram Sarup.	5043	B.A. June/July, 1949.
(*iv*)	Chander Bhan, son of Ch : Jai Lal.	5030	B.A. June/July, 1949.
(*v*)	Hoshiar Singh, son of Bhai Ram.	5042	B.Sc. June/July, 1949.
(*vi*)	Goverdhan Dass Sharma, son of Pt : Chandu Lal.	1888	B.A June/July, 1949.
(*vii*)	Jaswant Rai, son of Shri Karam Chand.	2955	B.A. June/July, 1949.
(*viii*)	Ram Mahor Gupta, son of Shri Manga Ram Ajudhia Pershad.	749	B.Sc. June/July, 1949.
(*ix*)	Samsher Singh Ahlawat, son of Capt. Daryao Singh Ahlawat	8961	Intermediate, June, 1949.
(*x*)	Prabhu Singh Dalal, son of Ch : Surat Singh.	5021	B.A. June/July, 1949.

(*b*) The following candidates have been permitted to appear in their respective examinations to be held in 1951 :—

(*i*)	Ganga Bishen Rathee	Roll No. 5002	B.A. June/July, 1949.
(*ii*)	**Sultan Singh Jatrana	Roll No. 3	LL.B. August, 1949.

Bhupal Singh,
Registrar.

(** To re-appear in all papers).

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

NOTIFICATION NO. 50-E/DISQUALIFICATION

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, MARCH, 1950

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any examination of the University for using unfair means at the Matriculation Examination held in 1950, for the period and under the Regulation for the Conduct of Examinations shown against each :—

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
2174	Sinder Ahuja	Chuni Lal Ahuja	Ferozepore	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
2275	Kumari Amrit	Kirpa Ram	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
3520	Leela Kumari	Narshing Dass	Do.	For 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 under Reg, 13
4312	Narinder Singh	Bachhan Singh	PEPSU	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
4371	Ranjit Singh	Hernam Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
4468	Kewal Krishan	Kunden Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
4898	Khem Chand	Mahesh Dass	Delhi	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
5927	Om Parkash	Ganga Ram	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
6153	Radha Raman Jain	Bhagwat Pershad	Do.	For 1955 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
6158	Din Dayal	Lal Chand	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
6243	Mohan Lal	Maya Dass Kubba	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
6405	Om Parkash Azad	Nihal Chand	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
6418	Goverdhan Dass	Ram Nath Bhatia	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
6468	Rattan Dev	Baboo Ram	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
6566	Munni Lal Sethi	Lachhmman Dass	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
6625	Tilak Raj	Bawa Gurdial Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
7058	Om Parkash Sharma	Panchhu Ram	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
7074	Kewal Krishan	Labhu Ram	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
7650	Uttam Chand	Lal Chand	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 17(3).
7991	Sanwat Singh	Kalyan Singh	PEPSU	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
8505	Om Parkash	Ramji Dass	D.B.H/S Morinda	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
8535	Bhanga Singh	Atma Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
8544	Gurcharan Singh	Joginder Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
8559	Mehan Singh	Chanan Ram	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
8561	Satwant Singh	Ram Singh	D.B.H/S. Morinda	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
9404	Rajinder Lal	Amar Nath	Ambala	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
9734	Pritam Singh	Puran Sing	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
10287	Harchand Singh	Phara Singh	Ferozepore	For 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 under Reg. 13.
10862	Amarjit Singh	Harbans Singh	Ambala	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 17(3).
10971	Gurcharan Singh	Tara Singh	Gurdaspur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
12236	Janardan Prasad	Anandan Ray	Gurgaon	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
12782	Krishan Lal	Ram Chand	Hissar	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
12800	Ram Chander	Ishwer Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
13487	Satnam Singh	Lakshman Singh	Jullundur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
13625	Chandu Ram	Baili Ram	Kangra	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
13635	Rattan Lal	Bansi Lal	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
13829	Lachhman Singh	Suddhan Singh	Karnal	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
14452	Sham Lal	Rup Chand	Rohtak	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
14454	Bhim Sain	Kapur Chand	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
15183	Malkiat Singh	Karm Singh	Hoshiarpur	For 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 under Regulation 13.
15305	Sucha Singh	Amar Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
15526	Milkhi Ram	Ganpat Ram	Kangra	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
15539	Balbir Singh	Gurdit Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
15900	Charanjit Lal	Sunder Dass	Simla	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
15937	Hukam Chand	Chhelu Ram	Gurgaon	For 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 under Reg. 13
16033	Ram Kanwar Sharma	Matu Ram	PEPSU	For 1950, and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
16151	Raghbir Singh	Santokh Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
16167	Onkar Singh	Jamiat Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
18312	Hardev Singh	Chanan Singh	State H/S, Amboh	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
18491	Shispal Singh	Chiman Singh	State H/S, Bawal	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
19380	Bar Chand	Uttam Ram	Govt. H/S, Kandaghat	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
19399	Het Ram	Shri Nath	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
19609	Harmohinder Singh	Tara Singh	M. I H/S, Kotkapura	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
19875	Nachhattar Singh	Achall Singh	Kh. H/S, Mansa	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
19886	Inder Singh	Narain Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
20576	Jagir Singh	Sucha Singh	Public H/S, Paushta-Narur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
20581	Harbhajan Singh	Karm Singh	Do	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
20709	Prem Jit	Mehar Chand	J. J. H/S, Phagwara	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
22317	Janak Singh	Kartar Singh	Kh. H/S, Kurali	For 1950 and 1951 only under Regulation 12(*i*).
23989	Goverdhan Dass	Siri Gopal	H. S. H/S, Amritsar	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
25559	Yash Pal Sachdev	Moti Ram	M. B. H/S, Abohar	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation (12(*i*)).
25793	Madan Lal	Darya Ditta Mal	Govt. H/S, Fazilka	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
25833	Kishori Lal	Ram Karan	D.A.V. H/S Fazilka	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12 (*i*).
26034	Om Parkash	Merhar Chand	D.C. Jain H/S, Ferozepore Cantt	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
26497	Hermohinder Pall Singh	Jaswant Singh	Kh H/S, Muktsar	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
26502	Gurdial Singh	Lal Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
26646	Mukhtar Singh	Sher Singh	J.M.D.B. H/S, Zira	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 14(*a*).
26874	Jagdish Chander	Tara Chand	Govt. H/S, D.B. Nanak	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
27332	Satish Kumar	Uttar Chand	Govt. H/S, Gurdaspur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
27420	Vishwa Mitra	Ishwer Das	Arya H/S, Pathankot	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
28052	Rajpal Sood	Kaka Ram	Govt. H/S, Gurgaon	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
28168	Om Parkash	Dukh Bhanjan Lal	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
28858	Dharam Chand	Davi Sahai	Rashtriya H/S Rewari	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
31825	Karnail Singh	Hakim Singh	KH. H/S, Dasuya	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
31876	Jagat Singh	Bhan Singh	Do.	For 1950, 1951, and 1952 under Reg. 17(3).
31881	Joginder Singh	Ami Chand	Do.	For 1950, 1951, and 1952 under Reg. 17(3).
32615	Joginder Singh	Sunder Dass	D.A.V.H/S Hoshiarpur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).
33789	Karam Singh	Waryam Singh	Kh. H/S, S. Mundian	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
33760	Karm Singh	Udham Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(*i*).
[illegible]693	Mohan Lal	Devi Dyal	D.B. H/S, Banga	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(*b*).

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
34694	Darshan Singh	Bawa Singh	Kh. H/S. CH. Kanwal	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).
34703	Nirmal Singh	Banta Singh	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).
34709	Surjit Singh	Gurdial Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
34848	Bhag Singh	Didar Singh	Kh. H/S, Chakdana	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
35648	Satish Kumar	Tilak Nath	S. D. A. S. H/S Jullundur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
35906	Joginder Singh	Karm Singh	Kh. H/S, Kalra	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).
39787	Kewal Krishan	Jairam Dass	Govt. H/S, Jagraon	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41186	Gurdev Singh	Bhag Singh	D.B.H/S, Mullah	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).
41330	Amar Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Kh. H/S, K. Raipur	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41340	Lajpat Rai	Kundan Lal	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41345	Sucha Singh	Faquiria Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41363	Baljit Singh	Jagir Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41364	Prem Paul	Ram Rakha	Do.	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).
41371	Maghar Singh	Kartar Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41376	Balwant Singh	Arjan Singh	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
41425	Ram Sarup	Babu Ram	Do.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
43280	Ravi Chand	Rattan Singh	C.R.Z.H/S, Sonepat	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
43751	Sbadi Ram	Daulat Ram	S.D. H/S, Simla	For 1950 and 1951 under Regulation 12(i).

RESULTS LATER DUE TO ALLEGED USE OF UNFAIR MEANS

Result of the following Roll Nos. will be declared when their cases re alleged use of unfair means (under investigation) have been decided by the Syndicate :

4142, 4147, 4532, 4552, 4560, 4561, 8093, 9149, 9727, 9728, 10346, 12051, 12209, 13033, 14260, 14272, 14296, 14297, 14330, 14343, 14347, 14445, 14483, 14690, 15229, 18450, 19026, 23092, 23096, 25191, 25192, 25193, 25223, 25900, 29057, 33479, 33716, 33729, 33730, 33756, 33775, 34451, 34477, 34482, 35728, 36781, 36782, 40385, 40963, 41650, 41653, 41654, 41745, 41756, 41757, 41760, 41761, , 41764, 41765, 41766, 41767, 41769, 41771, 41772, 41773, 41774, 41775, 41777, 41778, and 41782.

SOLAN (Simla Hills),
June 7, 1950.

BHUPAL SINGH,
Registrar,
Panjab University.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1950

Notification No. 50-I/Disqualification.

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any examination of the University for having used unfair means at the Intermediate Examination held in April, 1950, for the period and under the Regulation for the Conduct of Examinations shown against each :—

Roll No.	Name of Candidate	Father's Name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified.
3	Kranti Kumar Sharma	Jagan Nath Sharma	Amritsar	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
429	Goverdhan Mohan	Amar Nath	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
482	Ram Lal	Chet Ram	Amritsar	For 1950, only under Reg. 11 (b).
487	Raj Paul Vasn	Jagan Nath Vasn	Amritsar	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
506	Bawa Gian Singh Trehan	Bawa Bahadur Singh Trehan	Ambala	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).
711	Sant Kumar Aggarwal	Moti Ram Aggarwal	P.E.P.S.U.	or 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii)
1103	Kailash Dewan Chand	Dewan Chand	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 17 (3).
1105	Swarn Kanta	Mulk Raj Malhotra	Do.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg 17 (3).
2622	Gurbachan Singh	Sham Singh	Do.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
2627	Debabratta Dutta	Suresh Chander Dutta	Do.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
2649	Naurang Singh	Inder Singh	Ambala	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 17 (3).
2687	Pran Nath Wahi	Prem Nath Wahi	Delhi	For 1950, 1951, & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
2718	Tilak Raj Sikka	Des Raj Sikka	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
2757	Madan Lal Kochhar	Nanak Chand	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 17 (3).
2762	Manohar Singh	Jagat Singh	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 17 (3).
2769	Man Mohan	Hakumat Rai	Delhi	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
3133	Brij Lal	Sant Ram	P.E.P.S.U.	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
3380	Gurbachan Singh	Chanan Singh	Ludhiana	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
3838	Raj Kumar Bhatnagar	N.C. Bhatnagar	Gurgaon	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).
3984	Karam Singh Bansi	Santa Singh	Jullundur	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
4143	Anup Singh	Tara Singh	Amritsar	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
4162	Krishan Lal Anand	Lal Chand	Delhi	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
4164	Dewan Gulsher Anand	Dewan Sukh Anand	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).

Roll No.	Name of Candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
4933	Sawraj Kumari Sabi	Joginder Paul	D.A.V Col. Jullundur	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
5717	Joginder Singh	Bakhtawar Singh	Brijindra Col. Faridkot	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).
5871	Narindra Nath Duggal	Brij Lal Duggal	D.A.V. Col. Ambala City.	For 1950, 1951, & 1952 under 12 (iii).
6194	Bal Mukand	Inderjit	S.D. Col. Ambala Cantt.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 22 (iii).
6354	Makhtul Singh Sohal	Mohhel Singh	Kh. College, Amritsar	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
6419	Pritpal Singh	Sewa Singh	Kh. Co., Amritsar	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
6431	Lal Inder Singh	Mohinder Singh	do	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
6568	Onker Dass Sobat	Kundan Lall	D.M.Col., Moga	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
6627	Rajinder Nath Gupta	Sadhu Ram Gupta	do	For 1950, 1951 & 1952, under Reg. 12 (iii).
7206	Charanjiv Singh	Kartar Singh	G.M.N. Col., Ambala Cantt.	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
7590	Sohan Singh	Munsha Singh	Ly. Kh. Col., Jullundur	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
8972	Ranbir Prakash	Kesar Das	S. D. Col., Ambala Cantt.	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
8990	Om Parkash Aggarwal	Atma Ram	do	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b),
9173	Sat Pal Vig	Faqir Chand Vig	H. S. Col., Amritsar	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
9175	Sat Pal Sarma	Gian Chand	do	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
10180	Sawraj Kumar	Lakhu Mall	D.A.V. Col., Jullundur.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).
10697	Daljit Singh	Ujagar Singh	Ly. Kh. Col. Jullundur	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
11085	Mewa Singh	Chanan Singh	G.H.G. Kh. Col., Gurusar Sadhar.	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
11136	Tek Ram	Ch. Raj Mall	Govt. Col., Rohtak	For 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 & 1954 under Reg. 13.
11380	Balwant Singh	Shri Chand	J.H.M. Col., Rohtak.	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
11524	Hans Raj	Ram Krishan	P. U. Camp Col., Delhi	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).
11589	Phool Chand	Jai Ram	do	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Reg. 12 (iii).
11590	Bal Krishan	Permeshari Dass	do	For 1950, 1951 & 1992 under Reg. 12 (iii).
11881	Nanak Singh	Manoher Lal	Mohindra Col., Patiala	For 1950 only under Reg. 11 (b).

RESULTS LATER DUE TO ALLEGED USE OF UNFAIR MEANS

Results of the following Roll Nos. will be declared when their cases regarding alleged use of unfair means (under investigation) have been decided by the Syndicate :—

Roll Nos. 278, 554, 555, 571, 923, 934, 4526, 4538, 5932, 6438, 6450, 6451, 6516, 6543, 6624, 6683, 8361, 9376, 9377, 9386, 9496, 9501, 9627, 9678 and 11450.

SOLAN (Simla Hills)
June 26, 1950

BHUPAL SINGH
Registrar
PANJAB UNIVERSITY

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

B.A. & B.Sc. Examinations, April, 1950.

Notification No. 50-B Disqualification.

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any examination of the University for using unfair means at the B A., B.Sc. Examination held in 1950, for the period and under the Regulation for the Conduct of Examinations shown against each :—

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	District or Institution	Period for and the Regulation under which disqualified
1313	Gordhan Lal Sharma .	Pt. Gauri Shanker Sharma	Pepsu	For 1950 & 1951 under Regulation 14(a).
1539	Madan Lal Kapur	Brij Lal Kapur	Amritsar	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii).
2373	Prithi Pal Singh Bedi	Bawa Darbara Singh Bedi	do	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
2517	Sardar Singh Verma	Khazan Singh Verma	Delhi	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii),
3143	Chander Parkash Suri	Bhagat Ram Suri	Do.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii),
3691	Balwant Singh Sandhu	S. Amar Singh	Amritsar	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 17(iii).
4293	Brij Mohan Sarma	S. Durga Dass	Panjab University Camp Coll , New Delhi.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii).
4523	Wazir Chand Kohli	Kundan Lal Kohli	do	For 1950 only under Regulation 11(b).
4544	Shiv Raj Suri	Dhan Raj Suri	do	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii),
4741	Ajit Singh Boora	Uttam Singh Boora	Ranbir Coll., Sangrur.	For 1950 only under Regulation 11 (b).
5043	Achhru Ram Sharma	Pt. Shadi Ram Bhagat	Panjab University Camp Coll., New Delhi.	For 1950, 1951 & 1952 under Regulation 12(iii).

RESULTS LATER DUE TO ALLEGED USE OF UNFAIR MEANS

Results of the following Roll Nos. will be declared when their cases re : alleged use of unfair means (under investigation) have been decided by the Syndicate :—

240, 2076, 3620, 3968, 4320, 4322, 4333, 6495, 6496, 7076 & 7093.

BHUPAL SINGH
Registrar.
Panjab University

SOLAN (Simla Hills),
July 14, 1950

UTKAL UNIVERSITY

Notification No. EC/367 dated the 20th September, 1950

In continuation of this Office Notification No. EC/349 dated the 1st September, 1950. the Syndicate of this University has imposed the punishments as noted against each of the following two candidates who took recourse to unfair means at the supplementary Matriculation Examination of 1950.

Roll No.	Name	Institution	Nature of offence	Punishment imposed
1372 (at the Annual Matriculation Examination of 1950)	Sri Jay Ram Nayak, S-O. Upendra Prasad Nayak, Village Hatpur, P. O. Ghunteswar, Dist. Balasore.	Passed from Bagurai High School, Bhadrak and now admitted into S. C. S. College, Puri.	With a view to helping Sri Shrinath Panda, a private candidate for the supplementary Examination of 1950, he falsely personated him at the Puri Zilla School Centre and submitted answer papers for him in the examination.	Since his canduct is most reprehensible and in view of the gravity of the offence, he is not allowed to be admitted into any educational institutions under this University and is not allowed to appear at any examination of this University at any time.
1823 (at the supplementary Matriculation Examination of 1950)	Sri Shrinath Panda, S-O Priyanath Panda, Village Beudpur, P. C. Bhadrak, Dist. Balasore.	Puri Zilla School Centre (Private)	He did not appear at the Examination and was personated by another ex-student, Sri Jay Ram Nayak.	Result of 1950 Supplementary Examination is cancelled and since his conduct is most reprehensible and in view of the gravity of the offence, he is not allowed to be admitted into any educational institutions under this University and is not allowad to appear at any examination of this University at any time.

University Office, Cuttack,
The 20th September, 1950

G. C. RATH,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW

NOTICE

The following candidates who attempted to use unfair means at the University and other Examinations of 1950 have been expelled from the Examinations concerned and awarded punishment as noted below against each.

Roll Enrolment No.	Name of candidate.	Father's name	Exam. at which appeared.	Punishment Awarded
17 S.X. 456	Kr. Swami Chaturvedi	Dr. K. K. Chaturvedi	B.Sc. Prelim.	Expelled from the B.Sc. Preliminary Exam. of 1950 and will not be promoted to the next higher class this year.
80 S.X. 580	Ansar Husain	Shri Mohd. Sajjed	Do.	Do.

Roll Enrolment .No.	Name of candidate.	Father's name	Exam. at which appeared	Punishment Awarded
10 C.T. 104	Ram Saran Lal Srivastava	Late Shri Sunder Lal Srivastava	Diploma in Social Services	Expelled from the Examinations of 1950 and debarred from appearing at all Examinations of the University up to 1951. He will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the beginning of the Session 1951-52.
379 S.X. 571	Satishchandra Dikshit	Shri Ram Bilas Dikshit	B.Sc. Prel.	Expelled from the B.Sc. Prel. Examination of 1950 and will not be promoted to the next higher class this year.
12 S.X. 360	Kr. Singh Chaudhury	Shri J. N. Chaudhury	M.Sc. Part I	Expelled from the University Examinations of 1950 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University in future. He will not be re-admitted to any class of the University in future.
126 A. V. 249	Gur Pa. Gupta	Shri Kali Din Chaudhury	LL.B Prel.	Expelled from the LL.B. Prel. Examination of 1950 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1951. He will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the beginning of the session 1951-52.
310 A.V. 438	Om Prakash Garg	Shri Lakhan Lal Garg	Do.	Do.
105 C.U. 61	Jagdish Sharan Varshney	Shri Dwarka Prasad	LL.B. Final	Expelled from the LL.B. Final Examination of 1950 and debarred from appearing at all examinations of the University up to 1951. He will not be eligible for re-admission to the University earlier than the beginning of the Session 1951-52.
BX.	Mahipal Bahadur	Th. Indra Deo Narayan Singh.	B.M.B.Sc. II year.	Expelled from the 2nd Terminal Examination of B.M. B.S. Examination held in January, 1950 and will not be promoted to the next higher class this year.

No. 17037-61

Dated 13th September, 1950.

K. D. TEWARI,

Registrar.

BOARD OF HIGH SCHOOL AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION, UTTAR PRADESH

The following candidates having attempted to use unfair means at the Boards Examinations of 1950 have been debarred from appearing at the examination noted against each.

N. B.—These candidates are allowed by the Director of Education, Uttar Pradesh, to study in an educational institution for continued tuition but are not entitled to sit in the Board's Examinations prior to the expiry of the period for which they have been debarred.

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION

Roll No.	Name of candidate.	Name of father or guardian.	Name of Institution or Centre.	Examination for which debarred.
140	Amrit Lal	Laxman Dass	D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
1221	Sukh Pal Singh	Udai Singh	D. N. Intermediate College, Meerut.	Ditto.
1511	Jai Narain Sharma	Sohan Lal Sharma.	Meerut College, Meerut.	Ditto.
2104	Bhanwar Singh Verma (Primus).	Chhajju Singh	Modi Science and Commerce College, Modinagar.	Ditto.
2105	Bhanwar Singh Verma (Secundus).	Ranjeet Singh	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
2107	Dharam Veer Singh, Nehra.	Kartar Singh	Ditto.	Ditto.
2108	Hari Shanker Bhardwaj.	Ramrich Pal	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
2110	Jagnandan Prasad Tyagi.	Nain Singh Tyagi	Ditto	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
2112	Kunwar Pal Singh	Satya Charan	Ditto.	Ditto.
2113	Mahendra Pal	Ram Kumar	Ditto.	Ditto.
2115	Pratap Singh Sharma.	Har Bansh Singh.	Ditto.	Ditto.
2118	Ramesh Dutt Pathak.	Shiva Dutt Pathak.	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
2121	Tej Pal Singh	Mool Chand	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
2123	Vijay Pal Sharma	Lal Singh	Ditto.	Ditto.
2154	Jagdish Chand Goswami.	Harbans Gir	D. A. V. Intermediate College, Bulandshahr.	Ditto.
2167	Mahavir Prasad Sharma.	Lila Dhar Sharma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
2203	Shanker Pal Singh Yaduvanshi.	Jhamman Singh	Ditto.	Ditto.
2242	Ram Raksh Pal Singh.	Karan Pal Singh	Dito.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
2244	Saeed Ahmad	Abdul Aziz	Ditto.	Ditto.
2651	Prem Prekash Sharma.	Madho Ram Sharma.	D. S. College, Aligarh.	Ditto.
2987	Bihari Lal Bakshi	Deputy Lal Bakshi.	C. A. Intermediate College, Mathura.	Ditto.
3020	Shree Nath Deo Arora	Ram Chandra Berman.	Ditto.	Ditto.
3305	Satish Chandra Sinha.	Banwari Lal Saxena.	Agra College, Agra	Ditto.
3335	Bhagwati Prasad Sharma.	Rati Ram Sharma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
3500	Rawendra Kumar Sharma	Ram Narain Sharma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
3505	Ramesh Chandra Kaushal.	Har Ballabh Kaushal.	Ditto.	Ditto.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian.	Name of Institution or Centre.	Examination for which debarred.
4073	Prem Saran Baijal	Bal Krishna Das Baijal.	N. I. Intermediate College, Shikohabad.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
4377	Girish Prasad Mehrotra.	Rajeswari Prasad Mehrotra.	Bareilly College, Bareilly.	Ditto.
4519	Abdul Jamil Khan	Abdul Majid Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
4535	Laeeq Ahmad Qurashi.	Naiz Ahmad	Ditto.	Ditto.
5107	Santosh Kumar Sankdhar.	Raj Kumar Sankdhar.	S. M. College, Chandausi.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
5193	Poshaki Lal	Bishambhar Dayal Rastogi	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
5294	Sahib Husain	Saqib Husain	J. S. Intermediate College, Amroha.	Ditto.
5383	Surendra Prakash Saxena.	Kali Prakash Saxena.	Gandhi Faiz-i-Am College, Shahjahanpur.	Ditto.
5410	Rama Nand Misra	Jhamman Lal Misra.	S. P. Intermediate College, Shahjahanpur.	Ditto.
5518	Rajendra Singh Bora.	Bahadur Singh Bora.	Government Intermediate College, Naini Tal.	Ditto.
5633	Haish Chandra Kabdwal.	Narottam Kabdwal.	Government Intermediate College, Almora.	Ditto.
6527	Shanker Prasad Tiwari.	Badri Prasad Tiwari.	D. A. V. College, Kanpur.	Ditto.
7184	Jamal Ahmad Khan.	Kamal Uddin Ahmad.	E. C. College, Allahabad.	Ditto.
8680	Ramesh Chandra Misra.	Gauri Shanker Misra.	Queen's College, Banaras.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
8873	Sudhir Kumar Paul.	Kiran Paul	C. M. Anglo-Bengali Intermediate College, Banaras.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950, and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
8933	Vindhyachal Prasad	Mangal Prasad	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
9910	Gulam Mustafa Ansari.	Mohd. Yusuf Ansari.	St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
9957	Sant Prasad Pathak.	Hanuman Pathak	Ditto	Ditto.
10049	Ram Deo Prasad	Bhagi Rathi Bhagat.	B. N. Intermediate College, Majhauli-Raj.	Ditto.
10054	Shri Kant Pandey	Baban Pandey	B. N. Intermediate College, Majhauli Raj.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
10069	Nag Narain	Raj Deo ...	K. G. Intermediate College, Barhaj.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.

Roll no.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
10642	Girwan Singh Chauhan.	Kalyan Singh Chauhan.	K. K. College, Lucknow.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
10650	Harendra Nath Gupta.	Salig Ram Gupta.	Ditto.	Ditto.
10654	Harish Chandra Srivastava.	Jagannath Prasad Srivastava.	Ditto.	Ditto.
10775	Sukh Deo Singh Siddhu.	Mit Singh ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
10846	Ranvir Kumar Srivastava.	Banwari Saran Srivastava.	Queen's A. S. Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Ditto.
10993	Rup Narain ...	Indra Narain	Hari Chand College, Lucknow.	Ditto.
11093	Saiyid Sarwar Hassan.	Shahenshah Hussain.	Government Jubilee Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Ditto. Ditto.
11387	(Km.) Roop Rani Bhargava.	Newal Kishore Bhargava.	Mahila Vidyalaya College, Lucknow.	Ditto.
11662	Ram Raksha Pal	Bankey Lal	R. R. D. Intermediate College, Sitapur.	Ditto. Ditto.
11917	Lal Mani ...	Mangal Prasad	Government Intermediate College, Faizabad.	Ditto.
12247	Chandan Singh	Atar Singh	D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun Centre.	Ditto.
13880	Krishna Lal Kalra.	Mela Ram Kalra.	S. D. College, Gaziabad, Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
14302	Shyam Datt Bhardwaz.	Ravi Dutta Bhardwaj.	Government Higher Secondary School, Bulandshahr Centre.	Ditto.
15097	Mohan Chandra Sharma.	Bhanwar Deo Sharma.	Municipal Intermediate College, Vrindaban Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
15149	Dya Nand Kulshrestha.	Misri Lal Kulshrestha.	St John's College, Agra Centre.	Ditto.
15769	Ram Pratap Singh Yaduvanshi.	Pokh Pal Singh	B. R College, Agra Centre.	Ditto.
15776	Shyam Swarup Sharma.	Kishan Lal Sharma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
16311	Shambhu Nath Kapoor.	Munna Lal Kapoor.	Bareilly College, Bareilly Centre.	Ditto.
17331	Vimla Srivastava	Iqbal Bahadur Srivastava.	Government Higher Secondary School, Shahjahanpur Centre,	Ditto.
17421	Satayendra Kumar Sharma.	Raghunandan Prasad.	Government Intermediate College, Naini Tal Centre.	Ditto.
18269	Mohd. Burhan Khan.	Mohammad Suleman	D. A V. College, Kanpur Centre.	Ditto.
18660	Narendra Kumar Saxena.	Kirpa Sahai Saxena.	Government Agricultural College, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
18698	Abdul Moghani	Abdulla Khan	K. K. College, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
18632	Som Datt Sharma	Baij Nath Sharma.	K. K. College Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
19780	Gopi Nath Tripathi.	Sukh Deo Ram Tiwari.	C. A. V. Intermediate College, Allahabad Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
19782	Gulab Chand Misra	Mata Prasad	Ditto	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
20070	Kamini Gupta	M. C. Gupta	D. P. Girls' College, Allahabad Centre	Ditto.
20084	(Km.) Sneh Lata Gupta.	Bahraich Lal	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
20609	Kishore Prasad Singh.	Nema Singh ...	Queen's College, Banaras Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950.
22296	Mohammad Naim Chisti.	Mohammad Farooq Chisti	K. E. Government Higher Secondary School, Deoria Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination, 1951.
23617	Asha Singh ...	Onkar Singh	Mahila Vidyalaya College, Lucknow Centre.	Ditto.

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN AGRICULTURE

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
17	Radhe Raman Rastogi.	Chunni Lal Rastogi.	A. S. Jat College, Lakhauti Centre.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1950.
67	Satayendra Kumar Vishnoi.	Baseshwar Nath	C. and I. High School and Agricultural College, Hapur.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1951.
196	Dhir Singh ...	Roshan Singh	A. S. Jat College, Lakhauti.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1950.
210	Jai Pal Singh Verma.	Tareef Singh	Ditto.	Ditto.
227	Panna Lal Kush	Dwarka Das	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Agriculture Examination, 1951.

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN COMMERCE

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
1980	Chaman Lal ...	Sardari Lal	D. A. V. College, Kanpur.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Commerce Examination, 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Commerce Examination, 1951.
2039	Kamala Kant Shukla.	Devi Prasad Shukla.	Ditto.	Disqualified for the Intermediate Commerce Examination, 1950.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
			HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION	
1408	Shive Kumar Singh	Atma Ram	S. D. Intermediate College, Saharanpur.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
1588	Sukhbir Singh Vaish	Ranjeet Singh	H. A. N. Higher Secondary School, Gangoh.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
2086	Ilam Singh	Data Ram	Government Higher Secondary School, Muzaffarnagar.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
3667	Sat Paul Kapoor	Bhug Ram Kapoor	Vaish Higher Secondary School, Meerut.	Disqualified for the High School, Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
3897	Rajendra Prasad Bindal	Sukhan Lal Gupta	B. A. V. Higher Secondary School, Meerut.	Ditto
4258	Brij Pal Singh	Shah Mal Singh	Modi Science and Commerce Intermediate College, Modinagar.	Ditto
4295	Jai Prakash	Ajab Singh	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
4309	Munishwar Dayal	Shiv Narain Singh	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
4316	Om Prakash Gupta	Sagar Mal Gupta	Ditto	Ditto
4356	Suresh Chandra Kaushik	Raghunandan Kaushik	Ditto	Ditto
4382	Ranjit Sing Gupta	Radhey Lal Gupta	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
5175	Dayal Chand	Manphul	D. Jain Higher Secondary School, Baraut.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
5753	Dhanpat Rai	Badri Das	S. S. D. Higher Secondary School, Ghaziabad.	Ditto
5887	Dharam Pal Singh	Camal Sing	M. M. H. V. Higher Secondary School, Ghaziabad.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
6439	Anand Swarup	Bhura Mal	S. M. J. E. C. Higher, Secondary School, Khurja.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School, Examination of 1951.
6519	Radhey Lal	Chunna Lal	Ditto	Ditto
6752	Chandra Mohan Bhatnagar	Manmohan Swarup	M. S. Intermediate School, Sikandrabad.	Ditto
7209	Ved Prakash Sharma	Umrao Singh	A. S. Jat High School, Lakhoti	Ditto
7980	Vishnu Gopal Mital	Niranjan Lal Mital	H. B. Intermediate College, Aligarh.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
8040	Maharaj Swarup Bhatnagar	Amba Shankar	Paliwal Brahman, Higher Secondary School, Aligarh.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
8152	Satya Wan Sharma	Baboo Ram Sharma	Government Higher Secondary School, Aligarh.	Ditto
9631	Mohan Data Ram Ramchandani.	Shri Data Ram	Sindhi Madel Higher Secondary School, Agra.	Ditto
10073	Aminullah Khan	Hamidullah Khan	Victoria Higher Secondary School, Agra.	Ditto
10561	(Km) Ram Varshney	Karan Singh Gupta	Murari Lal Khattri Girls' Intermediate College, Agra.	Ditto
10971	Babu Ram Sagar	Jhunni Lal	Government Higher Secondary School, Mainpuri.	Ditto
12194	Ranbir Bahadur	Raj Bahadur	Manohar Bhushan Intermediate College, Bareilly.	Ditto
12355	Pratap Narain Mehra	Ram Ratan Lal Mehra	Kr. Daya Shankar E. M. Intermediate College, Bareilly.	Ditto
12360	Radhey Shyam Kapoor	Ram Kishan Das Kapoor	Ditto	Ditto
12411	Surya Prakash Agarwal	Ram Das Agarwal	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
12414	Uma Shankar (Secondus)	Rajjar Lal	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
12481	Yog Raj Gandhi	Dina Nath Gandhi	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
12480	Shabshi Kiran Misra	Chhotey Lal Misra	Arya Kanya Pathshala High School, Bhoor, Bareilly.	Ditto
12863	Ravindra Nath Chandak	Narain Das Chandak	P. L. M. Higher Secondary School, Sahaswan, Badaun.	Ditto
13068	Jai Prakash	Raja Ram	Bijnor Higher Secondary School, Bijnor.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
13391	Sarwat Hussain Qureshi	Sultan Husain	M. M. Higher Secondary School, Nagina.	Ditto
13521	Gaj Raj Singh Tyagi	Bishambhar Sahai Tyagi	R. S. M. Higher Secondary School, Bholarampur (Dhampur).	Ditto
13522	Hari Rai Singh Tyagi	Basant Singh Tyagi	Ditto	Ditto
13659	Narendra Kumar Tiagi	Balwant Singh	S. N. S. M. Higher Secondary School, Nihtaur, Bijnor.	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
13949	Bhawani Shankar Shankdhar.	Shiv Charan Das	S. S. K. Higher Secondary School, Moradabad.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
14200	Ramesh Chandra (Primus)	Lala Brij Lal	Coronation Hindu Intermediate College, Moradabad.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
14605	Masud Alam	Mohammad Yasin	I. M. Higher Secondary School, Amroha.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
14672	Bisheshwar Dayal Upadhaya	Munna Lal Sharma	S. M. High School, Chandausi	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
14697	Jainti Prasad Jain	Ishwari Prasad Jain	Ditto	Ditto
15175	Hamid Ali Khan	Mazhar Ali Khan	Islamia Higher Secondary School, Shahjahanpur.	Ditto
15715	Mahadeo Prasad Pant	Mathura Datt Pant	Government Intermediate College, Naini Tal.	Ditto
17051	Bhupal Singh Rikhala Negi	Dhyan Singh Rikhala Negi	Government Intermediate College, Lansdowne.	Ditto
18899	Shyam Narain Mehrotra	Ram Narain Mehrotra	B. N. S. D. Intermediate College, Kanpur.	Ditto
19751	Krishna Chandra Gupta	L. R. Gupta	D. A. V. Higher Secondary School, Kanpur.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
19767	Narendra Kumar Gauraha	Jwala Prasad Gauraha	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
20066	Amar Nath	Alopi Prasad	K. K. Intermediate College, Kanpur.	Ditto
20067	Anand Swarup Mathur	Chandra Bali Mathur	Ditto	Ditto
20639	(Km.) Jyotsna Dutta	Krishna Chandra Dutta	S. N. Sen Balika Vidyalaya Higher Secondary School, Kanpur.	Ditto
21023	Saiyid Saeed Ahmad	Abdul Hakeen	Majidia Islamia Intermediate College, Allahabad.	Ditto
21928	Asim Kumar Banerji	Purna Chandra Banerji	D. A. V. Higher Secondary School, Allahabad.	Ditto
22458	Purshottam Das Gupta	Anandi Prasad Gupta	Agarwal Vidyalaya Intermediate College, Allahabad.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
22517	Rajendra Prasad Agarwal	Ram Prasad Agarwal	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
24789	Shyam Sunder Gupta	Mata Prasad Gupta	Government Higher Secondary School, Banda.	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
25709	Mahabir Prasad	Kuder Nath	D. A. V. High School, Banaras.	Ditto
25989	Jagdish Prasad Nigam	Jalpa Prasad Nigam	Jay Narain Higher Secondary School, Banaras.	Ditto
26341	Hari Narayan Misra	Vishwa Nath Misra	Shri Saraswati Higher Secondary School, Tanda, Banaras.	Ditto
26729	Rahim Raza Khan	Mohd. Raza Khan	Prabu Narain Higher Secondary School, Ram Nagar, Banaras.	Ditto
26791	Keshav Kumar Lal Srivastava	Nand Kishore Srivastava	V. N. Intermediate College, Gyanpur, Banaras.	Ditto
26806	Surendra Pratap Srivastava	Dave Narain	Ditto	Ditto
26815	Vijaya Shanker Lal Srivastava	Shambhu Nath Srivastava.	Ditto	Ditto
26956	Ram Kumar Ojha	Murli Dhar Ojha	E. I. R. Higher Secondary School, Moghal Sarai.	Ditto
27195	Abdul Majid Siddiqi	Mohd. Ishaq Siddiqi	B. L. J. Intermediate College, Mirzapur.	Ditto
27443	Rudra Pratap Singh	Dwarka Prasad Singh	Raja Shri Krishna Datt Intermediate College, Jaunpur.	Ditto
28116	Ram Avadh Misra	Sita Ram Misra	Raja Harpal Singh Higher Secondary School, Singramau.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
39064	Rama Shanker Singh	Jai Nath Singh	M. R. B. D. Higher Secondary School (Bhurkura), Ghazipur,	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
29942	Keshav Prasad Agrasen	Bishwa Nath Prasad	K. G. S. J. Higher Secondary School, Rasra, Ballia.	Ditto
31494	Lakshmi Narain Singh	Atim Singh	D. A. V. Narang Higher Secondary School, Ghughli, Gorakhpur.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951 and 1952.
31529	Wasi Ullah Ansari	Dost Mohammad	Ditto	Disqualied for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
32439	Bhrigusaran	Kali Charan	B. N. Intermediate College, Majhauli Raj.	Ditto
32500	Raghuwa Ji Rai	Purshottam Rai	Ditto	Ditto
32517	Ram Naresh Dubey	Raja Dubey	Ditto	Ditto
32529	Mohd. Saikul	Wali Mohammad	Ditto	Ditto
32558	Dinesh Chandra Chaturvedi	Brij Nandan Chaturvedi	Ditto	Ditto
32561	Mohd. Khalil Ansari	Barnail Mian	Ditto	Ditto
32572	Akhila Nand	Kadar Nath Singh	S. D. Higher Secondary School, Math, Lar, Deoria.	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
35147	Durga Prasad Nandi	Dhirendra Lal Nandi	Boys' Anglo Bengali Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Ditto
5779	Gopal Narain Tandon	Govind Narain Tandon	K. K. Vocational Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951 and 1952.
36074	Kishore Lal Hazrati	Niamal Rai Hazrati	Hari Chand Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
36872	Mohd. Ibrahim	Abdul Kareem	Mahatma Gandhi Intermediate College, Rae Bareli.	Ditto
36890	Sankata Prasad Tripathi	Shiva Shanker Sharma	Ditto	Ditto
36938	Shafiqa Begum	Abdul Waris Khan	Government Higher Secondary School for Girls, Rae Bareli.	Ditto
38576	Basdeo Misra	Prahlad	Forbes High School, Faizabad.	Ditto
39161	Suraj Prasad	Mathura Prasad	Government Higher Secondary School, Gonda.	Ditto
39548	Jagdish Prasad Sinha	Kishun Prasad Sinha	Maharaj Singh Higher Secondary School, Bahraich.	Ditto
39833	Rup Narain Singh	Sri Ram Sahai Singh	Government Higher Secondary School, Sultanpur.	Ditto
41404	Jai Bhagwan Saran	Kashmiri Lal	Vaish Intermediate College, Shamli (Muzaffarnagar) Centre	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
41653	Abdul Wahid	Abdul Hamid	Government Higher Secondary School, Meerut Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
42390	Jitendra Kumar	Chandra Sen	B.A.V. Higher Secondary School, Meerut Centre.	Ditto
42435	Ram Swarup Kharbadar	Gopi Chand	Ditto	Ditto
42759	Hira Lal Jatav	Sadi Ram	Modi Intermediate College, Modi Nagar Centre.	Ditto
43012	Daya Nand Tyagi	Shri Khacheru Singh.	C. and I. High School and Agricultural College, Hapur Centre.	Ditto
43805	Satish Chandra	Shri Dhura Prasad.	S. D. Higher Secondary School, Ghaziabad Centre.	Ditto
44294	Rameshwar Dayal	Mevashi Lal Sharma.	Muslim Higher Secondary School, Bulandshahr Centre.	Ditto
44295	Raghunandan Prasad Saxena.	Jainri Prasad Saxena.	Ditto	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian.	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
44298	Ram Bhool Singh	Nathu Singh	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examinations of 1951 and 1952.
44875	Dhan Singh	Dal Chand	Kubari Intermediate College, Dibai Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
45131	Mahtab Singh	Jorawar Singh	H. B. Intermediate College, Aligarh Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
45139	Om Prakash Gupta.	Bhopat Ram	Ditto	Ditto
45250	Bhoopendra Kumar Gupta.	Badri Prasad	D. S. Higher Secondary School, Aligarh Centre.	Ditto
45400	Kisan Swaroop Sharma.	Balmukund Sharma.	Ditto	Ditto
45443	Lala Ram	Indra Jeet	Ditto	Ditto
45453	Manohar Lal Sharma.	Thakur Das	Ditto	Ditto
45567	Ram Prasad Varma.	Ram Lal Singh	Ditto	Ditto
45677	Shyam Sunder Singhal.	Govind Ram	Ditto	Ditto
46331	Jai Deo	Dori Lal	P.B.A.S. Intermediate College, Hathras Centre.	Ditto
46522	Gopendra Chandra Sharma.	Ram Chandra Sharma.	Government Higher Secondary School, Mathura Centre.	Ditto
46745	Parshadi Lal Kardam.	Son Pal Singh	Ditto	Ditto
46800	Syed Shahid Hasan.	Syed Abdul Hasan.	Ditto	Ditto
47685	Gopal Prasad Sharma.	Onkar Lal Sharma.	Municipal Intermediate College, Brindaban Centre.	Ditto
47697	Kedar Nath	Rawati Prasad	Ditto	Ditto
47710	Lalit Kishore Goswami.	Prem Kishore Goswami.	Ditto.	Ditto
47824	Anwar Husain	Ahmad Husain	Government Higher Secondary School, Agra Centre.	Ditto
47884	Hari Shankar Singh.	Het Ram Singh	Ditto	Ditto
48011	Indra Jit Talwar	H. N. Talwar	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
48336	Ram Swarup Katara.	Kishan Lal	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High Schol Examination of 1951.
48490	Uma Shankar	Gopi Lal	Ditto	Ditto
48660	Dharam Chandra Patni.	Hazari Lalji Patni.	St. John's High School, Agra Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
48819	Krishna Lal	Narsing Das	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
49415	Mangal Singh	The Harnath Singh.	M. D. Jain Intermediate College, Agra Centre.	Ditto
50809	(Km.) Jara Solomon.	Sassoon Solomon.	Queen Victoria High School, Agra Centre.	Ditto
51136	Girija Shankar Johri.	Hazari Lal	S. G. Intermediate College, Kasganj Centre.	Ditto
51270	Ayub Ali Khan	Mahboob Ali Khan.	Government Higher Secondary School, Bareilly Centre.	Ditto
51758	Soma Dutt Sharma	Gulzari Lal Sharma	S. V. Higher Secondary School, Bareilly Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
51941	Niaz Ahmad Ansari.	Siraj Ahmad Ansari.	Tilak Higher Secondary School, Bareilly Centre.	Ditto
52325	Ramphal Shankhondhar.	Ram Pershad Shankhondhar.	H. S. M Islamia Intermediate College, Budaun Centre.	Ditto
52998	(Sm.) Savitri Devi Arya.	Sansar Singh	K. M. Higher Secondary School, Dhampur Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
53305	Prem Singh	Hukum Singh	Coronation Hindu Intermediate College, Moradabad Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
57024	Ram Nath Misra	Suraj Prasad Misra.	Har Sahai Jagdamba Sahai High School, Kanpur Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
57307	Paran Hans Persad.	Dulam Sohu	Halim Muslim Intermediate College, Kanpur Centre.	Ditto
57507	Kanhaiya Lal Gupta.	Sarjoo Prasad Gupta.	D. A. V. Higher Secondary School, Kanpur Centre.	Ditto
57569	Prakash Chandra Sonkar.	Babu Lal Sonkar	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
57709	Thakur Ram Singh.	Thakur Behari Singh.	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
58694	(Km.) Girish Kumari Varma.	Devi Prasad Varma.	S. N. S. B. V. Intermediate College, Kanpur Centre.	Ditto
59802	Ahmad Salam Ansari.	Mian Din Ansari.	Dr. Ghosh Modern Intermediate College, Allahabad Centre.	Ditto
59811	Avadhesh Narain	Raja Ram Mishra.	Ditto	Ditto
59843	Krishna Narain Deengar.	Prayag Narain Deengar.	Ditto	Ditto
59926	Shayama Kant Srivastava.	Chail Bihari Lal.	Ditto	Ditto

Roll No.	Name o candidate	Name of father or guardian.	Name of Institution or Centre.	Examination for which debarred.
61315	Radhar Krishna Rawat	Ram Sewak Rawat.	S. P. Industrial Higher Secondary School, Jhansi Centre.	Ditto
61316	Ram Gopal Gupta	Ram Charan	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
62169	Rama Dutt Sharma.	Bindeshwari Sharma.	Jai Narain Higher Secondary School, Banaras Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
62178	Ramchandra Singh.	Jia Nandan Singh.	Ditto	Ditto
62506	Banshi Dhar Ram *alias* Basu Deo.	Sumer Ram	D. A. V. Higher Secondary School, Banaras Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
62527	Din Dayal Verma	Sarju Prasad	Ditto	Ditto
62761	Sheo Shanker Singh.	Bali Ram Singh	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
63017	Avinashi Chandra Singh.	Ram Manoher Singh.	S. D. Higher Secondary School, Banaras Centre.	Ditto
63545	(Km.) Vidya Wati Devi.	Dwarka Prasad	Vasant College for Women, Banaras Centre.	Ditto
63633	Thakur Prasad Singh.	Sita Ram Singh.	Shri Baldeo Intermediate College, Baragaon, Banaras Centre.	Ditto
63669	Shri Balwant Singh.	Shri Hari Sing.	Prabhu Narain Higher Secondary School, Ramnagar, Banaras Centre.	Ditto
63685	Kanhai Lal	Babban Lal	Ditto	Ditto
63765	Gaj Raj Singh	Gridhari Sing	V. N. College, Gyanpur, Banaras Centre.	Ditto
63983	Hira Lal Gupta	Sukali	B. L. J. Intermediate College, Mirzapur Centre.	Ditto
64977	Munir Ahmad	Amir Ahmad	Town Higher Secondary School, Ballia Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
65259	(Km.) Dhaneshwari Devi.	Krishna Nand Pathak.	Kunwar Singh Vidyalaya, Ballia Centre.	Ditto
66392	Narbadan Lal Srivastava.	Shyam Behari Lal.	U. N. K. Intermediate College, Padrauna, Deoria Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
66505	Dilshad Alam	Mohd. Nurul Haq.	B. N. Intermediate College, Majhauli Raj, Deoria Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
66540	Ramagya Prasad Yadava.	Ram Rekha	Ditto.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father or guardian	Name of Institution or Centre	Examination for which debarred
66565	(Sm.) Sudha	N. Ram	Ditto.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
66612	Balkrishna Tewari	Hardwar Tewari	Ditto.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
66663	Harendra Mani Tewari.	Ram Baccha Mani Tewari.	Ditto.	Ditto.
66931	(Km.) Iqtidarunnisa	Munshi Talib Ali.	Wesley Higher Secondary School, Azamgarh Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
66932	Kumari Ikhtivarunnisa	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
67168	Ganga Dhar Pande	Ram Naresh Pandey	S. K. P. Intermediate College, Azamgarh Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
67458	Ram Chandra Tewari	Ram Dutt	Hari Chand Intermediate College, Lucknow Centre.	Ditto
7532	Gopal Nath Srivastava	Iqbal Bahadur	Ditto	Ditto
68296	Ram Chandra Sharma	Sita Ram Sharma	Vidyant Hindu Intermediate College, Lucknow Centre.	Ditto
68532	Krishna Lal Tewari	Inder Pal Tewari	Boys Anglo-Bengali Intermediate College, Lucknow Centre.	Ditto
68743	(Km.) Santi Devi Nigam	Harihar Nigam	Lal Bagh Girls' High School, Lucknow Centre.	Ditto
8888	(Km.) Vedwati Nigam	Anand Bihari Nigam	Ditto	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
69329	Ahmad Ali	Mohammad Ali.	Government Higher Secondary School, Sitapur Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
69340	Ram Chandra Srivastava	Shri Bhero Prasad Srivastava.	Ditto	Ditto
69510	Madho Ram	Lekh Raj Verma	Government Higher Secondary School, Hardoi Centre.	Ditto
70114	(Sm.) Yashoda Devi	Ramanand	Government Girls Higher Secondary School, Faizabad Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
70705	(Sm.) Sarda Devi Srivastava	Mahabir Prasad	Government Higher Secondary School, Sultanpur Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950, and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
71298	Prem Prakash Dhama	Uttam Chand Dhama	Government Higher Secondary School, Pratapgarh	Ditto
71465	Chowdhry Mohd. Siddiqi	Shood Chowdhry Sam Sam Ali Siddiqi	Government Higher Secondary School, Bara Banki Centre	Ditto

The following action has been taken against the candidates for reasons noted against them :

Roll No.	Name of candidates	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Reasons	Punishments
			Intermediate Examination		
6263	Krishna Kumar Sharma	Ram Krishna Sharma	D. A. V College, Kanpur.	Shortage in attendance was beyond the limit of condonation. The candidate was, therefore, not eligible to appear in the examination.	Intermediate Examination of 1950 cancelled.
6380	Bishun Narain Bajpai	Kunj Behari Bajpai	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6368	Ganga Ram Sihare	Brindaban Sihare	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6399	Hari Har Dwivedi	Jai Narain Dube	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6406	Hari Lal Katiyar	Ram Bharosey Lal Katiyar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6417	Jai Prakash Pande	Hari Lal Pande	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6418	Jai Prakash Saxena	Krishna Bahadur Saxena	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6429	Karuna Shankar Dube	Laxmi Shankar Dube	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6435	Krishna Chandra Shukla	Shiv Bachan Lal Shukla	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6436	Krishna Kant Srivastava	Govind Saran Lal	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6438	Krishna Kumar Gupta	Dharam Singh Gupta	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6468	Nootan Chand Gautam	K. D. Gautam	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6474	Prakash Chandra Patwa	Babu Ram Patwa	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6478	Prem Narain Agarwal	Ram Swarup Agarwal	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6497	Ramesh Chandra Srivastava	Mangali Prasad	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6501	Ram Dularey	Bhagwati Prasad	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6524	Sarvesh Chandra Gupta	Sheo Prasad Gupta	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6531	Shiva Murat Lal Nigam	Amrita Lal Nigam	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
6532	Shiv Shankar Lal Sharma	Shyam Lal Sharma	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
10571	Shanker Roy	Sant Bux Roy	K. K. College Lucknow	Ditto	Ditto
10671	Kedar Nath Srivastava	Jagdamba Prasad Srivastava	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
10686	Krishna Murari Garg	Shanti Prakash Gupta	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
10762	Sher Bahadur Singh	Ram Krishna Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
10764	Prabodh Kumar Dutta	Paresh Nath Dutta	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
10765	Shyam Behari Misra	Badri Prasad Misra	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Reasons	Punishment
10779	Sushil Kumar Dutt	Munishwar Dutt	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
15171	Jugal Kishore Dixit	Laxmi Narain Dixit	St. John's College Agra Centre.	Did not fulfil conditions.	Ditto
18047	G. Edwin George	Satyananda Gera	D. A. V. College, Kanpur Centre.	Ditto	Ditto
19909	Shri Nath Barolia	Sukhu Prāsad	C.A.V.H.S. School, Allahabad Centre.	Ditto	(Did not appear in the examination).
1481	Ganga Sharan Sharma	Kali Charan	Ditto	Unauthorised interference in the conduct of examination.	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950 and debarred from the Intermediate Examinations of 1951 and 1952.
1663	Shivraj Singh	Khan Chand	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
1696	Vijai Kumar Mehra	Nitya Nand Mehra	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
9585	Abdul Rauf Khan	Wali Mohammad Khan.	M. S. G. I. Intermediate College, Gorakhpur.	Used abusive language for the examiner in his answer-book.	Disqualified from the Intermediate Examination of 1950 and debarred for the Intermediate Examination of 1951.
23936	Ram Chandra Bajpai	Mansa Ram Bajpai	Government Higher Secondary School, Hardoi Centre.	Concealment of facts.	Ditto
6566	Virendra Singh Katiyar	Jagannath Prasad Katiyar	D. A. V. College, Kanpur.	Shortage in attendance was beyond the limit of condonation. The candidate was not eligible to appear in the examination.	Intermidiate Examination of 1950 cancelled.

Intermediate Examination in Agriculture

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Reasons	Punishment
436	Birendra Kumar Bhatia	Girdhari Lal Tiwari.	Government Agricultural College, Kanpur.	Shortage beyond the limit of condonation. The candidate was not eligible to appear in the examination.	Intermediate Examination in Agriculture of 1950 cancelled.
471	Mohan Prasad Naithani	Ram Prasad Naithani	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
485	Radhey Shyam Sengar	Balvir Singh Sengar	Government Agricultural College, Kanpur.	Ditto	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Reasons	Punishment
521	Syed Jalil Akhtar	Ali Akhtar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
529	Vikram Singh Sirohi	Dalel Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

High School Examination

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Reasons	Punishment
14692	Har Prasad Gautam	Narain Prasad Gautam	S. M. High School, Chandausi	Shortage in attendance was beyond the limit of condonation and was, therefore, not eligible to appear at the examination.	High School Examination of 1950 cancelled.
14739	Rajendra Singh	Mehtab Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
22750	Ram Pratap Singh	Jagannath Singh	H.U. Higher Secondary School, Allahabad	Ditto	Ditto
23884	(Km) Prabhawati Sharma	Bhasker Rao Sharma	S.P. Government Girls' Higher Secondary School, Jhansi.	Ditto	Ditto
36041	Shyam Kishore	Gauri Ganesh Misra	Vidyant Hindu Intermediate College, Lucknow.	Ditto	Ditto

The following candidates have also been debarred from appearing at the examination noted against each for having concealed the fact of their previous schooling :—

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
32435	Bashisth Narain Tripathi	Kundan Tripathi	B-N. Intermediate College, Majhauli Raj.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950.
41385	Birham Singh	Budh Singh	Vaish Intermediate College, Shamli Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
41394	Daryao Singh	Qubul Singh	Ditto	Ditto
41507	Chauhal Singh	Malkhan Singh	Hindu Intermediate College, Khandla Centre.	Ditto
41509	Girwar Singh	Ch. Alam Singh	Ditto	Ditto
41519	Kripal Singh	Balwant Singh	Ditto	Ditto
41616	Jagdish Prasad	Mool Chand	Sitasaran Intermediate College, Khatauli Centre.	Ditto
41667	Daya Ram Sharma	Chacheru Mal	Government High School, Meerut Centre.	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
41674	Harbans Lal Khanno	Amar Nath Khanna	Ditto	High School Examination of 1950 cancelled.
41676	Ishwar Chand	Gopi Chand Tiagi	Ditto	Ditto
41702	Murari Lal Sharma	Raghubir Saran	Ditto	Ditto
41712	Parmanand	Jahangir Singh	Ditto	Ditto
41716	Pyare Lal Khanna	Dina Nath Khanna	Ditto	Ditto
41739	Surendra Kumar Bazaz	Jagarnath Bazaz	Ditto	Ditto
41751	Suman Prakash	Prabhu Dayal	Ditto	Ditto
41855	Gopi Chand	Hardayal Singh	N. A. S. Intermediate College, Meerut Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarredf or the High School Examination of 1951.
41892	Ram Kumar Sharma	Sher Singh Sharma	Ditto	Ditto
41911	Satya Deo Singh	Mokand Lal	Ditto	Ditto
41926	Ved Prakash Goel	Ram Gopal	Ditto	Ditto
41928	Ved Prakash Rastogi	Munshi Lal Rastogi	Ditto	Ditto
42000	Basant Singh	Chaudhary Atar Singh	D. N. Intermediate College, Meerut Centre.	Ditto
42056	Kashi Ram Sharma	Dharam Singh Sharma	Ditto	Ditto
42069	Mool Chand	Phool Chand	Ditto	Ditto
42097	Om Prakash Gupta	Chandra Bhan	Ditto	Ditto
42151	Som Datt	Beg Raj Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42154	Sri Niwas Sharma	Govind Sabai	Ditto	Ditto
42267	Girish Kumar	Kanti Prakash	Faiz-i-am College,. Meerut Centre.	Ditto
42268	Guru Chand Rastogi	Shiv Charan Das	Ditto	Ditto
42299	Sharafat Ali	Hashmat Ali	Ditto	Ditto
42360	Ashram Chand Kaushik	Hira Lal Kaushik	B. A. V. High School Meerut Centre.	Ditto
42264	Birbal Singh Gupta	Tirkha Ram	Ditto	Ditto
42410	Mahabir Singh	Jhan Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42415	Nawal Kishore	Raghunandan Lal	Ditto	Ditto
42430	Ranbir Singh Sodhi	Bakhtawar Singh Sodhi	Ditto	Ditto
42433	Ram Singh Verma	Ram Charan	Ditto	Ditto
42468	Yashpal Bakshi	Kanbaya Lal Sharma	Ditto	Ditto
42470	Zila Singh	Katar Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42744	Chand Kiran Singh	Najar Singh	Modi High School, Modinagar Centre.	Ditto
42750	Deep Chand	Meer Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42775	Joseph Masih	Tirkha Masih	Ditto	Ditto
42787	Mangal Singh Bharadwaj	Bal Mukund	Ditto	Ditto
42803	Percy Bates	G. D. Bates	Ditto	Ditto
42824	Reoti Sharan	Dakhani Dev	Ditto	Ditto
42832	Sukhbir Singh	Ram Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42833	Shardha Nand Tyagi	Ram Das Tyagi	Ditto	Ditto
42844	Trilok Pal Singh	Kharak Singh	Ditto	Ditto
42850	Yashpal Anand	Shobha Ram	Ditto	Ditto
42884	Hansram Verma	Sisram Verma	A. S. Intermediate College, Mawana Centre.	Ditto
42912	Ram Lal Garg	Chvidda Lal Garg	Ditto	Ditto

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
42971	Vidya Nand	Kishan Dayal	K. V. Intermediate College, Machhra Centre.	High School Examination of 1950 cancelled.
43391	Ved Prakash Sharma	Jewan Singh Sharma	J. V. A. College, Barut Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1950 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1951.
43520	Thakur Das Sindhi	Khatu Mal	Ditto	Ditto
43599	Gopal Das Malhotra	Lakshman Das Malhotra	M. M. H. V. College, Ghaziabad Centre.	Ditto
43655	Satya Pal Mehta	Harbans Lal Mehta	Ditto	Ditto
43763	Madan Lal	Walu Ram	S. S. D. High School, Ghaziabad Centre.	Ditto
44616	Ishwar Chand	Nanak Chand	S. M. J. E. C. High School, Khurja Centre.	Ditto
48127	Mohar Singh	Tarif Singh	Government High School, Agra Centre.	Ditto
53314	Ram Narain Sharma	Het Ram	Coronation Hindu Intermediate College, Moradabad Centre.	Ditto

The following candidates who appeared at the High School Examination of 1949 as Private Candidates have been debarred for having concealed the fact of their previous Schooling from appearing at the examination noted against each :—

Roll No.	Name of candidate	Name of father	Name of Institution or Centre	Punishment
2169	Raj Dingra	Tek Chand Dingra	P. L. Bhalla Municipal Intermediate College, Hardwar Centre.	Disqualified for the High School Examination of 1949 and debarred for the High School Examination of 1950.
10266	Ramphal Sharma	Ram Chand Sharma	D. S. College, Aligarh Centre.	Ditto
10366	Tara Chand	Shiam Lal Sharma	Ditto	Ditto
14432	Fazal Ahmad	Nawab Husain	M D. Jain Intermediate College, Agra Centre.	He will not be allowed to appear at the Intermediate Examination earlier than 1952.
30950	Brij Kishore Nikhra	Ram Charan Nikhra	Government Intermediate College, Jhansi Centre.	Ditto
33886	Jagdish Chandra Pathak	Dwarika Nath	Bengali Tola High School, Banaras Centre.	Ditto

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THE WORSHIP OF THE GREAT MOTHER IN THE INDUS RELIGION

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

(II)

THE EGYPTIAN MOTHER-GODDESS

Egypt had a number of her own Mother-goddesses and others were liberally borrowed from outside. Nu or Nu-tpe was the goddess of the heavenly ocean, pouring forth the waters of life, the mother of the gods, represented as an arched vault.[1] [2] Isis was the earth-goddess, fecund mother and goddess of maternity represented with the head of a cow, sister, daughter and mother of the sun-god.[3] Nepthys was the mistress of heaven.[4] Hathor was the mother and wife of Horos, a fertile mother, bestower of pleasures and good fortune.[5] Safech was the goddess of learning adorned with a panther's skin.[6] Tefnut representing the foam of cosmic waters was a goddess with the dual aspect of a creatrix and destroyer and was represented by an angry adder or a lioness vomitting flames.[7] Sechet-Bast-Pacht was a goddess with a cat's head. She was a goddess of war and mistress of thoughts with her seat at Bubastis and was specially worshipped by the Arab tribes.[8] Neith was the *virgin goddess of war* represented as a cow lying down in whose honour the festival of lamps was held.[9] Other goddesses such as Ma-net or Mut identified with Neith, Hathor and also Isis, Anuka, the goddess who conceives, identified with Mother Earth, Sati representing the ray of the sun which impregnates the earth, Suben the goddess of fertility, Tanit and Anit or Anahid, the fertile mother and the virgin goddess, Ma the goddess of truth, etc., were foreign deities. Ishtar, Ashtart and Anath the Syrian war goddess were also worshipped.[1]

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[1] *E. R. E.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

[2] C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, translated from the Dutch by J. Ballingal, London, 1882, p. 66

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

According to Tiele, Hathor "is the same as the Assyrian Istar, the Phoenician Ashtoreth."[1] Mat, meaning the mother "is an abstraction of all Egyptian mother-goddesses, the chief goddess of the country."[2] About Isis it has been stated that "by the time of the Saite and Greek periods she had gradually developed into a universal nature-goddess, a beneficent, maternal divinity . . . She was the Great Mother, the Mother of all the gods. She became the prototype of all goddesses."[3]

The Anatolian Mother

The worship of the Anatolian Mother or the Great Mother of Asia, as she was called, was known in the form in which it prevailed among the Phrygians after they had occupied the land which was held by the Hittites and from whose hands or from the hands of whose successors political power passed into the hands of the Phrygians.[4]

The Hittite power was supreme in northern Syria when the Ramesides (Dynasties XIX and XX) were ruling in Egypt. Khetasar the Hittite emperor led a confederacy of Mysians, Lyceans, Dardans, etc., nations of Asia Minor, against the Egyptian emperor Rameses, II. A treaty was made the terms of which are sculptured at El-Karnak. The Hittites were thus closely connected both with the Pelasgic tribes of Asia Minor and the Egyptians.

Among female deities worshipped by the Hittites were Ishtar, Ashtart, Saris, Mah, Ishkara, etc. Teshub, the chief male deity, was a thunder god and closely connected with the bull which was his mount. His weapon was a three-pronged thunder bolt.[5] In the procession in the sacred gallery at Boghaz Keui his weapons are trident and mace. The monument at Isbekjar represents him standing on a charging bull.[6] It has been suggested by Jensen that Tarku

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[1] C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, translated from the Dutch by J. Ballingal, London, p. 153, p. 135, p. 208, p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 55. [3] *E. R. E.*, Vol. VII, p. 435. [4] A. B. Keith, *Indo-European in the Mediterranean Area*, I. H. Q., Sept., 1940, p. 429.

[5] Compare with Vedic Indra and Rudra-Siva.

[6] *E. R. E.*, Vol. VI, pp. 724, 725.

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or Takhu was probably a Hittite goddess from whom the Syrian goddess Atargatis was derived.[1] A nature-goddess who held an important position was worshipped at Arinna. She sent kingship and queenship.[2] It has been held that she was of a type found almost everywhere in Asia Minor and that her worship in Cappadocia was of very ancient local origin and long antedated the Hattic settlement. In the representations at the shrine at Yasilikaia the Hattic god is shown as following the goddess.[3] It has been held that the name of the Great Mother in the original Cappadocian form was something like Ma, the name under which she was worshipped at Comana. It is likely that she was the prototype of the later Phrygian Mother Cybele, whose worship centred mainly in Galatia. In the sacred procession at Boghaz Keui she stands on a lioness or panther. Her companion, a beardless youth, carries a staff and double axe.[4] The image of an armed goddess sculptured on one of the posts of the gates of the Boghaz Keui fortifications has also been found.[5] The worship of Ishtar was introduced among the people under the name of Saris and it has been suggested that in the disguise of Semiramis she played an important part in the legends of later Armenia.[6] A terra cotta Ashtart plaque discovered at Gezer represents the goddess with a veil which according to Paton is probably of Hittite origin.[7] There are also references to Ashtart of the Hittites. The goddess Ishkara, it is stated, appears first in the Sumerian pantheon at the end of the Ur period. "It is possible that she is a Hittite deity of fountains and canals; the Sumerians identified her with Nina the irrigation goddess."[8]

The Hittites borrowed largely from the Sumero-Babylonian religion and they preserved some of their own deities. "The greater number of the deities in Cappadocia were Sumerian. Sin, Ea, Enlil, Anu, Ashdar, Nana, Ninsubar, etc., appear frequently among the proper names."[9] It has been said that in Pontus and Cappadocia Anahita "became identified with the great autochthonus divinity Ma and her temples were attended by a number of sacred slaves of both sexes."[10] "Mah" or "Nin-Mah" meaning exalted mistress, was one of the titles of Innini-Ishtar.[11] A goddess called Ma was worshipped also in Egypt.[12]

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[1] Jensen, *Hittier und Armenier* 1898, quoted in *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, p. 165.

[2] *Cam. Anc. Hist*, Vol. II, p. 350.

[3] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 155.

[4] *E. R. E.*, Vol. VIII, p. 725.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[8] Cam. Anc. Hist. Vol. I, p. 450.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 446.

[10] *E. R. E.*, Vol. I, p. 414.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 296.

[12] Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

The Phrygians adopted the religion of the country conquered by them. It has been said that the religion of the country conquered by the Phrygians "represents a prevalent type of religion which was very widely spread over the countries adjoining the Aegean lands and the south coast of the Black Sea." [1] The later Anatolian or Phrygian cult of the Mother-goddess was centralised in the country occupied by the Phrygians and her most sacred seat was at Pessimus in Galatia. "She was known as the Universal Mother, mother of the gods, of men, as well as the lower creation, though her character as the mother of wild nature was specially prominent as proved by the orgiastic wildness of the worship, her sanctuaries on the wooded mountains, her foundness for lions, etc." [2] "Cybele was identified by the Greeks with Rhea, Gaia and Demeter and by the Romans with Tellus, Ceres, Ops and Maia." [3] "Cybele and Attis were usually associated in worship and formed a duality symbolising the relations of Mother Earth to her fruitage " [4]

THE AEGEAN MOTHER

The great goddess of the Aegean religion was associated with mountains, trees (represented as pillars), animals and birds (lions, serpents, doves, bulls, cows, fishes, etc.). She was a war-goddess and represented as armed with bipennis or double axe. She was the fertile Earth-Mother, the Great Mother of the gods, of men, plants and animals.[5] She was associated with a subordinate male god who was sometimes a child, sometimes a young man and sometimes a sky-power fertilising the mother Earth.[6] Hogarth says that the Mother-goddess associated with a young male god represented a type which was to be found in other countries. Thus in Punic Africa she was Tanit with her son ; in Egypt she was Isis with Horos ; in Phoenicia Ashtoreth with Adonis ; in Asia Minor Cybele with Attis ; in Greece Rhea with young Zeus. . . [7] "Everywhere she is unwed but made the mother of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of all the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son. . . In memory of these original facts her cult (especially the more esoteric mysteries of it) is marked by various practices and observances symbolic of the negation and obliteration of sex (castration and ceremonial promiscuity)." [8] It is also an important aspect of the cult that the son dies and returns to life, an aspect in which is symbolised the act of Nature constantly renewing herself in her own offspring. "This type represented the universal deity of all the Near East and the Aegean Mother with her son was a manifestation of it." [1]

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[1] *E.R.E.*, Vol. IX, 900.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 377.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 141f; Vol. VIII, pp. 868f.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 868.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

[8] *Ibid.*

It has been stated that the Egyptian religion had an influence on the Aegean people. "but its true affinities are with Anatolian worship and with those Mother-goddess cults which the Semites themselves might have borrowed from the Mediterranean countries. . . Aegean religion represents a type of which variations were prevalent in Asia Minor and upon the coasts of eastern Levant in historical times. In this religion the figure of a great Mother-goddess is dominant. There also appears an armed male god, apparently a sky-god and the weilder of the thunder." [2]

THE PAN-BABYLONIAN SCHOOL ON THE POSITION OF ISHTAR

Reference has been made to the view of the Pan-Babylonian School that Ishtar was the original mother-goddess of Western Asia and to the view of Langdon that "the great and ubiquitous cult of the virgin Earth-Goddess in Canaan, Phoenicia and Syria seems to have been entirely borrowed from Babylonia." The Iranian Mother Anahita too shows so many features in common with the Sumero-Babylonian type that there is little room for doubt regarding her origin from the earlier type. The Mitannis, Kassites and Hittites also worshipped the Sumero-Babylonian Mother. As the names of the Mother-goddesses worshipped by the Canaanites, Phoenicians, Aramaeans, Moabites and in Syria show they were forms of the Sumero-Babylonian mother-goddess Innini-Ishtar. In Epyt Ishtar Ashtar and Anath and other foreign goddesses were worshipped. She had her own Mother-goddesses including goddess of fertilising waters, virgin goddess of war, Isis-Hathor representing the Earth-mother, goddess of fertility and maternity, associated with a male deity Osiris-Horos, related as son, brother and husband and represented with a cow's head. Isis-Hathor thus partially represents the type illustrated by Innini-Ishtar. Theriomorphism was a special characteristic of the Egyptian religion ; but the curious case of Neith the virgin goddess of war represented as a cow lying down throws some light on the imperfect process of departmentalisation of deities to which should, perhaps, be attributed the transference of the martial aspect of the Earth-mother to individualised deities. This view is confirmed by the association of sexual licence with the worship of another war-goddess, the cat-headed Bast of Bubastis. The Anatolian Mother and Aegean Mother show affinities with the early Babylonian type, particularly in their association with a young male deity related as son and husband, in being unmarried, that is, virgin goddesses, in sexual licence practised in their worship and in their association with animals, particularly lions.

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[1] *E.R.E.*, Vol I, p. 147.

[2] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 613.

Thus the important facts that emerge from what has been stated above are that in Iran, among northern Semites, *i e.*, Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, Phoenicians and Israelites, among peoples of mixed origin such as the Kassites, Mitannis and Hittites, in Egypt, in Asia Minor and in the Aegean islands there prevailed in ancient times cults of the Great Mother or All-Mother which had certain common features in the conceptions of the deity and in cult practices with local variations; that the origin of these conceptions may be traced to the Sumerian mother-goddess conception which was borrowed by the Semites in Babylonia and passed on to the other nations with some new traits contributed by them and that the Sumero-Babylonian mother which was the original type was a syncretic deity rising into prominence by absorbing different local, and departmental functional deities whose attributes she acquired and whose names she retained as her titles.

We have, given above only a few of the well-known facts regarding the Mother-goddesses worshipped in the countries mentioned by Marshall. Consideration of these facts and comparison with the details he and his followers have been able to gather together in support of the interpretation of the Indus and Baluchistan female figurines as Mother-goddesses would at once expose the weakness of Marshall's second and principal argument.

SECOND OBJECTION

We may now refer to our second objection to this argument, *viz.*, no known marks or symbols of divinity or sanctity accompany the Indus and Baluchistan figurines and as such their sacred import is rendered doubtful.

In the absence of any direct or indirect evidence we have to be careful in ascribing sacred character to pre-historic finds. "In dealing with novel monuments" writes Hogarth, "of a pre-historic civilisation it is not legitimate to presume that a representation of the human figure is intended to be divine unless and until it is found with clear and consistent indications of the supernatural, unless, for example it is represented as emitting light or is accompanied by wild beasts or large serpents, fatal to ordinary humanity or again of superhuman relative stature or lastly as receiving adoration." [1] Now, among the pre-historic finds in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan there is no lack of manifest and recognised symbols of divinity attached to statues or human representations on seals. Reference may be made to the seal representing a male god brought to light by Dr. Mackay.[2] There is the horn of divinity,[3] fierce beasts such as tiger, rhinoceros, etc., attendant on the god,[4] three faces indicating the superhuman, the peculiar posture of meditation famous in Indian religious history [5] and the decorations also well known in Hindu iconography.[6] There are horned figures [7] as well as representations of cult scenes definitely proving that sanctity was attached to the serpent worship [8] and the worship of the Earth-goddess.[9] How under these circumstances, can the different types of female figurines as described by Marshall and unaccompanied by any known indication of divinity, be accepted as representations of Mother-goddesses?

THIRD OBJECTION

After we have seen that the Indus and Baluchistan female figurines are unaccompanied by any clear sacred symbol or distinguishing mark from which one may infer that they are representations of divinity or bear any sacred import we may pass on to the consideration of our third and last objection to Marshall's evidence of parallel finds, *viz.*, representations in art of the Mother-goddesses in the countries mentioned above. A brief reference to these representations will show whether the Indus and Baluchistan female figurines bear any resemblance to what Marshall describes as "parallel finds" in the Western Asian and Mediterranean countries.

REPRESENTATIONS OF MOTHER-GODDESSES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES IN ANCIENT TIMES.

In Sumero-Babylonian art:—Erech, Nippur, Eridu, Ur-Nina, Agade, Kish, Adab, etc., were important seats of mother-goddesses where idols of gods and goddesses were installed in temples often richly endowed. Statuettes, seals, maces, etc., with inscriptions were dedicated to gods and goddesses. Similarly statues, thrones, emblems, vases, discs with inscriptions or engravings were also dedicated.[1] A marble figurine of the wife of Gudea dedicated to a deity for the life of Gudea has been found.[2] The inscriptions on a female figurine dedicated to the goddess Ninigal shows that it too was dedicated for the life of Gudea.[3] Idols of goddesses installed at famous temples were carried away by conquerors. Thus the statue of Annuit at Agade was carried by the barbarians from the north (Gutium).[4] A number of kudurru stones containing engraved images of deities have also been found.[5]

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[1] D. G. Hogarth, *Encyclopaedia* of religion and Ethics, Vol. 1, p. 142.

[2] Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 54, Pl. XII, 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p 55.

[7] *Ibid.*, Pls. XI, 18, 22; XII 17.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 68, Pls. CXVI, 29, CXVII, 11.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 52, Pl. XII, 12.

As a war-goddess Ishtar is often depicted in Babylonian art as fully armed standing on a leopard or lion and in old Babylonian art as seated, armed with club or scimitar; in Assyrian art as standing armed with bow, quiver, etc.[6] As a goddess of maternity Ishtar was represented in art as a mother suckling a child.[7] As a storm goddess Ishtar was often represented as holding a caduceus of two serpents.[8] A terra cotta plaque excavated at Kish shows "one of the many designs of Ishtar-her crown decorated with the usual bull's horns, large pendants hung from her ears, necklace and robe. Her right hand holds a long, thin metal rod and in her left hand she presents caduceus with two serpents' heads, the usual symbol of this deity of life and fertility. *Her left leg is set upon the back of a lion, symbol of the war goddess.*[9] A Sumerian goddess, supposed to be Bau-Gula, identified with Ishtar was represented on ancient seals as a seated goddess holding sheaves of corn.[10] "As a bride Ishtar is represented in art as veiled. In this capacity she is prayed to bless wedded love.[11] As a goddess of desire she was represented as a naked woman with emphasised sexual features.[12] Représentations of Nina or some other forms of Ishtar on seals show fish beneath her throne.[13] As Ninharsag Ishtar has horned head-dress.[14] On the boundary stones her symbol is the cow.[15]

In Palestine (Ashtart):—Ashtart as a war-goddess was represented like Ishtar. In Egypt she was depicted standing on a lion.[16]

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[1] *Cam. Anc.* Hist, Vol. I, p. 561. [2] *Ibid* p. 432. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid*, p. 424. [5] *Ibid*, pp. 566, 567. [6] *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, p. 116.
[7] Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 116. See Fig. 53 with descriptions from Assyrian Cuneiform texts.
[8] *E.R.E.*, Vol. II, pp. 155, 405f. [9] Langdon, *op cit.*, p. 331, Fig. 94.
[10] Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 133f. [11] *E.R.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 430.
[12] Ward, *op. cit.*, pp 161f., 380. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 404. [15] *E.R.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 430.
[16] Muller, Asien, pp. 313f. quoted in *E.R.E.*, Vol. II, p. 116.

Her statue at Cythera was in full armour.[1] "In monuments of the XIXth Dynasty (Egypt) she is depicted standing on a lion, naked or clothed in skin-tight garment, holding in one hand a lotus and in the other a serpent".[2] "In Phoenicia, Cyprus and most of the islands of the Aegean, statuettes have been found representing a nude female holding a dove. These are similar in type to the plaques discovered at Gezer and are generally believed to represent the Phoenician goddess[3] On Phoenician coins she is represented standing on the prow of a galley with a mural crown on her head or hand".[4]

It has been held that a mother-goddess was worshipped in prehistoric Canaan. No iconic representation of this mother-goddess has been found.[5] "In Canaanite temples masseboth (standing stone) rather than images seems to have embodied the mother-goddess.[6] The sacred precincts around the stone were enclosed with *asherim* or totem poles which also received religious reverence and were early identified with Ashtart.[7]

Several types of Ashtart plaques have been discovered in Palestine which are thus described by Paton:

1. The commonest type of terra cotta plaques bears a close resemblance to the Egyptian representation.[8]
2. A second type depicts her with a tall striated headdress, necklace, anklets and girdle with her hands held to her breasts.
3. A third type has horns like the Egyptian Hathor.
4. A fourth type has bird like beak and huge ear-rings.
5. A fifth type discovered at Gezer represents her with a veil.[9]

While Egyptian influence is apparent in two of the five types covering a majority of the finds Paton finds Babylonian and Hittite influence in the second and fifth types. We have thus one type left, the figurines with bird like beak and huge ear-rings for identifying which with Ashtart there is no obvious reason except that these figurines have been found along with others possessing sacred character. These figurines bear a strong resemblance to the Thessalian[10] finds of terra cotta female figurines with bird-like features which are regarded as votive offerings.

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[1] Pausanius III, 23. 1 quoted in *E R.E. ibid.*

[2] *E.R.E.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez Figs. 381f referred to in *E.R.E.*, Vol. II, p. 218.

[4] Paton, *E.R.E.*, Vol II, p. 218.

[5] *E R.E.*, Vol III, p. 178.

[6] See Jeremiah 227

[7] *E.R.E.*, Vol. II, p. 117.

[8] Drawings in Bliss Maclister, Pl. LXVI 10-16, Pl. LXVIII 1,2. Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 225 ref. in *E.R.E.*, Vol III, p. 182.

[9] *E.R.E.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

[10] *Cam. Anc. Hist. Volume of Plates*, pp. 112, 114 Pl. I for Thessalian finds of female figurines with bird-like features.

In Egypt:—It has been observed that the Canaanite mother-goddess Ashtart who was worshipped in Egypt also was represented as standing on a lion holding in one hand a lotus and in the other a serpent. The Syrian war goddess Anath was also worshipped in Egypt. She was represented enthroned with spear and shield in the right hand and in the left a battle-axe. She was also represented as clad in a panther skin, holding the papyrus centre and emblem of life.[1] References to the theriomorphic representations of many of the Egyptian goddesses have been given above. Isis was sometimes represented with little Horos on her bosom.[2] She was also represented with torches, heads of wheat, poppies, serpents, etc., as an agricultural deity.[3]

IN SYRIA AND ANATOLIA

The Syrian mother-goddess Atargatis was represented mounted upon a lion.[4] The symbol of the Phrygian Mother Cybele at Pessinus her most sacred seat in Galatia was a small meteoric stone. When her cult was adopted in Rome the sacred symbol was brought there and located on the Palatine.[5] She was also represented as seated on a throne accompanied by lions.[6] It has been said that the original Cappadocian form of the Great Mother was given some name like Ma "In the sacred procession at Boghas Keui she stands on a lioness or panther. Her son, a beardless, youth, carries a staff and a double axe. He too stands on a lioness or a panther.[7]

THE AEGEAN MOTHER

No cult statues of Aegean deities have been found. "The evidence is overwhelming that the Bronze Age ritual was aniconic, that is, the deity was represented in cult by a sacred tree or pillar or double axe."[8] Several clay images of intaglio gems have found at early sites showing a female figure armed with a spear or double axe and accompanied by lions.[9] Female figurines with snakes coiled round them have also been found.[10] "One seal impression of the late Minoan style found at Knossos shows the goddess on the peak of a mountain holding either a sceptre or lance and flanked by guardian lions."[11] There have also been found Thessalian terra cotta heads and statuettes of the Neolithic age. The most usual type shows a female standing or seating holding her hands upon her breasts. Terra cotta female figurines with bird-like features, crescent arms and columnar bodies have also been found. These are regarded as votive offerings or toys.[1] In a number of intaglio impressions a youthful male figure accompanied by lions and sometimes armed, appear.

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[1] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 348.
[2] Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[3] *E. R. E.*, Vol. III, p. 436.
[4] *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, p. 167.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 377.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 478.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 725.
[8] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 613.
[9] *E. R. E.*, Vol. I, p. 143.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *B. A. S.*, VII, p. 18, quoted in *E. R. E.*, Vol. I, p. 143.

A comparison may now be made between the representations of the Mother-goddess described above and the misshapen female figurines unearthed in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan.

THIRD EVIDENCE

The third evidence used by Marshall is the evidence of certain finds of terra cotta female figurines unearthed at different sites in the Gangetic Valley and elsewhere.[2]

Marshall, it is to be pointed out, reverses the process of argument in dealing with these figurines. He treats the case of the Indus and Baluchistan figurines as established and proceeds to argue that the female figurines found on the banks of the Ganges are representations of Mother-goddesses on the ground of their resemblance to the Indus and Baluchistan finds. The correspondence between these figurines and those found on the banks of the Ganges is such that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the latter also represented a Mother or Nature goddess and served the same purpose as their counterparts in the West, *viz.*, either as votive offerings or *less probably* as cult images for household shrines." [3]

Discussing terra cottas found at Buxar, Bulandibagh, Kumrahar, Patna, Mathura, Kausambi, Bhita, Taxila, etc., Dr. Stella Kramrisch writes: " Primitive types have been assigned an early and sometimes a prehistoric date.[4] The ' primitive types ' however are as frequent at Mohenjo Daro in the 3rd millienium B.C. as they are in the Ganges, etc., from the Sunga to the Gupta period (Pl. VII figs. 1-10), *i.e.*, roughly, before and during the first half of the first millenium A.D. and *their number is not less to-day,* made as they are by the potters and women in the villages of Bengal, Bihar, etc." [5] Referring again to some terra cotta figurines and plaques found at Maniyar Math, Rajgir, she writes: " Some of the terra cotta figurines and plaques have been found in sanctuaries, others within or near buildings of which the foundation walls do not reveal their religious or domestic character. What matters most is that they were found in large numbers in the many buildings of the ancient towns, where they must have been in use. That the traditional types and timebound varieties[1] occur by the side one another is nothing surprising when it is known that also to-day the timeless types—female figurines for instance, with a solid cone as the body and which affords a large circle to stand on with pinched faces. Pellets affixed for the eyes and no mouth marked—can be found in the same household where Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa figurines of a banal prettiness have their effect on the same people." [2] Referring to the Pataliputra finds she writes: "Female figures are more numerous than the male, and this refers to the ageless types and to the timed and stylistically differentiated alike." [3]

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[1] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, Volume of Plates, pp. 112, 114, Pl. I.

[2] *E. R. E.*, Vol. I, p. 143. Fig. 3.

[3] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[4] Dr. Stella Kramrisch, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June-Dec, 1939. " The error of assigning an early date to certain supposedly archaic types is based on finds in excavations in India (Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, etc.), and outside India."—p. 89, note 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

To the above we would add only a few words. Terra cotta female figurines with pinched in faces, pellets for eyes, flat bases and hooded heads, figurines with elaborate neck, breast and ear ornaments and basket-shaped or spade or crescent or umbrella or inverted pitcher shaped head-dresses, with hands on the hips, waist or breasts, with prominent breasts, nude or draped, will be found in plenty along with images of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa-Baladeva. Jagannāth-Subhadrā, beau and belle, elephant, horse, birds of different species, tiger, cat, lion, old man smoking hookah, the bearded sage Narada playing on flute, etc., arranged in mixed rows at the stalls of potters at Hindu fairs on the occasion of Ratha-Yātrā, Chait and Makara Sankrānti in many parts in Bengal. Again, clay female figurines resembling the Indus Valley and Baluchistan types, sometimes washed with lime and with red lead marks along with clay figurines of elephant, horse, etc., are found to be offered to village or tribal deities, to goddess Sītalā and Saṣṭhī, and some Moslem tomb shrines in rural areas by devotees for fulfilment of their desires.[4]

WHY MARSHALL'S EVIDENCE OF ANALOGY ON WHICH HIS INTERPRETATION IS MAINLY BASED CANNOT BE ACCEPTED

We have come to the end of our examination of Marshall's argument of analogy. Our first objection to the argument is that the evidence of mother-goddess worship is far more complete in other countries than what is claimed as evidence of the existence of mother-goddess worship in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. This means that in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan we have only the finds and nothing else to help us to interpret them. The second objection is that these finds of female figurines do not possess any mark or symbol to indicate their sacred character. The third objection relates to the representations in art of the Mother-goddesses in other countries and the primitive stage of the art displayed in the Indus and Baluchistan finds. In support of his theory Marshall has referred to finds in Western Asia, Egypt, Asia Minor and the Aegean countries. We have referred to the mother-goddess cults in these countries at some length and what is of more importance here, described the representations in art of mother-goddesses worshipped in these lands in ancient times. In Mesopotamia idols installed in richly endowed temples were worshipped with elaborate rites. The grain goddess was represented as holding sheaves of corn in her hand. The war goddess was represented as standing on a leopard or lion or with her left foot on a lion and armed. The water goddess was represented with a fish or boat symbol. There were also horned head dress, cow symbol, caduceus of serpents, etc. In Palestine the war-goddess was represented as standing on a lion with a lotus and a serpent in her hands. In Asia Minor the mother-goddess was represented as seated on a throne accompanied by lions. In Egypt the war goddess was represented as standing on a lion or dressed in panther skin and armed and there were other goddesses holding torches, heads of wheat, serpents or with a head of cow, head of cat, etc. In Syria the mother-goddess was mounted upon a lion. In the Aegean countries there have found female figurines armed with spear or double axe, figurines with snakes coiled round them, seal impression of goddess on a peak armed and flanked by lions. Only in two cases have we come across in Thessaly and Canaan some finds which bear analogy to one of the two types of Baluchistan finds, namely figurines with bird like pinched faces. It has been noted that the Thessalian finds are regarded as votive offerings. The particular finds in Canaan which exactly resemble the Thessalian finds cannot but be regarded as votive offerings or possibly as toys, because all the other four types discovered at the same sites have recognised sacred associations. With regard to the uniform type of standing, almost nude female figurines with a girdle or band at the loins and elaborate head dress, collar and ear-ornaments unearthed at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, it may be said that they have no more claim to be regarded as mother-goddesses than the Baluchistan finds, because nude female figurines unearthed at Gezer, in Cyprus, Phoenicia and Aegean lands which resemble them in some respects have an important additional feature which establishes their claim to be regarded as representations of mother-goddess, namely, they carry a dove in hand. The dove was sacred to the Syrian mother, to the Aegean mother, to some of the forms of the Canaanite mother. As a matter of fact no female figurine found in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan has any feature in its representation which would establish its claim to possess a sacred character. The idea that any sort of crude representation of a female discovered at early sites is a mother-goddess has taken such hold of the minds of some scholars that we find Sir Aurel Stein writing referring to a small clay relief[1] figurine with hooded head, a high and exaggeratedly large nose and female breasts that "the close agreement (with reliefs found on the surface of Periano Ghundai, Kaudani and elsewhere) of these in archaic treatment and the beaklike nose suggests that the representation of some tutelary deity may be intended."[2] It is to be pointed out, however, that the inference that a misshapen nasal organ is a distinctive symbol of divinity is not borne out by any thing known about religions, ancient or modern.

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[1] Traditional types are the ageless or primitive or archaic types. Time bound types are types with local variations.

[2] Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[3] Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[4] We have personally seen such offerings made at the jungle-shrine of the village goddess Vāsulī at Gidni in Midnapore district, Bengal, whose priest is a Santal Manjhi. An eye witness has reported the case of offering of clay images at a tomb shrine in Thakurgaon sub-division in Dinajpur district, Bengal.

Of the female figurines found at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Baluchistan some are interpreted by Marshall as toys[3] without religious meaning and others, "with children in their arms (Pl. XCV, 20) or in a state of pregnancy (Pl. XCV, 24, 29 & 30) may be assumed to be votive offerings, perhaps with a magical significance, for the purpose of procuring offspring.".[4] The great majority are regarded as representations of mother-goddess for reasons which we have fully discussed above. Summing up his arguments Marshall writes. "From their resemblance to one another and the frequency with which they occur there is no doubt that these female figurines with their elaborate head-dresses and jewellery are sacred images."[5] It is to be noted that the figurines do not resemble one another. The

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[1] Per. 9, Pl. IX *Memoir A. S. I.* No. 37. Cp. V. vii. 3. Pl. XXI *Memoir A. S. I.* No. 45. A Kulli find of female figurine is represented with a babe sucking at the breasts. It has the peculiar pinched bird like face. Stein thinks that it represents a divinity of fertility. The babe is of extremely doubtful identity. At any rate, it is the single specimen of its kind unearthed at Periano Ghundai.

[2] Sir Aurel Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[3] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 49, Pl. XCV, 12.

[4] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 49

[5] *Ibid*, p. 340.

Baluchistan figurines are of different types and they are again different from the Indus Valley figurines. The peculiarities of these different types consist in

1. the head-dress
2. superfluity of neck and breast ornaments
3. archaic representation of some consisting in the use of pellets for eye-balls and breasts
4. bird like pinched-in faces of some, flat, grotesque and horrible faces of others
5. flat bases.

While the figurines vary from one another in details of representation in these respects the common feature of all of them is the absence of all known indications of sacred character such as mark representations of goddesses in Western Asia, Egypt, Asia Minor, etc.

The head-dresses are very peculiar. In some figurines the head-dress is crescent-shaped.[1] In others it is like a sort of hood. The head-dress of one Mohenjo Daro figurine is described as resembling an inverted pitcher. It has a flattened base.[2] The head-dress of another figurine is turban [3] like. Two figurines have a queer basket or mushroom-shaped head-dress.[4] One has a head-dress like pick-axe or inverted pitcher and another like an umbrella or basket.[5] Heavy breast and neck and also ear ornaments which mark many of the figurines do not call for any remark. Figurines having pellets for eye-balls and breasts and described as archaic have similar head-dress and ornaments.[6] It has been stated that the archaic representations and other figurines represented as carrying children in their arms or in a state of pregnancy are interpreted by Marshall some as ex-votive offerings and others as toys.

Figurines with bird like faces (Baluchistan) have the same neck and breast ornaments, but the breasts in them are not as prominent as they are in others. The heads are hooded. Some of the figurines have pellets for eyes. The beak like face is explained as due to archaic treatment.[7] The second type of Baluchistan figurines (found in Zhob and held to be later than the other type) have also hooded heads and ornaments. The face is grotesque and mouth distorted.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 49, Pl. XCV, 6, 7, 8, 13, etc.

[2] *A. S. I.* 1925-1926, *Mohenjo Daro* sites H. R. & V. S. Pl. XX (*c*,.

[3] *Ibid.*, (*d*).

[4] *Ibid.*, (*c*) & (*f*).

[5] *Ibid.*, *Mohenjo Daro DK* site Pl. XLIII (II) (b). *A. S. I.*, 1924-1925, Pl. XXII (*d*) (*ii*) 2nd fig. from the left.

[6] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1924-1925, Pl. xx (*Mohenjo Daro* (*d*).

[7] Stein, A. S. I., *Memoir* No. 43, p. 162.

Marshall holds that these fantastic representations might be the prototype of the Puranik images of Kali.[1] Both types have flat bases. Two suggestions have been made regarding this peculiarity, namely that the figurines are meant to be set up and that the flat base shows connection with the earth-goddess represented later on as half emerging from the ground.[2] Referring to these female figurines Marshall writes, "There is no evidence that they were of funerary character."[3] But describing the finds at Mehi site Sir Aurel Stein refers to a female figurine, "Curiously enough the only almost perfect specimen (III.6.16.)......is one of those found on the burial deposit of ashes and stones."[4] Describing finds at Shahi-tump in the Kej Valley he refers to a cinerary urn (III.5.) in which small pieces of calcined human bones were found with "the lower portion of the figurine of a goddess."[5]

WHY MARSHALL'S THEORY IS TO BE REJECTED

Marshall's first evidence to prove that Mother-goddess worship prevailed in the Indus Valley and the terra cotta female figurines discovered from pre-historic sites at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Baluchistan were representations of Mother-goddesses on the ground of the prevalence of Mother-goddess worship widely among the Hindus and tribal peoples in India at the present time is not a serious argument. In the third evidence used by him he reverses the process of argument and holds that the terra cotta female figurines discovered in the Gangetic Valley and elsewhere are representations of Mother-goddesses on the ground that they resemble the Indus and Baluchistan figurines which, in his first evidence, he has tried to prove as representations of Mother-goddesses, is no evidence. The second evidence used by him to prove and elaborate his theory and accepted by almost all scholars has been carefully and exhaustively dealt with. It has been found that the argument of analogy falls to the ground because there is no analogy at all.

The Indus and Baluchistan female figurines are, therefore, to be taken for what they actually are, namely toys displaying art in a primitive stage. Such toys were manufactured in India 5000 years back and they are manufactured now.

Before we conclude a reference may be made to Sir John Marshall's interpretation of certain ringstones found in the Indus

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[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

[2] Marshall, *ibid.*, Stein, *op. cit*, p. 162.

[3] Marshall, *ibid.*, pp. 141f.

[4] Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Valley as representations of the *yoni*. Having once accepted the view that Mother-goddess worship prevailed in the Indus Valley, that the mis-shapen female figurines were representations of the local forms of the Great Mother or the Great Nature goddess or Earth-goddess, that the Sakti cult was known to and practised by the Indus people without a scrap of evidence in support of the view coming from the people who are presumed to have developed their religious ideas to such a high pitch, Marshall's interpretation of the ringstones need not cause any surprise. This interpretation, based mainly on his interpretation of the female figurines and supported by similar evidence of doubtful value, may also be rejected.

(Concluded)

DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

SRI RAM SHARMA

India is a federation. The state here acts through the Government of the Union for certain purposes and through the governments of the states in others. This distribution of powers has been made in the constitution and cannot be disturbed except by a constitutional amendment duly ratified by at least half the states of the Union. Governmental powers in India have been divided into three groups though they are exercised by two sets of governments. One group of powers has been exclusively assigned to the Government of the Union, another to the governments of the states. A third group forms a common ground open to both the union and the states, action by the Union always ousting that taken by the states.

The list of federal subjects is the smallest in the United States. Its constitution vested the federal congress with power to legislate for taxation, raising of loans, defence, foreign affairs, foreign trade, inter-state commerce, exchange and currency, declaration of war, nationalization, patents and copy rights, post-offices, regulation of militia and setting up of federal courts. The United States come into being as the result of the separate colonies, that had had nothing in common between them till 1776, ceding certain specific powers to a new common instrument of state action, the Government of the United States or allowing it to exercise authority which had till then been exercised by the British Government. Each colony acting separately could not have defended itself against the British, the Spaniard, or the French. Danger of agression from their neighbours led to a realization that the colonies needed plans of a common defence. But the experience of the War of Independence convinced its founding fathers that voluntary or even co-ordinated action by fourteen separate governments would provide no effective safeguards. So defence was entrusted to the new government thus created. The state militias were a patent source of military strength. Control and organization of the militia went along with raising of an army and navy. With defence went foreign relations. Plans for defence could only be effective if the authorities making them could foresee danger and thus forestall it. Army, navy, and conduct of foreign affairs all had to be financed, naturally the federal government was given power both to tax and to raise loans. The control of foreign affairs included control of foreign trade as well nationalization of aliens. But trade among the various states could only be equitably looked after by an organization which favoured neither. So inter-state commerce came to be entrusted to the federal government. Patents and copy rights could be profitably exploited if they were valid throughout the colonies. They had been so protected when the colonies were under the British crowns. English coins had been legal tender in all the colonies. Currency and exchange were thus taken over by the federal government. Up to 1776 a Postmaster of America had organized the carrying of mails, both inland and foreign. The new government took this function over.

When Canada formed a federation in 1867 it added the census, statistics, beacons and buoys, navigation and shipping, quarintine and marine hospitals, sex coast, and inland fisheries, inter-provincial ferries, banking, weights and measures, bills of exchange, promisory notes, interests, marriage and divorce, criminal law and procedure and jails. Some of these subjects had already come to be included among federal subjects in the United States either as a part of its power to regulate inter-state commerce or as subjects 'necessary and proper' for carrying into execution the specific powers granted to the Congress. Federal government in America had also acquired some new powers 'by prescription' and exercised several others by their being 'inherent in sovereignty.' Whereas in the United States the list had been mostly confined to subjects which could only be effectively dealt with by a common organ of central government, in Canada American experience led to the addition, as a new trend, of subjects which could be better administered by the federal government. Thus criminal law and procedure, jails, marriage, divorce, interest, banking, bills of exchange, promisory notes, weights and measures became federal subjects.

When Australia became a federal state its pre-occupation with its industrial development resulted in the inclusion of industrial arbitration and conciliation, bounties, insurance and invalid and old age pensions as federal subjects. In the United States post offices were under the federal government but telegraphs and telephones had become private monopolies. Australia listed all the like means of communication as a federal subject. Similar considerations led to the inclusion of the railways in federal list.

During the present century the changing social philosophy made several new demands on the state. Its functions expanded, it became an organization for social welfare. The welfare state started performing several functions which were undreamt of before and which could in a federal state, be better discharged by the federal government-unemployment and trade depression could only be effectively attacked on a national scale. A labour code could only be effective if it operated throughout the state. The oldest of the modern federations succeeded in taking over most of these functions under its federal wings as it was authorised by the constitution to provide for 'the general welfare' of the state. The two World Wars put an enormous strain on the organizational resources of the democracies. Many new functions had to be performed mostly by the federal government in this global and total war. Some of these new functions lingered on in even peace time.

When the Constituent Assembly first met, it was to set up a federal government which would control foreign affairs, defence and communications and have the right to raise funds for performing these functions. Certain other duties were to be discharged by another multi-state organ, the group government. The states were to be divided into two classes. The British provinces were to exercise equal authority and were to be in the same relation to the federal government. The princely states were to cede such federal functions as were absolutely essential and were otherwise to continue on their separate and several paths.

The division of the country into Pakistan and India, however, changed all that. The 'group authorities' had never recommended themselves to Indian politicians; it had been an ineffective gesture to Muslim politicians. The limiting of the federal government to four essential subjects, defence, foreign affairs, means of communications and federal finance—had been a similar concession to Mr. Jinnah. With the creation of Pakistan, India was left free to fashion her own constitution in her own way. An independent dominion of India set up by the Independence of India Act was no longer bound by the British plans made for her in England. India refused to be bound by the British declaration that the disappearance of the British authority in India restored 563 princes and princelings to an independence which none of them had ever enjoyed but which some of them were now eager to assert. The Constituent Assembly assumed sovereign authority and set about the task of 'giving a constitution' to India.

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A strong centre was at once seen to be the need of the hour. It was soon agreed that it would not be limited to the four subjects first assigned to it by the Cabinet Mission. The Princes led by the Gaekwar of Baroda—or by his Diwan Sir B. L. Mitter—were quick to realize that they could not perpetuate their medieval dominions. The sooner they ceased to be oddities in new India the better for all concerned. The distribution of power in the new federal state therefore made no distinction between the former British provinces or Indian States. All were to be placed on the same footing. There was no reason to distrust the federal government; it was realized that it would form a more convenient instrument of performing several functions which some constitutions had assigned originally to the states. It is necessary to remember that India had been a unitary government. There was no real states' right feeling in evidence so far. If anything, the Muslim opposition to a strong centre, the emergence of Pakistan as a seceding state on India's eastern and western borders, and the fears of foreign aggression in an infant democracy in a world torn assunder by power politics—all led to the view that the federal government should be entrusted with larger and more definite powers in the constitution than had been the case so far in other federations.

But the democratic sovereign republic of India could not very easily break up with the past. Beginning with the government of India Act of 1915 several Acts of the British Parliament had enumerated 'subjects of administration' with meticulous care. The result had been a mounting list of 'subjects' which rose to 149 in the government of India Act, 1935. Various processes had contributed to the swelling of this list; centralization and decentralization of administration, concentration and deconcentration of authority, emergence of delegated and agency functions, paramountcy and princely authority—all had demanded that the subjects of administration be very carefully, cautiously, yet safely enumerated so as to assign them to various authorities. It would have required great courage and imagination to make a clean break with the past, but to do so successfully would have required time and patience which the constituent Assembly could not easily afford. It is not surprising therefore that it increased the total 'enumerated powers' to 209 in the constitution.

Ninety-seven 'powers' enumerated in the federal list fall under five groups. Defence and foreign affairs (including preventive detention for reasons connected with either) nationalization and citizenship,

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exchange and currency (including banking, bills of exchange and promissory notes), patents and copy rights, weights and measures, inter-state and foreign trade including standardization of goods for such purposes, census, statistics, offences against international law or on the high seas, fishing and fisheries beyond territorial waters—can only be regulated by the national government. Communication by post—including post office (with their saving banks), telegraphs, telephones, and wireless communications are all federal concerns. The post-roads of the American constitution appear here as national roads, national waterways, airways and railways—almost all of them carrying post and all of them even in the United States subject to federal regulation today. All these functions are to be discharged by the federal legislature and the executive. Their organization and emergence has been specifically mentioned as a separate federal subject; so also are the organization, recruitment and discipline of the federal public servants. This also includes industrial disputes arising between the government of the Union and the employees working in state concerns and undertakings. All governments must possess taxative powers including raising of loans. The Indian Constitution assigns certain specific sources of revenue to the federation such as income-tax, custom, corporation tax, excise (except on alcoholic liquor's estate duty) and succession tax. The Supreme Court has been set up here by the constitution but all lower courts dealing with federal offences are here, as in the United States; under the federal government.

The second group includes certain classes of public services and the functions some of them discharge. The High Courts in the states determine all civil and criminal cases whether arising under the federal laws or the state laws. Their constitution and organization is a federal subject. Their authority includes superintendence over all courts and tribunals in the state or the group of states they serve. The recruitment and discipline of the members of the Indian Police Service and the Indian Administrative Service, most of the members of which serve in the states, are similarly vested in the federal government. The Election Commissioner appointed by the Federal Government, superintends, directs and controls elections to all the legislatures, federal and those of the states.

Salt and opium have long been a state monopoly. Their manufacture, sale and distribution therefore continue to be federal subjects. The production of films is not localized in India; Bombay, Bengal and Madras have among other states their producing centres. It was felt that different and differing policies adopted by the state boards of film censors in various states did and would continue to create difficult situations for the producers who may, occasionally, complain of discrimination. The certifying of films for exhibition has therefore been assigned to the federal government. The regulation of Mines, oil fields and oil refineries (including regulation of safety and labour therein) is a federal subject. The federal parliament has been further authorized to assume, in public interest, control over such industries as are necessary for defence or prosecution of war or as it deems fit to control.

The fourth group centres round education. The Federal government co-ordinates and determines the standards of higher education and research. The Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University are all India institutions, the Delhi University serves the federal capital. Besides these, other institutions of national importance declared to be such by Parliament come within the federal orbit. The Union has its own institutions of professional, vocational and technical training, special studies or research. Similar institutions of national importance receiving grants from the Union Government are controlled by the federal government. These may include Museums and libraries.

Arms and ammunitions were controlled by the Government of India and continue to be a federal responsibility along with explosives and inflamable articles. Such control here centres round public order.

These five groups of subjects exhaust the list of exclusive federal subjects. The federal government in India thus has, unlike Canada, an exclusive jurisdiction over interest, marriage and divorce, criminal law and prisons. It lacks the exclusive power which the Commonwealth Government in Australia possesses in conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. It does not exclusively control bankrutpcy as does the Government of the United States.

In India all these subjects except prisons are in the concurrent list and thus under the authority of the Government of the Union as also those of the states. The other—the concurrent list includes civil and criminal procedure, personal law, criminal law and jails. Trusts, commercial combines and monopolies, religious institutions, charities are similarly controlled. Factories, boilers, electricity, drugs and opium, newspapers, printing presses, books and professions are the concern of both sets of government. The Government of the Union and those of the states legislate against adulteration of goods, control prices, decide the determing principles on which compensation will be given to property-owners if their property is acquired for public purposes. Minor ports, shipping and navigation by steam or motor-driven vessels on inland waterways, and motor vehicles are subjects to both the authorities. Economic and social planning, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, welfare of labour, social security, social insurance, unemployment—are subject to legislation by the federal government as also of those of the units. The control of evacuee property and rehabilitation of displaced persons are naturally in the Concurrent List.

The states can make laws concerning all subjects in the Concurrent List. But a state law ordinarily operates only where there is no federal law on the subject or on that particular aspect of the subject. But if a state intends to amend a federal provision on a concurrent subject, it can do so with the approval of the federal government. Such laws on passing the state legislature will be reserved by the governor for the president's assent and on President's assenting to such a law, it will, in that particular state, supersede the federal law to that extent. This will enable federal laws on concurrent subjects to be amended piece-meal territorially.

There are then the 'enumerated subjects' exclusively subject to the laws of the state. Elsewhere as well such subjects have been progressively decreasing in number on account of what was local till yesterday, becoming national today. The list in India however is impressive enough and compares favourably with that in other federations.

The Governments of the States have exclusive jurisdiction in many matters of great importance. Every state has the power to preserve order and assure safety of person and property. Administration of justice through the courts situated within a state or concerning offences against state laws is its exclusive concern. It maintains prisons, reformatories and special schools for the socially unfit, it provides relief for the disabled and unemployable. It promotes individual well-being by providing education, controlling the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors, maintaining sanitary services, public entertainments. Its public health services, preventive and curative, prevent epidemics, control the spread of infectious diseases, treat the ailing and where necessary and possible, hospitalize him. Its conservative services promote agriculture, fisheries, develop land and forests and render their planned exploitation possible. It takes measure for the improvement of cattle and the live-stock and for preserving wild life. It looks after water power and production of gas. It helps agriculture through irrigation. Trade and industries, mines and minerals are subject to state laws except where Parliament declares that regulation by it to, be expedient in public interest. Maintenance and control of roads, tramways and inland waterways, inspection and maintenance of the established standards of weights and measures help traffic and promote trade and industry. Money-lending, betting, gambling and co-operation are all under the control and direction of state governments.

As in the case of the government of the Union, the governments of the states organize and control governmental and administrative institutions in their own territories including local government in rural and urban areas. Their exclusive taxative powers are defined and include all types of taxes on land, octroi, sales tax (except on newspapers), advertisement tax (except on advertisements in newspaper), terminal tax on passengers travelling by road or inland waterways, professional tax, taxes on vehicles, boats and animals, capitation tax, excise on alcoholic liquors, narcotics, opium and narcotic drugs.

The distribution of powers in India is thus rather detailed. It can only be amended by a constitutional amendment passed by two-thirds of the members of both Houses of Parliament voting for it and accepted by a majority of the state legislatures. The second national house representing states is authorized, however, to order, by a resolution supported by two-thirds of its members, the temporary removal, in national interest, of a subject from the States List to the Federal List of subjects for a period of one year. The authority exercised by the states may further be adversely affected by any international obligations or treaties in which the Government of India may enter if implementing such treaties and obligations—concerns a subject in the States List. The powers of the states over industries, highways, national waterways, ports, mines, inter-state rivers, inter-state valleys—may vary from time to time as Parliament legislates declaring that their control by Parliament is expedient in public interest. Institutions of national importance may also similarly pass into the hands of the federal government.

In other federations the enumeration and distribution of powers have raised several complicated questions. Of course, disputes over the location of authority in a particular case have been common in all federations. In some, the questions concerning appropriate authority which will deal with a new subject of administration have perplexed both governments and courts. Implementation of treaties has often raised delicate questions of authority in Canada. In India the central government and those of the provinces quarrelled over the imposition of the sales tax as well as over the tax on professions. The present constitution may breed resentment in the states if Parliament exercises its power to control trade and industries, waterways, and highways on a large-scale or if the federal government tries to interfere in provincial politics, under its emergency powers. The audit of the accounts of the state by the Comptroller General, the organization and regulation of the High Courts in the states by the federal government, the holding of provincial elections under the directions of the Election Commission, the recruitment of the higher categories of public servants and Police officers through the Union Public Service Commission—offer new possible causes of friction. Some states may resent the reports of the Commission on the Backward Classes if it lays bare their deficiencies too bluntly.

Citizens, however, have every cause to be satisfied with the enumeration and distribution of powers in the Indian Constitution. It provides for all likely services which he is likely to demand of a welfare state. It places large questions of policy in the hands of the federal government still leaving the governments of the states important enough to attract the services of its eminent citizens. It gaurantees justice about parochial considerations, it secures administrative independence and efficiency. By a detailed enumeration of powers of government it has refused to make the constitution a plaything of the courts. It does mirror the mood of the founding fathers but that mood is so catholic and dynamic as to make one feel that they have provided the people an ever-fitting coat rather than a straight jacket.

GERMAN BOOK PRODUCTION 1946-49

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Although there has been a certain revival of bibliographical activity in Central Europe, it is still difficult to form a clear picture of German book production since 1946. For that reason the following report—which does no more than give typical examples of current publishing enterprise—may be of some interest.

The Südverlag in Constance (to begin with the French Zone) publishes, in addition to political and cultural pamphlets, a periodical entitled *Vision* which is, apart from the quality of the paper used, most handsomely produced. In contrast to the Freiburg periodical *Die Gegenwart*, which is in many respects a continuation of the cultural side of the old *Frankfurter Zeitung* and which devotes itself primarily to contemporary issues, *Vision* is principally concerned with the spiritual heritage of the past. In Freiburg i.Br., in addition to the great publishing house of Herder, we have the Karl Alber Verlag, whose most interesting publication has baen Alfred Döblin's self-revealing work, *Der Oberst und der Dichter*, and the Novalis-Verlag. which has published among other things a volume of short stories by M. J. Krück von Poturzyn, entitled *Ich kann nicht mehr zweifeln* and throwing light upon the intellectual atmosphere of the Nazi epoch. More forcible in tone, but still valuable from the documentary point of view, are the short stories of Felix Riemkasten, *Solche und solche*, which deal with the Third Reich and are published by Moritz Schauenburg in Lahr. (Schauenburg is also the publisher of the periodical *Das goldene Tor*, edited by Alfred Döblin). The firm of Hans Bühler Jr in Baden-Baden has produced a series of works mainly small in extent, by Reinhold Schneider, one of the most admired writers in Germany to-day ; of these, the collection of sonnets entitled *Apokalypse* and the essay, *Heimkehr des deutschen Geistes*, are particularly noteworthy. In Karlsruhe, the Stahlberg Verlag has published a valuable study, drawing largely on Rilke's letters, by Else Buddenberg, entitled *Kunst und Existenz in Spätwerk Rilkes*, and the same author's essay *Die Duineser Elegien R. M. Rilkes. Ein Blid vom Sein des Menschen.* F. A. Kramer, a political publicist in the Catholic and Conservetive intérest, caused a stir as early as 1932 by his opposition to von Papen, then Imperial Chancellor ; the Historisch-Politische Verlag in Koblenz has now published Kramer s essay in historical stock-taking *Vor den Ruinen Deutschlands*, a work of far more than passing interest. The Port Verlag (Urach), publisher of the wide-spread high-brow monthly *Die Pforte* advertise many philosophical and literary books in the near future.

To turn to the English Zone, Balduin Pick in Cologne is reprinting older works—his range extending from Erasmus of Rotterdam to Ernst Hardt, while in Dortmund, Karl Schwalvenberg is devoting himself to the moderns. These are represented by, among other things Konrad Erdberg's lengthy two-volume novel of contemporary life, *Herrlichkeit*, and by Walter Thomas' *Bis der Vorhang fiel*, the memoirs of a man who, although cultural adviser to Schirach, the Gauleiter of Vienna, was in sympathy with the resistance movement in Austria. The Thomas-Verlag in Kempen has given Wilhelm Schäfer the opportunity of publishing a *Rechenschaft*—an interesting autobiography which does not, however, throw as much light upon the relation of this writer to the Third Reich as one could wish. Based upon unknown material is Dietrich Bassermann's valuable study *Der späte Rilke*, pulished by Verlag Dr. H. V. Chamier, Essen. In Hamburg, interest is chiefly centred upon the political field. The capitulation of the city, that is to say local history of the most up to date kind. is the theme of D. W. Möller's *Letztes Kapitel* (Hoffmann & Campe). In *Reise durch den letzten Akt* (Verlag Christian Wegner), Isa Vermehren describes her experiences in German concentration camps during the years 1944-1945. The Wolfgang Krüger Verlag has produced a revised version of Frank Thiess' *Das Reich der Dämonen*. This, described as a 'Roman eines Jahrtausends,' is a picture of the Nazi state in pseudo-historical form which was eventually banned by Goebbels, but not until it had caused a literary sensation ; as examples for modern German short stories (very hard-boiled) can be mentioned Hans Erich Nossack's *Interview mit dem Tode* and Bastian Müller's *Bruder geh und läut die Glocke*—both books were also published by Wolfgang Krüger Verlag. Morawe & Scheffelt are the publishers of Richard Hermaes' collection of anecdotes of the Swastika period, a revealing cultural and historical document, entitled *Witz contra Nazis*. It is obvious that in Hamburg, there is much greater freedom of expression than is normal elsewhere ; the clearest proof of this is the weekly, *Die Zeit*, which castigates indiscriminately former Party members and the bureaucracy of the present occupation authorities. The house of Classen & Goverts, the publishers of Horst Lange and Elisabeth Langgässer, offers a refuge to the parctitioner of serious literature and the more ambitious essayist; characteristic for German mentality are the voluntary confessions by Joachim Günthe *Das letzte Jahr. Mein Tagebuch 1944/45* and Emil Barth's *Lemuria Aufzeichnungen und Meditationen*. Reflections on the essential nature of German poetry and fiction is the subject-matter of the book *Heimkehr zur deutschen Dichtung* by Johannes Klein (Friedrich Wittig Verlag). The house of Christian Wolff has established itself in Flensburg and has published Paul Freiherr von Schoenaich's *Mein Finale*, the secret diary, covering the years 1933-1945, of a man who, having been a general under Wilhelm II, became a radical pacifist. Among the other publications of this firm are *In jenen Tagen* by Helmut Käutner and Ernst Schnabel (upon which was based the film of that name which had in Germany a not altogether warm reception), Anna Schack's *Das Haus Nr. 131*, a novel of life in a bombed city, and Pogge van Ranken's *Der Götze einer Nacht*, a tale made amusing by its unsparing satire.

In the American Zone, names long established in the publishing world predominate. All the well-known firms—Cotta (Stuttgart), Piper (Munich), Habbel (Regensburg), Kohlhammer (Stuttgart) have received permission to resume business (the famous Reclam-Verlag, emigrated from Leipzig, is now residing at Stuttgart and has published the very interesting booklet *Die dautsche Widerstandsbewegung im Spiegel der auusländischen Literatur* by Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze), the only exceptions being the Eher-Verlag and its associate, the A. Langen-G.-Müller concern. The Insel-Verlag, now established in Wiesbaden, has remained true to its great tradition under the most difficult circumstances and has maintained its high level of literary production; two volumes of verse by the gifted poets Rudolf Hagelstange and Karl Ludwig Skutsch bear witness to this; very important is likewise an enlarged edition of Hans Carossa's famous *Gedichte* and the same author's *Aufzeichnungen aus Italien*. The Rowohlt-Verlag, now domiciled in Stuttgart (and Hamburg), is as enterpriding as ever and has solved the problem of the crippling paper shortage by producing a series entitled 'Ro-Ro-Ro' (Rowohlt-Rotations-Romane), the result of the application to book production of the paper saving technique of newspaper printing. In this way, the Rowohlt-Verlag was able to provide the three Western Zones with an edition, numbering 100,000 copies, of Theodor Plivier's

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Stalingrad, the most significant German prose work of recent times. The other publications of this firm are also, in the main, in the field of contemporary literature. The Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft in Stuttgart is the publisher of Erich Kordt's widely read survey of the foreign policy of the Third Reich, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit.* Kordt was a former official of the Foreign Office in Berlin who worked with the German opposition. *Finis Germaniae* (Kurt Haslsteiner, Stuttgart), by Henry Bernhard, is another attempt to forestall, by means of a survey of the past, the creation of a new myth calculated to transfigure the German catastrophe. (Bernhard was formerly an associate of Stresemann, and is now an influential politician in Württemberg-Baden). *Prophetien wider das Dritte Reich* (Dr. Schnell and Dr. Steiner, Munich) is a collection of essays reprinted from the weekly, *Den Deutsche Weg*, a periodical edited by Fritz Gerlich and Ingbert Naab and notable for its radical opposition to Hitler. Josef Kösel (Munich), the publisher of the periodical *Hochland*, one of the few journals at the service of the opposition since 1933, has brought out Theodor Haecker's penetrating *Tag und Nachtbücher (1939-45)*. Among the most active publishing houses is the Zinnenverlag Kurt Desch in Munich which has produced, to mention only two representative works, Kasimir Edschmid's great novel *Das gute Recht*, which has had a better reception abroad than in Germany and Luise Rinser's documentary *Gefängnistagebuch.* Desch is the publisher too of the very fine magazine *glanz.* In Frankfurt a.M. the home of the widely read *Frankfurter Hefte*, the Verleg Josef Knecht publishes the works of the dramatist Hermann Moster, a gifted newcomer; his *Entwicklung in zwei Phasen Der Zimmerherr*, both rich in political satire; and his , *Putsch in Paris*, a historical play on the subject of Nepoleon but capable of much wider application, have already had great success on the stage. The Metopen-Verlag in Wiesbaden publishes a wide range of works, concentrating upon the cultural heritage of past ages, but its publications cover a wide range and include, for example, Rudolf Grau's *Gehört er ins Pantheon der Weltgeschichte?* a psychological critique of Adolf Hitler. In his *Hintergründe des deutschen Zusammenbruchs*, Otto Ludwig Wolf has produced an historical and psychological analysis of the underlying causes of the German collapse, notable for its lack of the usual pseudo-profundity and wilful obscurity. It is published by the Paul Patton Verlag, Aschaffenburg.) The same publisher has brought out Erich Hock's very available anthology *Betrachtung und Humor. Englische und amerikanische Essays des 18 und 19. Jahrhunderts. Englisch* *und Deutsch.* A work deserving particular attention is the *Tagebuch eines Verzweifelten* (Bürger-Verlag, Lorch Stuttgart) by Friedrich Reck-Malleczewen, a writer who was murdered in Dachau in the last months of the war. This diary contains the reflections of a man intolerant of all cant and of gifted with that mercilessly clear vision which only hatred can impart; he combined, and the combination is rare enough, complete freedom from illusion and keen perception of an appalling reality with a profound and powerful historical sense. In Heidelberg, the liberal periodical *Die Wandlung* appears under the capable editorship of Dolf Sternberger—its Catholic counterpart is *Das neue Abendland* (Augsburg). The Verlag Lambert Schneider, which acquired an international reputation as the publisher of *Das Diktat der Menschenvernichtung* by A. Mitscherlich and Fr. Mielke, also operates from Heidelberg.

A Western and an Eastern sector are clearly apparent in the publishing activity of Berlin—and the bounds are not merely geographically determined. In the Western sector we have, among others the Verlag Lothar Blanvalet (publishers of Albrecht Haushofer's now famous *Moabiter Sonette*); the Suhrkamp Verlag, the successors as is well known of S. Fischer, and publishers of German editions of Hesse's *Glasperlenspiel*, Mann's *Lotte in Weimar*, Hauptmann's posthumously published tale Mignon, Alfred R. Böttcher's masterly, hard-boiled tales *Mensch ohne Maske*, and E. Penzoldt's *Zugänge*, which depicts life in a military hospital and is reminiscent of Garossa's *Rumänisches Tagebuch* ; the Wedding Verlag which brought out Robert Kukowka's excellent surrealist tale *Dömmerung* and his anthology of lyric poetry *Junges Berlin.*

Not only situated in the Russian sector but also serving primarily the Eastern Zone is the Aufbau-Verlag, which is now the most active of all German publishing houses, with more than a hundred publications, often in editions of great size, to its credit. Its choice of authors shows, up to the present at least, an astonishing catholicity—among them being J. R. Becher, H. Eulenberg, H. Fallada, Gerhart Hauptmann, B. Kellermann, Heinrich Mann, Th. Plivier, E. Reger, G. Weisenborn and Ernst Wiechert; important for knowledge of the most modern German is professor Victor Klemperer's book *LTI* [Lingua Tertii Imperii]. *Notizbuch eines Philologen.* The firm of J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., on the other hand, devotes itself exclusively to the cause of international Marxism; on that account Socialist classics are reprinted more frequently than contemporary works. The

Allgemeine Deutsche Verlag and the Volk und Welt-Verlag—which has brought out the collection of documents *Aus Görings Schreibtisch* —work along the same lines but in less radical fashion; the last mentioned firm has published Hans Meyer's sociologic essay *Georg Büchner und seine Zeit*. Very instructive in bio-bibliographical respect is Richard Drews' and Alfred Kantorowicz's *Verboten und verbrannt, Deutsche Literatur—12 Jahre unterdrükt*, published by H. Uilstein H. Kindler Verlag.

Information concerning the Eastern Zone is otherwise scarce and only brief references are possible. Eugen Diederichs in Jena was not permitted to resume activity in the Eastern Zone, but has emigrated to Düsseldorf in the Western Zone and is working there. The same is to say about the Paul List Verlag (formerly in Leipzig, now in Munich) and Gustav Kiepenheuer (formerly in Weimar, now in Hagen. The Böhlau-Verlag in Weimar announces the continuation of its great critical editions of the classics as well as of the year books publications of the Dante—and Shakespeare-Societies. In Halle a.S. the M Niemeyer Verlag, famous for its publications in the field of thought and literature has been able to carry on its work without any noticeable interruption (a short time ago this publisher had a branch office in Tubingen).

IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ON INDIA'S ECONOMY

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India's old economy was characterised by a fair coordination between agricultural and industrial pursuits by her people. Though bulk of the population engaged themselves in agriculture yet, as Robert Orme, a mid-eighteenth century English officer who spent several years in India, remarks: "The vacation from agriculture" left "a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom. So that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country, throughout the empire and consequently at much cheaper rates. The greater part of these manufactures and of the raw silk, is exported; and Europe receives the largest share; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire."[1]

Cotton cloths of superb quality, manufactured on an extensive scale in different parts of the country, were carried as export to Europe and other regions with corresponding economic profits for India in the shape of wealth. Even with regard to the first century A.D. Pliny bears testimony to the import of vast sums of money in India in return for the commodities supplied by her. Export of Indian manufactures continued uninterrupted in spite of diverse political changes of the medieval period.

By far the most important industry of India was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The chief centres of cotton manufacture were distributed throughout the country, as for example, at Patna in Gujrat, Burhanpur in Khandesh, Jaunpur, Benares, Patna and some other places in the United Provinces and Bihar and many cities and villages in Orissa and Bengal. The Dutch factor, Pelsaert, who spent a few years in India (1620-1627), tells us that in the entire area from Chabaspur and Sonargaon in East Bengal to Puri in Orissa "all live by the weaving industry, and the produce has the highest reputation and quality especially the fine muslin, which is also much longer and wider than elsewhere."[1] Another European traveller of the 17th century Bernier, observed :—"There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the Kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the Great Moghul only, but of all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and even of Europe."

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[1] Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan Vol. II*, p. 4.

Though political disintegration of India had set in from the early years of the 18th century, her industrial activity was vigorous and commercial relations with different countries were active till the middle of that century. According to Dow, who wrote about 1770, "the balance of trade was against all nations in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return." [2] The Select Committee in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 26th September 1767: "Its (Bengal's) manufactures found their way to the remotest parts of Hindostan and specie flowed in by thousand channels that are at present lost and obstructed." For fine muslins all Europe, wrote Milburn in 1813, "were long tributary to India where the manufacture has, through the long lapse of ages, arrived at the greatest perfection." [3]

Indeed the growing political disorders in India in the years of transition during the middle of the eighteenth century had already begun to produce highly adverse effects on the people's life. The quickly succeeding political revolutions, lack of sound governance and administrative order, widespread chaos and confusion produced a state of insecurity highly prejudicial to the economic prosperity or social tranquility of the country. Decay of old indigenous courts, displacement of many from their services and consequent unemployment, exacting revenue farming system, huge drain of wealth out of the country in various forms and acute currency disorders had the cumulative effect of accelerating their general economic decline and national insolvency in other ways too. Various obnoxious and oppressive practices on the part of the Company's agents, *gomastas* and *banians* in the collection of investment for their masters and also in their growing private trade told heavily on the fortunes of the cotton manufactures and were very much responsible for aggravating their miseries to the ultimate prejudice for the cotton industry. We read as follows in the Public Proceedings of the 12th April, 1773: "The two annexed papers which the President found from an examination into the complaints made to him by the weavers of Santipore (in Bengal) and which he has every reason to believe to be authentic will show the present miserable situation of the weavers, since it appears that the prices given to them for the cloths provided on account of the Company's investment amount to no more and in some instances less than the cost of materails and their labour is extracted from them without any repayment. They are at the same time forbid (sic) under pain of corporal punishment and forfeit to work for private merchants or to make any other assortment but those ordered for the Company's investment, so that they have no means of living but by sinking a part of the advances made to them in irrecoverable balances and by embezzlements and clandestine sales of your cloths to others."[1] Verelst, a contemporary officer, writes that the "gomastahs or agents of the Company were necessarily entrusted with powers, which they frequently abused to their own emoluments; and authority given to enforce a just performance of engagements, became notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the higher servants a source of new oppression."[2] Lord Cornwallis wrote in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 1st November, 1788: "The exercise of influence was not confined to the business of the Company. Their servants, other Europeans and the native agents of all had recourse to it. Merchants from the upper parts of Hindostan were in effect expelled, those concerned in exports by sea discouraged and the manufacturers not only restrained, but too often oppressed by the numerous tribes of native agents dispersed over the country who served themselves at the expense (sic) both of their employers and of those with whom their (they?) dealt."[3]

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[1] *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 8.
[2] Dow's *Hindostan, Vol. I, ciii.*
[3] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce, Vol. II, p. 332.*

As a consequence of all these misrule and misery were rampant throughout the country. In May, 1765, the Select Committee beheld Bengal as a "presidency divided, headstrong licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit. . . . amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches which they had ravished from the insulted prince and helpless people who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression." Referring to decline of cotton manufacture at Dacca, James Rennell, Surveyor of the

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[1] Quoted in J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal, pp. 83-84.*
Verelst, *View of Bengal, p. 85.*
[3] Quoted in J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal.*

English East Indian Company, wrote in August, 1765: "We may easily account for its decline, by the continued wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share." [1]

India's cotton industry still struggled to survive under the adverse circumstances noted above and even occasionally showed increased output. Its quality deteriorated. Writing in about 1769-70 the Dutch traveller, Stavorinus observed that the Europeans were surprised "to behold the perfection of manufactures, which is exemplified here (Bengal) in almost every handicraft, effected with so few, and such imperfect tools." [2]

Very rightly did Pattuloo remarked in 1772 that the "demands for Bengal manufactures can never lessen, in regard that their quality is so peculiar to that country, that no nation on the globe can either equal or rival them." [3] At least till 1813, as Milburn tells us, India maintained "her superiority in the finer kinds of muslins, some of which are of most exquisite beauty and fineness." [4]

But ultimately this cotton industry could not withstand the onrush of the new economic forces generated by the Industrial Revolution in the West. This Revolution was an immensely potential movement destined to influence human life in various ways in all parts of the world and to effect a complete change in the relationship between man and man in social life, economic transactions and political activities. The several mechanical inventions helped the growth of England's cotton manufactures, finances for which were largely supplied by huge remittances of private fortunes by Englishman from India. In 1767 James Hargreaves, a Blackburn weaver constructed the Spinning Jenny by which one person could spin 100 hanks in a day, each hank being equivalent to 840 yards. In 1769 Richard Arkwright invented a new type of spinning machine. The improvement in machine-spinning which rapidly followed, removed some of the defects in manufactures of calicoes and in 1773 some attempts made in this respect by Sir Richard Arkwright and his partners at Derby proved successful. In 1787 it was computed that not less than 500,000 pieces of muslins, including shawls and handkerchiefs, were annually made in Great Britain.[5] General use of

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[1] *Bengal : Past and Present, July-September, 1938.*
[2] Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, pp. 413-14.*
[3] Pattuloo. *An Essay upon the cultivation of the Revenues of Bengal, p. 25.*
[4] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce, Vol. II,* p. *236.*
[5] Milburn, *op. cit., Vol. II, p. 232.*

Arkwright's waterframe from 1785 and mushroom growth of cotton spinning mills in the course of the next few years helped extensive production of cotton goods in England.

Imposition of fresh duties on Indian goods by the British Parliament from 1797 onwards, Napolean's continental system, and the outbreak of war between England and Denmark in 1808, had adverse effects in importation of piecegoods from India. But what ultimately led to their decay and extinction was the rapid growth of industrial activities in England in the wake of the mechanical inventions referred to above. The hand-made Indian products could not long compete with the machine-wrought goods of Europe, and gradually the Indian piecegoods of different classes were ousted from the markets of England and other foreign countries by the thirties of the 19th century. They lost the home markets too, as the general people here began to prefer English machine-made fabrics chiefly because these could be purchased at low prices. [1]

Some factors favoured the importation of such fabrics into India. The Charter Act of 1813 which was to a large extent the outcome of the demand of new-born British capitalism for fresh outlets, gave a fillip to private commercial enterprise of English men, who went on increasing the volume of the import of British manufactured cloths into India. On the close of the Napoleonic War, the entire British tonnage so long engaged in it, came to be used for carrying goods to the East. Further in 1815 the Bengal Government reduced the import duty on British goods by 2½ p.c. The Court of Directors made the "first tentative efforts" for sale of Lancashire cotton cloths in Bengal in 1786.[2] In 1813-14 the value of British cotton manufactures imported into Bengal was about 91,800 sicca rupees only. With some decline for a few years following the value of such goods, however, rose to 50,61,861 sicca rupees.

The decine of India's cotton industry meant a veritable revolution in her economy. Not only did the numerous centres of cotton manufacture lose their old importance but what is more significant is that large number of people, such as weavers, spinners, cotton-beaters and needle-workers, who had been so long engaged in cotton manufactures, were forced to resort to other kinds of employments for their livelihood. The Governor-General justly referred in 1832 to the "gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly paralleled in the history of commerce."

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[1] Heber, *Narrative of a Journal, through the Upper Provinces of Hindusthan, Vol. I, p. 185.*

[2] Aspinall, *Cornwallis in Bengal, p. 181.*

England was henceforth eager not for manufactures from India as on the past, but for raw materials to satisfy her growing capitalistic hunger. This reduced India to the position of an exclusively agricultural country against her traditional economy, the most striking feature of which was a balanced combination of agricultural and industrial activities. Henry St. George Tucker, who was associated for several years with land settlements in northern India and became subsequently after his retirement a member of the Court of Directors, observed significantly in 1823: "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piecegoods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and a late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent, but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."[1] With considerable experience of Indian affairs Montgomery Martin spoke in an evidence before an Enquiry Committee of the British Parliament in 1840: "India is as much a manufacturing country as an agriculturist; and he who would seek to reduce her the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation."

Thus ensued an "economic revolution in India which was marked by other new features too. Large number of people displaced from manufactures flocked to the land, the pressure on which continued to grow. Further, capital so long invested in industries began to be invested in land and this led to the rise if a new landed aristocracy in place of a mercantile aristocracy of the mid-eighteenth century. "With the decline in the handicrafts and the growth of pressure on land landlordism with money lending in rural areas afforded a profitable calling to all grades of people with ready money."[2]

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[1] *Memorial of an Indian Government, p 494.*

[2] N. C. Sinha, *Studies in Indo-British Economy Hundred years ago, p. 36,*

THE STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIHAR

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This study is based on the second Report on the Census of Manufactures in India, 1947, published by the Ministry of Industry and Supply, Government of India. The first statutory census under the Industrial Statistics Act, 1942, was conducted in the year 1946 but the response received from factories, particularly in Bihar where only 51 per cent. of the factories covered by the census submitted returns, was poor. In 1947, however, 79 per cent. of the factories covered by the census in Bihar submitted returns and for this reason the report on the second census has been used for this study. It is hoped that the third census for the year 1948, which has not yet been published, will be still more complete than the two earlier censuses.

This census is confined only to the factories registered under the Factories Act and although for the purpose of the census factory industry has been divided into 63 groups, the census has uptil now covered only 29 out of the 63 groups of industries. The census is therefore only a partial one even so far as factory industry is concerned. Thus, although in 1947 there were 505 registered factories in Bihar employing 1,36,788 workers, only 388 of them were covered by the census and out of these, returns were received only from 306 factories employing 95,312 workers, either employed directly by the factory or through contractors, and 21,537 persons other than workers, *i.e.*, administrative, technical and clerical staff who are not classed as "workers" under the Factories Act. Out of the 29 industries covered, Bihar had no factories in 1947 engaged in six of these 29 industries, *viz.*, Starch, Paints and Varnishes, Soap, Sewing machines, Producer Gas Plants and Electric Fans, while the single factories engaged in two other industries, *viz.*, Fruit and Vegetable Processing and Matches did not submit returns. In the case of ten other industries covered by the census, as the number of factories in each industry submitting returns was not more than three, the statistics relating to Bihar factories were merged with those of similar other provinces and only the combined totals were published with a view to keep the identities of individual factories undisclosed. For our purpose therefore these industries do not lend themselves to further analysis and we shall have to content ourselves chiefly with the figures of the remaining 11 industries for which separate figures for Bihar factories are available. Although detailed information is available for each of the eleven groups of industries in Bihar, some summary tables in the Census Report give consolidated figures for all the 21 industries in Bihar which submitted returns in 1947. An important point to bear in mind in analysing the information available about the different industries is that the classification of factories into the 29 groups of industries covered by the census is based on the principal product of each factory judged by the value of its product. Thus some factories which produce both wheat flour and vegetable oil may be classed in one year under wheat flour and in another year under vegetable oil according as the value of wheat flour produced exceeds or falls short of the value of vegetable oils manufactured. Similarly, a factory whose principal product is not covered by the 29 industries censused, is excluded from the list although its subsidiary products may be covered by the census. The Report of the census gives no information about what classes of industries are usually found in combination in the same factory. It may also be noted that the unit for the purpose of the Census is a factory and not the management or control. Thus a company owning a group of factories turning out the same or different products, even if the factories are situated within the same premises, have to submit separate returns in respect of each unit if they are registered as separate factories. As for the capital invested, it is presumed that the money sunk in providing the quarters, hospitals, schools, etc., for the staff is excluded.

Table I gives the capital structure of the eleven groups of industries in Bihar.

The table shows that the industries consuming the largest amount of capital are iron and steel, cement and sugar, while industries employing comparatively little capital are rice milling and wheat flour. The ratio of working capital to fixed capital varies greatly from industry to industry; it was 19 per cent. in the case of glass and

TABLE I

Industry	No. of Factories	Fixed Capital per factory Rs.	Working Capital per factory Rs.	Total Productive capital employed per factory Rs.	Working Capital as percentage of fixed capital%	Productive Capital per person employed Rs.
Wheat flour... ...	9	1,28,405	53,556	1,81,961	42	4,788
Rice Milling ...	97	53,640	25,812	79,452	48	1,488
Sugar	32	10,17,679	15,49,739	25,67,418	152	2,790
Distilleries and Breweries	4	3,79,229	2,42,094	6,21,323	64	5,820
Vegetable Oils ...	59	1,79,179	2,48,721	4,27,900	139	4,270
Cement	6	35,19,633	19,55,729	54,75,362	56	5,989
Glass and Glassware...	9	3,09,197	58,363	3,67,560	19	3,139
Ceramics	4	2,30,864	1,73,162	4,04,026	75	834
Chemicals	16	2,82,604	3,01,637	5,84,241	107	2,402
Iron and Steel ...	4	3,57,53,746	1,32,78,406	4,90,32,152	37	4,888
General Engineering and Electrical Engineering... ...	53	2,97,173	2,31,429	5,28,602	78	2,657

glassware and 152 per cent. in the case of sugar. Working capital exceeded fixed capital in the case of sugar, vegetable oils and chemicals and was less than half the fixed capital in the case of glass and glassware, iron and steel, wheat flour and rice milling. Taking all the 21 industries of Bihar, working capital formed 67 per cent. of the fixed capital employed. It should, however, be noted that cash in hand and at banks and value of semi-finished products and materials in process have been excluded from working capital as reliable estimates of these were not available. This is a grave shortcoming which should be remedied if a clear picture of the industrial structure is to be obtained. Per unit of capital employed the largest volume of employment is offered in the ceramics and rice milling industries and the smallest volume of employment in the cement and distillery industries. In other words, the more highly mechanised industries were cement, distilleries, iron and steel, wheat flour and vegetable oils, while the less mechanised ones were ceramics, rice milling, chemicals, etc.

The following table shows the percentage which wages and salaries bear to the ex-factory value of the products, the average number of working days in the year and the rate of turnover of working capital in the different industries of Bihar:—

TABLE II

Industry	Total wages and salaries paid as percentage of the ex-factory value of products turned out.	Average number of working days in the year.	Rate of turnover (in working days) of the working capital.
1	2	3	4
Wheat flour	11.3	213	70
Rice milling	18.4	140	45
Sugar	8.1	130	43
Distilleries and Breweries.	17.0	228	190
Vegetable oils	6.4	215	72
Cement	21.9	334	223
Glass and Glassware	42.1	203	119
Ceramics	32.4	304	66
Chemicals	20.6	294	95
Iron and Steel	22.9	309	63
General Engineering and Electrical Engineering.	29.2	274	105

The above table brings out some interesting facts. Wages and salaries form a comparatively small proportion of the value of the product in the case of vegetable oil, sugar, wheat flour, while it forms a large proportion in the case of glass and glassware, ceramics and general engineering. The proportion which wages and salaries bear to the value of the product does not necessarily depend on the amount of productive capital employed per employee but also on the nature of raw materials used. The average number of days during which the industries worked besides those given in the above table, were as follows:—

Biscuit making	... 296 days
Tanning	... 201 ,,
Playwood and Tea Chests	... 265 ,,
Paper and Paper board	... 304 ,,
Cotton Textiles	... 277 ,,

Woolen Textiles ...	307 days
Jute Textiles ...	254 ,,
Aluminium, Copper and Brass ...	365 ,,
Bicycles ...	299 ,,
Electric Lamps ...	303 ,,

It thus appears that the number of working days in the year varied from 365 days in the case of aluminium and copper, 334 days in the case of cement, and more than 300 days in the case of woolen textiles, paper and paper board, ceramics and electric lamps to 130 days in the case of sugar and 140 days in the case of rice milling which are seasonal industries. The rate of turnover of the working capital which may be regarded as equivalent to the length of the manufacturing process is quick in the case of seasonal industries like sugar and rice milling and is slow in the case of cement, distillery and glass.

The value added by manufacture has been defined as the ex-factory value of products minus the cost of the fuels and raw materials and the depreciation of fixed assets. The following table shows the value added by manufacture as percentage of the total value of products turned out in the censused industries of the different provinces:—

West Bengal ...	28
Bombay ...	39
Madras ...	31
United Provinces ...	28
Bihar ...	41
East Punjab ...	26
Central Province ...	20
Orissa ...	28
Assam ...	14

The value added by manufacture would of course depend on the nature of the industry, the kind of raw materials used, the stages through which the materials pass in the course of manufacturing process, whether power is generated in the factory or purchased, etc. The following table indicates the value added by manufacture as percentage of the value of products turned out, and the net value of production (*i.e.* value added by manufacture minus wages and salaries paid) as percentage of the total productive capital employed in Bihar :—

TABLE III

Industry	Value added by manufacture as percentage of the ex-factory value of products turned out.	Value added by manufacture less wages and salaries paid as percentage of the total productive capital employed.
1	2	3
Wheat flour ...	4.4	− 6.2
Rice milling ...	7.9	−10.6
Sugar ...	33.5	+45.5
Distilleries and Breweries ...	28.8	+ 5.7
Vegetable Oils ...	4.3	− 3.7
Cement ...	25.1	+ 1.7
Glass and Glassware ...	19.6	− 6.0
Ceramics ...	55.5	+45.0
Chemicals ...	33.0	+19.6
Iron and Steel ...	54.7	+42.3
General Engineering and Electrical Engineering.	44.5	+17.0

A comparison of the value added by manufacture in column (2) of the above table with the wages and salaries paid as given in column (2) of Table III shows that in the case of wheat flour, rice milling vegetable oil and glass and glassware, the value added is even less than the wages and salaries paid; or in other words, these industries have been running at a loss which is brought out by the figures given in column (3) of the above table. The distilleries and breweries and the cement industries also show negligible margins for profit, while sugar, ceramics, iron and steel show considerable margins of profit. It must not, however, be inferred that the whole of what is left after deducting wages and salaries from the value added by manufacture constitutes interest and profit of the proprietors, since there are many other miscellaneous expenses such as insurance and advertising which have not been taken into account and must be met out of it.

As regards employment, the Census distinguishes between workers employed directly by the factory and those employed through contractors as also between workers and persons other than workers.

Taking all the 21 industries in Bihar which submitted returns, we find that persons other than workers formed 22.6 per cent. of the workers employed ; but the salaries of persons other than workers formed 42 per cent. of the wages of workers. This is quite natural inasmuch as persons other than workers are the more highly paid categories of the administrative, technical and clerical staff. The number of man-hours worked through contractors formed 8.7 per cent. of the man-hours worked directly for factories over all the 21 industries censused. The average wages paid to workers employed directly by the factory was Rs. 37 per 100 man-hours for men and 19 for 100 man-hours for women, while the average wages paid to contractors' labour was Rs. 20 per 100 man-hours for men and Rs. 15 per 100 man-hours for women. Thus on an average contractors' labour received 46 per cent. less wages for male labour and 21 per cent. less for female labour than labour employed directly by the factory. The average number of hours worked per day was 11.6 for contract labour and 10 for direct labour. This appears a little surprising as this is substantially in excess of the hours of work permitted under the Factories Act. Table IV compares the volume and wages of contract labour, male and female, with those of direct labour.

The table shows that no contract labour is used in wheat flour and distillery, while it is very largely used in iron and steel, cement and chemical industries where it forms 7.1, 38.5 and 38.0 per cent. respectively of direct labour. Female labour employed by contractors is largely used in the cement, chemicals, iron and steel and ceramics, while male labour employed through contractors is largly used in iron and steel, chemicals, cement, sugar and general engineering. Contractors' labour generally get lower wages than direct labour. It is, however, curious to note that in vegetable oils contractors' labour, both male and female, are paid at higher rates than direct labour, while in ceramics female contract labour not only gets wages higher than female direct labour, it even gets higher wages than male contract labour which appears to be absurd. In rice milling and glassware too, contract labour appears to be getting higher wages than direct labour. I am inclined to think that incorrect figures have been supplied with regard to the wages of contract labour by some of the industries. As regards the wage rates of direct labour, the wage rates for male labour is the highest in iron and steel and is fairly high in wheat flour, general engineering and sugar, and is particularly low in rice milling, ceramics, chemicals and glassware. Wage rates of women labour appear to be particularly low in glass-

Table IV

Industry	MAN-HOURS WORKED				WAGES PER HUNDRED MAN-HOURS			
	Directly		Through Contractors		Direct Labour		Contractors Labour	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male Rs.	Female Rs.	Male Rs.	Female Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Wheat flour ...	2,66,429	9,206	—	—	36	26	—	—
Rice milling ...	34,97,381	9,91,386	3,30,223	—	20	12		—
Sugar ...	2,50,48,140	—	7,74,052	—	27	—	20	—
Distilleries and Breweries	4,66,914	—	—	—	25	—	—	—
Vegetable oils ...	73,44,363	6,61,213	3,40,648	7,368	25	10	29	15
Cement ...	90,54,618	9,34,884	16,01,230	22,40,563	24	13	17	8
Glass and Glassware ...	12,00,304	1,40,814	—	44,640	23	7	—	8
Ceramics ...	27,61,832	10,16,672	3,14,352	2,13,688	20	16	14	18
Chemicals ...	58,56,321	6,34,499	18,49,480	9,19,044	23	14	21	13
Iron and Steel ...	7,11,53,376	60,40,592	49,08,360	5,58,000	54	24	18	10
General Engineering and Electrical Eng. ...	1,81,78,606	8,05,265	7,95,684	17,792	32	21	26	15

ware, vegetable oils and rice milling, and appear to be high in wheat flour, iron and steel and general engineering. Thus industries with high wages are iron and steel, wheat flour, general engineering and sugar and industries with low wages are rice milling and glassware.

The following table shows the wages paid per 100 man-hours worked, value added by manufacture per 100 man-hours worked and value added by manufacture per Rs. 100 of wages and salaries paid in the different industries of Bihar :—

TABLE V

Industry	Wages paid per 100 men-hours worked Rs.	Value added by manufacture per 100 man-hours worked Rs.	Value added by manufacture per Rs. 100 of wages salaries paid Rs.
1	2	3	4
Wheat flour	35	23	39
Rice milling	19	13	43
Sugar	27	191	415
Distilleries and Breweries	25	74	168
Vegetable Oils	24	22	67
Cement	20	33	114
Glass and Glassware	21	12	47
Ceramics	19	41	171
Chemicals	21	55	160
Iron and Steel	50	173	239
General Engineering and Electrical Eng	31	70	152

The above table shows that the wage per 100 man-hours worked varied from Rs. 19 in rice milling and ceramics, Rs. 20 in cement, Rs. 21 in glassware and chemicals to Rs. 50 in iron and steel, Rs. 35 in wheat flour and Rs. 31 in general engineering. The low wage industries, as we have seen before, were rice milling, ceramics, cement, glassware and chemicals. Of these rice milling, glassware and cement appear to have, as we saw in Table III, little margin of profit; but there seems to be scope for pushing up wages in ceramics and chemicals, as these appear to be profitable industries. Column (3) of the above table further shows, as we have already seen before, that the value added by manufacture in wheat flour, rice milling vegetable oils, and glassware were even less than the wage paid, which means that they were running at a loss, while sugar, iron and steel, distilleries and general engineering had substantial margins for profit. Some discount will have to be made for sugar as this is a seasonal industry which worked on an average for only 130 days in the year. Taking all the 21 industries which submitted returns in Bihar, we find that the value added by manufacture per 100 man-hours worked was Rs. 123. Column (4) of the above table tells the same tale as cols. (2) and (3), only here the wages and salaries instead of wages alone, have been taken for the basis of computation.

A comparison of the average wage rate paid in all the censured industries in the different provinces of India shows that Bihar rate was only second to that of Bombay while Orissa rates were the lowest. The average rates of wages per 100 man-hours worked are indicated below.:—

		Rs.
Bombay	...	42
Bihar	...	35
United Provinces	...	30
East Punjab	...	29
Assam	...	28
West Bengal	...	26
Madras	...	26
Central Provinces	...	25
Orissa	...	15

The above comparison, however, is not strictly valid for the reason that all the 29 industries censused did not either exist or submit returns in each province, and wage rates varying so much from industry to industry, as we have seen in Bihar, a valid comparison requires wage rates to be compared over the same industries in different provinces. I have therefore computed weighted averages of wage rates per man-hour for as many of the eleven industries as existed in the different provinces, the weights being proportioned to the number of workers employed in each industry. For comparison of Bihar rates with the rates of other provinces, I have recomputed Bihar rates in each case by taking only those industries which existed in a particular province with which comparison is made. The details are shown below:—

TABLE VI

Province	No. of Industries	Average wage per 100 man-hours Rs.	Index number of wage rates
1	2	3	4
Bihar	11	34.9	100
Bombay	10	34.5	96
West Bengal	9	27.7	71
Madras	9	20.2	80
United Provinces	9	20.7	75
East Punjab	7	26.7	65
Central Provinces	5	18.0	70
Orissa	5	10.4	39
Assam	3	27.9	105

The above table shows that over similar industries, the number varying from 10 in the case of Bombay to 3 in the case of Assam, Bihar rates were the highest, except for Assam for which comparison is bassd only on three industries

How does the efficiency of production in Bihar compare with that in the rest of India? For this purpose I have compiled the table below (Table VII) which shows the productive capital employed per factory in Bihar, the productive capital per person employed in Bihar, the rate of turnover of working capital in Bihar, the value added by manufacture per man-hour in Bihar, and the net value of production in Bihar as percentage of the productive capital employed, all as percentages of the average All-India figures.

Column (2) of the table shows that the average size of the factory in wheat flour, chemicals, sugar and ceramic industries in Bihar was smaller than the average factory in India, while in the rest of the industries the average size of the Bihar factory was larger than the All-India average, specially so in iron and steel and general engineering. It is a well-known fact that the larger the size of the unit, the more economical is its working. For similar size of the industrial unit a smaller amount of capital employed per worker indicates overstaffing which means economic waste. Judged by this

TABLE VII

Industry	Productive capital employed per factory as percentage of the All-India average.	Productive capital per person employed as percentage of the All-India average.	Rate of turnover as percentage of the All-India average.	Value added per man-hour as percentage of the All-India average.	Net value of production in terms of productive capital as ratio of All-India average.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Wheat flour ...	57	132	29	40	− 6.2/+ 2.1
Rice milling ...	104	76	42	52	−10.6/+ 1.1
Sugar ...	79	61	112	91	+45.5/+45.3
Distilleries and Breweries ...	119	133	41	76	+ 5.7/+22.8
Vegetable oils ...	105	72	75	26	− 3.7/+12.7
Cement ...	102	111	94	75	+ 1.7/+ 6 8
Glass and Glassware ...	154	257	40	31	− 6.0/+17.6
Ceramics ...	95	57	164	114	+45.0/+11.1
Chemicals ...	65	49	119	42	+19.6/+32.3
Iron and Steel ...	1230	111	120	153	+42.3/+26.3
General Engineering and Electrical Engineering	205	119	87	109	+17.0/+16 1

standard perhaps rice milling, sugar, vegetable oils, ceramics and chemical industries in Bihar are not organised as efficiently as they should have been. The rate of turnover in wheat flour, glassware, distilleries and rice-milling in Bihar is particularly low judged by the All-India standard and these industries (excepting distilleries) are those which show no profit. The rates of turnover in ceramics, iron steel, chemicals and sugar are high judged by the All-India standard and these industries also show good profit margins. The value added by manufacture is particularly low in vegetable oils, glass and glassware, wheat flour, chemicals and rice-milling and these industries, except chemicals, show losses. Iron and steel, ceramics and general engineering show higher value added by manufacture and also good profit margins.

It is difficult to say how far the information supplied by the factories in the returns submitted by them is accurate. We have found reason to think that the information supplied regarding the wages of contractor's labour is of very doubtful accuracy. Further it is a pity that in order not to disclose the identity of the factory furnishing the return, the statistics of industries in which there are not more than three factories in existence in a province should be lost altogether by being merged with those of other provinces. Thus in Bihar although returns were received from 21 industries with 306 factories and 116,849 employees, the information supplied by as many as ten industries with 13 factories and 12,363 employees, is incapable of being analysed. It is also a matter of regret that the information supplied in the Census Report regarding working capital is anything but complete, since it takes into account only the stock of raw materials and fuels and of products and by-products but excludes cash in hand and at banks and the value of semi-finished products and materials in process of production. The census also gives no tabulated information as to the common groupings of industries, *i.e.*, the different kinds of industries which are usually combined in the same registered factory, although some indications can be found from the tables relating to products and by-products of each classified industry. It is also a matter of regret that no information is collected by the census regarding the sources of supply of fixed and working capital. In other words, no information is available as to the extent to which an industry is organised on the joint-stock, partnership or proprietory lines. Lastly, apart from the fact that the census is still a partial one, *i.e.*, confined only to 29 out of the 63 industries, the Industrial Statistics Act leaves altogether out of its scope the mining industry, which in Bihar is even of greater importance than the factory industry.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(*A Fragment*)

JOY KISSEN MOOKERJEE

Fifty years ago this introduction would have been absolutely unnecessary. For even then the name of Jaikrishna Mukherjee (1808-1888) was almost a household word in Bengal. But to-day he has become a shadowy figure, remembered, perhaps, only as a Zemindar and the founder of the famous House of Mukherjees of Uttarpara. Those who are a little better informed at most associate his name with certain educational institutions. Like so many famous men he has not escaped the inductible tricks of time and the record of his manifold achievements has faded from public memory. In his lifetime, however, Jaikrishna was one of the most outstanding men of nineteenth-century Bengal. Son of an ordinary clerk and businessman, he worked his way up and ended as one of the biggest Zemindars of his time. His was an amazingly forward-reaching mind and though he lived and died in the last century, ideologically he might well have belonged to the present. Unfortunately there is no comprehensive biography of Jaikrishna—a fact which explains the general ignorance about his life and work.

Jaikrishna became a big landholder by building up his own fortune brick by brick. Those who envied his success tried to present him as an oppressive landlord. But his character in this respect hardly needs any whitewashing from us to-day. Men like Iswarchandra Vidyasagar long ago gave a favourable verdict on his dealings with his tenants, which though strictly legal, were never oppressive or high-handed. On the other hand, Jaikrishna was an ideal landholder who played a notable part in repairing and placing on a scientific basis the nasty machine of the old zemindary system. Unlike most zemindars he was very much interested in the technical aspects of agriculture and introduced the cultivation of new crops like potato and sugarcane. The works of public utility on his estates always received his openhanded liberality. Although not many British civilians at that time were favourably disposed towards all that was done under Indian auspices, one of them was constrained to remark that "Babu Joy Kissen Mukerji has by the general respectability of his character, by his intelligence and abilities, and the interest he takes in public good, won for himself, in the estimation of the community, a place which perhaps no other landholder except Dwarkanath Tagore has attained to."

In the sphere of education, however, lies the most enduring of Jaikrishna's achievements. He played a great part in that early working of the so-called Bengal Renaissance in tearing away the mist of ignorance. He is known to have founded over thirty schools in one day. To begin with, he established a High School at Uttarpara where he later started a college. His magnificent Public Library at Uttarpara was the first non-government circulating Library in India. Men of letters like Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Sir Edwin Arnold, and Sir William Hunter stayed here as Jaikrishna's guests. Thus he carried on his life-long crusade against ignorance. It was he who originated the idea of the Calcutta University Library and was its first donor. He espoused the cause of female education, then *bête noire* even to many educated men. He co-operated with Bethune in this respect and subscribed liberally towards the founding of the present Bethune College. All this was doubtless a creditable performance.

Education received the main focus of his attention; yet with every progressive social movement of his time Jaikrishna was intimately connected. Personally, by his character and sterling qualities, he was a great moral force. He breathed new life into his native village of Uttarpara. Here he founded a charitable hospital in addition to the abovementioned educational institutions, thus converting an obscure village into a flourshing town. He always took a bold stand against the obscurantist section of society. Startling was the move he took by heading the signatories in Vidyasagar's famous application to the Legislative Council for permitting remarriage of Hindu widows. To-day one can hardly imagine the gravity of this step against the formidable opposition of a solid and influential section of society. Jaikrishna's name was also associated with Vidyasagar's anti-polygamy movement.

Although he himself had become eminently successful in life, he never lost his sympathy for the poor ryots who formed the bulk of the population. His was the brilliant idea of having such a novel written as would illustrate the "social and domestic life of the rural population and the working classes of Bengal." This might lead to an understanding of the peculiar problems of the Bengali ryot on the part of the alien rulers. Jaikrishna declared a prize for such a book and Rev. Lalbehari De's famous "Bengal Peasant Life" was the result.

The mind that was thus busy solving educational and social problems was nonetheless vigorously at work in the political field as well. Indeed Jaikrishna was an astute politician,—a shrewd judge of men and trends. He was one of the pillars of the British Indian Association which at that time was the powerhouse of our growing national movement. His numerous speeches and writings demonstrate his clear-cut political ideas and penetrating insight. He had a wonderful mastery of Revenue and Tenancy Laws. His son, Raja Pearymohan Mukherjee, was substantially helped by him in his well-known speeches over the Bengal Tenancy Act. In the agitations following the introduction of the 1853 India Bill and again the Ilbert Bill Jaikrishna played a memorable part The crowning moment of his career was when he joined the nascent congress movement. His speeches proposing Sir Dadabhai Naoroji to the presidentship of the Second Indian National Congress (1886) in Calcutta won universal admiration. Jaikrishna was acclaimed as the "Nestor of Bengal Zemindars," as Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea has put it in his "A Nation in Making." For his wisdom and balanced opinions he was respected by the British community in India. But never did he assume an unduly submissive attitude before the foreign rulers. On the other hand, Jaikrishna was always a fearless critic of what he regarded as the defects of the administration. Yet he commanded respect and unstinted praise from unprejudiced British officials one of whom described him as "a great man whose life was a standing protest against Macaulay's sweeping aspersions on the Bengalee character." One can see that these are not the usual encomiums showered by the British rulers on their Indian favourites.

When this Graced Old Man of Bengal, as Jaikrishna Mukherjee, came to be called, died in his eighteeth year in 1888, his loss was universally mourned. His death removed a figure which had become an institution. He can be classed with the makers of modern Bengal, for many of our present-day social and political institutions are the results of the fruitful endeavours of men like Jaikrishna in the past.

These are some of the high lights of Jaikrishna's eventful life, to enter into the details of which this is not the place. But these are enough to prove that he was a great man and has a valid claim to be remembered by his countrymen. Happily there has recently been a tendency to re-assess the life-work of eminent Bengalees of the past century. But the portrait gallery of the nineteenth-century celebrities of Bengal will remain singularly incomplete if Jaikrishna is left out—especially so while the achievements of much less important men have been duly recognized. We hope this story of Jaikrishna's early life in his own words will partly help appreciation. Moreover, his autobiography, though unfinished, is important from the historical point of view, for, besides the portrait it gives of Jaikrishna and the social landscape of his time, it affords interesting glimpses of the political and military history of India in one of its most critical and formative periods.

This autobiography is known to have been written in 1886, only two years before Jaikrishna died. As he had then become blind, he began to dictate this to his English-clerk, Naba Krishna Ghose. For some reason or other Jaikrishna was not able to finish it. The papers were stowed away in some obscure corner of his record room. Later on the writing could not be traced though its existence was not unknown. It was only in 1925, while the room was undergoing a thorough tidying-up, that the papers containing fragments of the autobiography came to the notice of Sri Abani Nath Mukherjea, Zemindar, the eldest great-grandson of Jaikrishna Mukherjee and the present head of the house. He recognized the handwriting of Nabakrishna Ghose and was sure that it was the missing work. The credit of collecting and editing it in its present form must go to Abani Babu to whom we are grateful for kindly giving it to us for publication. No word of the original manuscript has been deliberately altered. Only here and there it has been re-touched to correct obvious slips. For the convenience of the reader it has been divided into several sections with relevant section headings. The editor describes his task as no more than the presentation of a self-portrait scientifically cleaned and hung in good light.

In this connection one should not forget that while Jaikrishna was dictating this he was an old man of seventy eight and in failing health. So in spite of his wonderful memory it may be that here and there he is a year or two out.

NILMONI MUKHERJEE

GENEALOGY

From some centuries a number of Sabarno-Chowdhuries were residing on the east bank of the Hooghly, north of Barrackpore. When the latter place became a Military Station, a part of that village was amalgamated with Barrackpore. In consequence of scarcity of accommodation and for the frequent disturbances created by the Sepoys, Ramjeeban Ray-Chowdhury and three of his co-sharers left the place and came over on this side of the river at Uttarparah, which was also their zamindaree. They divided the village into four portions, the eldest Ramjeeban obtained one-anna more than those of his three co-partners; thus Uttarparah became divided into 19 pices and three 15 pices.

Ramjeeban's eldest son was Gangaram; this gentleman used to spend his mornings on the bank of the Hooghly where he met frequently one Prankristo Chatterjee of Jonai, a village about 6 miles from Uttarparah. The latter gentleman used to be accompanied by his son Ramnidhi; they used to cross over the river to see their relatives at Dukhinapur (Dakshineswar). Prankristo gradually became acquainted with Gangaram and was in the habit of spending an hour or two in conversation with Gangaram. This gentleman had an unmarried daughter and proposed to unite her with Ramnidhi. Prankristo consented to the proposal, and the marriage soon after took place. Gangaram gave a few bighas of *Bastu* and garden lands in Uttarparah and erected a house for the residence of his daughter and son-in-law as well as gave a few bighas of rent-free lands in Uttarparah, *Peeplee* and Kasoondae, as a dowry to his daughter. Ramnidhi Chatterjee thus became a permanent resident of this village and in due time engaged in trade—chiefly of making and selling bricks and soorkies on a large scale—by which he acquired a good competence. According to the custom of the time *coolin* Brahmins were seldom satisfied with one wife, and Ramnidhi being a *coolin* married three other wives. By the first wife Ramnidhi had two sons, and two daughters, Dayamayee and Seebanee. These two sons and the daughter Dayamoyee died during the life-time of Ramnidhi.

Seebanee, the youngest daughter by the first wife, was the grandmother of the subject of this autobiography. When of proper age she was united in wedlock to Nundo Gopal Mookerjee, the son of Hurrokristo Mookerjee of Khamargachee, a village on the banks of the Hooghly, north of Doomurduhu; a place of some note at a distance of 12 miles from the town of Hooghly. On the east bank of Khamargachee lay the village of Sookhsagore måde famous by the residence of Lord Cornwallis.

Nundö Gopal, my grandfather, was a man of middle stature, of fair complexion, was a good scholar in Bengalee; and whether he knew anything of English or Persian language, the writer knoweth not. I think he must have known something of Persian as he was employed as a *Moonshi* in the Collectorate of Dacca, which employment he obtained by the recommendation of his first wife's relative, Dewan Radha Churn Mookerjee of Sobha-Bazar, Calcutta. By his first wife Nundo Gopal had one son named Ramchunder and daughters Rashmoney and Beemolla. By Seebanee the only issue was Jagan Mohun, my father. My revered grandfather had fourteen other wives, 13 of whom were barren and his wife of Goopteeparah bore him a daughter named Nilmoney. He died of consumption at the age of 41 or 42 when my revered father was only an infant of 1 or 2 years old. His father Hurrokristo and mother survived but they were so stricken down by the death of their favourite son, that they were chiefly confined to their bed in a sickly state of health and seldom went out of their house. My grandmother used to say that soon after her widowhood, she had not only to look after her infant child, but occasionally had to go to Khamargachee to attend the sick bed of her father-in-law and mother-in-law taking with her frequently sugar-candy and other varieties of Calcutta sweets. They died at different times within a few years, but at this time there being no old persons living, nor any old records to refer to, I am unable to give the exact dates of their death ; but this must have occurred soon after the commencement of this century (Bengalee *San* era 1200 corresponding with 1794 A.D.). My great-grandfather Hurrokristo had many other wives, but I am unable to state their number. He had several other sons and daughters, all of whom were younger in age than my grandfather Nundo Gopal. Of stepbrothers and sisters, only one of them named Sambhu Chander removed to Khamargachee in an advanced age of about 70. I used to cut jokes with him when he used to honour us occasionally with his visits at Uttarparah or at Chinsurah where I resided many years. Unfortunately for not keeping notes, I am unable to give the exact time of his demise. The occurrence cannot have taken place less than 6 years ago. He left two sons—Bistu Chander and Kally Dass Mookerjee. The former resided generally at his maternal grandfather's house at Gossai-Malparah and became well-versed in "Sreemat-Bhagabat" and other Poorans, by the recital of which he acquired a good competency and became almost a celebrity among the Pooranic Class of Pundits and was called in consequence "Bhistoo Shidhanto." He was a man of excellent character and was a favourite among the community. He died some years ago leaving an only son, Kissoree Mohan, who followed the footsteps of his late father and was renowned as a good Pooranic scholar, but he was snatched away by an early death. His son Bijay Madhab, about 20 years at present, is now making creditable progress in Pooranic studies. If he lives he is sure to become a worthy descendant of his grandfather. Sumbhoo Chunder's second son Kallydass was a good Bengalee accountant and up to the time of his death he was in the service of the Paul Chowdherys of Raunaghat and managed their brick and soorkee concern on the banks of the river in Calcutta. He had acquired a kind of competency in that service and built a Kancha-Pacca house in Khamargachee and used to celebrate Doorga Pooja and other festivals. He was esteemed as a good and amiable person,. was a great favourite of my father and availed of his good offices on many occasions. He attended my poor father's death-bed and mourned his death as that of a father.

My revered parent died of fever on the 12th of Assin 1274 B.E corresponding to 26th September, 1840 A.D. Kallydass died a year or two after my father's death, having two sons. The elder became blind soon after his birth and died at the age of 20. His younger son named Mohesh Chunder Mookerjee is living in Khamargachee in the family dwelling. He had neglected his education in early life; therefore he is slightly acquainted with the English and Bengali languages, but his sons being in the Railway Dept., their income has enabled him to live in ease and comfort.

My grandfather's another step-brother's name was Ram Govindo whom I never saw and who died when I was a minor. All that I have heard of him is that he had married at Pawnan where he used to reside generally. He has left many sons and daughters; with two of his daughters I become acquainted many years ago, one of whom was married to some Bannerjee. She bore him two sons, one named so and so who died at the age of 20 or 25, the other Goluck Chander Banerjee is a good Bengali Scholar and is now in the service of the Maharaj of Burdwan as a Naib in the district of Midnapur. I saw one of Ram Govindo's sons who was born at Punchkot. He had many peculiarities of the clime and manners of Punchkot when I saw him. His first visit is, I fear, in all appearances to be the last also and I cannot say whether he is still living or dead. Another of my grandfather's step-brother's name was Narayan Mookerjee. I never saw this gentleman and I hear he died many years ago under the age of 40. One of his sons by name Chander Mohan Mookerjee has been living almost from his birth in his maternal grandfather's house in Narainpur near Wooloobariah. He is now under sixty years of age and was a good Bengali scholar; he maintains his family chiefly from the produce of his agricultural farm. Out of his 54 bullocks and cows he lost 53 by the enundation of 1871. My grandfather's another step-brother's name was Nundo Coomer Mookerjee ; he was far more intelligent and energetic than any of his step-brothers ; he remained in his maternal grandfather's house from infancy at Coomarhatto where he was brought up and educated. He was a good Bengali scholar. He held several offices the details of which I am not acquainted with. When I was 10 years old and proceeding by water with my father and the rest of our family we moored our boats at Haleesahar in October, 1820, and were sumptuously fed and feasted by him. After 3 or 4 days' stay at his house, he determined to accompany us to the Upper Provinces for pilgrimage. After our arrival at Meerut, he joined a party of pilgrimage and went to Kedarnath and Badrika-Asram, two places of great fame and sanctity on the Himalaya hills. While returning he caught hill fever which baffled all medical aid and after lingering for more than two weeks he expired at Meerut. I cannot recollect the date of his death, but it must have been either in June or July, 1822. My father, as in duty bound, accompanied the corpse of his dead uncle to the cremation *ghat* at Garhmukteswar; myself, one Pundit and several other persons went with the party. After cremation and performances of the ceremonial rites, we returned to Meerut next day. Nundo Coomar left two sons at home, by name Rajeeblochun and Trilochun. Father wrote to them about the demise of their parent. The youngest son Trilochun died within a few years of his father's death. The eldest Rajeeblochun survived him many years and died about 20 years ago leaving an only daughter. She was married to one Essur Chunder Bannerjee. The issue of this marriage was two sons, the eldest now employed in the Magistrate's office as a Head Clerk at Saharunpur. His younger brother is a wild young man and is now living with his eldest brother eating the bread of idleness.

Having stated though very briefly, of the brothers and connections of my revered grandfather, I would now resume the thread of the narrative regarding the immediate descendants of my grandmother.

SHIBANI DEVI

Misfortune never comes alone ; soon after she became a widow, the only person to whom she could look up for protection and comfort, *i.e.*, her father Ramnidhi, died about the year 1793. Her mother having died many years before, she was left in the world lonely with an infant son. At the time of her widowhood, her age must have been under 25 years ; but this excellent woman was quite up to the occasion. She had received some money during the life time of her parents, and Ramnidhi her father, on his death-bed enjoined upon her 5 step brothers that in consequence of the marriage with her mother, he had become resident of Utterparah that therefore his house, Bastoo and garden lands as well as also other rent free lands which he had obtained from his father-in-law at Utterparah as well as those of his own acquisitions should be divided into 6 equal shares, 5 of which will be taken by the 5 brothers, and the residue to be allotted to Seebanee and her son Joggomohon. As a sequence to this injunction, Ramnidhi's property was divided into 6 equal shares. I find from a partition deed between the 5 brothers and this young nephew Joggomohon, that besides a portion of the Bastoo land facing the Chatterjee Road and a few Bigghas of rent free land, she took from her step brothers the value of her share of the dwelling house and built two new rooms—surrounded by a wall on her newly acquired land. About this time her step son Ram Chander died without issue at an early age, by which event my father became the exclusive heir to his demised father, though his property was very small consisting of a dwelling house and about 50 Bigghas of land in or about Khamargachee. This was, at any rate, an addition to the family property.

JAGA MOHAN

My grandmother did not forget the education of her son. He was well educated in Bengali in the village Pathsalla. There being then no English school here, she sent her son to be educated at Radha Churn's house in Calcutta. He obtained a knowledge of reading and writing which was at that age considered a respectable education, but in this collegiate age that education must seem very limited. When he was 16 or 17 years of age, he was united to my mother Rajeswari, daughter of Tara Chand Turkosidhantya, a respectable Pundit of this village. When he was about twenty years, he obtained an employment at the Commissariat General's Office at Calcutta under Ram Hurry Ray-Chowdhury, who was then employed as a Treasurer. But not finding the employment congenial, he left that situation and engaged himself as a Mess-Writer to His Majesty's 14th Regiment of Infantry, which Regiment had then arrived in Fort William from England. He then accompanied the Regiment to Burhampur and thence to Dinapore. From this place he accompanied the Regt. to the Field Army then being formed under General Ochterlony to invade Nepal. After the successful issue of that campaign, he went with the Regiment to Cawnpore. At that station besides this post, he obtained the Clerkship of the Regimental Pay

Master. After a short stay at Cawnpore, the Regt. was directed to proceed to Hatras. After the fall of the Fortress of the place, the 14th Foot joined an expedition which was then being sent to chastise the Pindarees. On the completion of that work, the troops returned to different quarters. The 14th Foot, instead of going back to Cawnpore, went to Meerut. My father accompanied the Regt. to that Station. After remaining there for some time, he took leave for 6 or 7 months, came down to Utterparah leaving substitute to carry on his business.

On his arrival at home in the beginning of 1820 he settled an account with the agency house of Messrs. Colvin & Co., with whom he had left a chest containing silver-plates and family jewels, but which had been made away with by the Godown Sircars. Father had a regular receipt, and the poor Colvin & Co., were obliged to make good the loss by money compensation. He also made arrangements for collecting debts from different individuals and about July or August of that year (1820) he married the daughter of Fakeer Chunder Bhattacharjee of Sakhalah in the District of Hooghly. For the first time, he celebrated Doorga Puja in our house.

JOURNEY TO MEERUT

After settling other matters, he hired a boat for starting to the Upper Provinces and left home at the latter end of 1820, accompanied by his mother, his two elder wives his two sons, Joy Kissen and Raj Kissen and his little daughter named Doorga Money, as well as a distant relation Rajeeblochun Chakerbutty, a resident of this town. My youngest step-mother remained with her parents at Sakhalah.

We halted at Coomarhatto-Halisahar where a step-brother of my grandfather, by name Nundo Coomar, was residing with his family; we were cordially and affectionately welcomed and sumptuously feasted for some days. Babu Nundo Coomar with a view of visiting holy shrines in the North-West Provinces, joined our party. We left Coomerhatta and reached Beneras in about a month without any remarkable occurrence on our way. On arriving at Beneras, father found that the time of his leave would soon expire and as going by boat was a tedious one, he left us at Beneras and went to Mirzapore, where after transacting some little business he had there, started by a Govt. Dak to Meerut. After remaining a few days at Beneras for visiting different places of worship, we left Beneras and proceeded slowly up the river as far as Cawnpore in about a month. As the water in the river was daily getting low, and as time would be long by going by water as far as Gurmooktashur Ghat, we gave up the idea of going up in a boat, and proceeded in bullock carts or as they are called Raths, drawn by two bullocks. We could have hired an *Ecca* drawn by a horse, but the jolting of the conveyance on Kacha road, was so annoying and uncomfortable that we preferred other vehicles to *Ecca.* In January, 1821 we reached Meerut in safety and found father enjoying his usual good health and carrying on business briskly.

MY BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION

When I left Utterparah, I was about 10 years old, having had a thorough education in "Soovankaree" and Bengalee, could write and keep accounts in Bengali, and was made familiar with Zamindaree accounts in that tender age, and had copied 1000 pages of Kassee Dassee "Mohabharut," many a page of which I still remember and can repeat from memory. My first Bengalee Gooroomahasay was one Mudun Mohon Ghosal, then one Balaram Sircar and lastly one Thakoordass Ghose, a Burdwanee. Kaishta and very expert in Bengalee Arithmetic and Zamindari accounts. It is from the latter the knowledge I obtained which has proved of great service to me in afterlife. As for English, I commenced my ABC. in 1818 at the family School of our revered relative Babu Bhoyrub Chunder Chatterjee where after finishing the Spelling Book, I read a few pages from a book called "French Dialogue," *i.e.*, a translation from the French of short colloquial sentences and also a few pages from a work styled "Self Guide," containing short sentences in English and Bengalee, then recently published in the Serampore Press. After a year's tuition I was removed to the family school of another relative, Babu Bhobanee Sunkur Ray-Chowdhury, where I went on reading those two books, as well as a portion of "Tooteenamah," till my father's arrival in 1820. I was associated in both those schools with Harrish Chunder Bannerjee and Rutton Chunder Ray-Chowdhuri. There were other associates in the Chatterjee's School, *i.e.*, Babu Jaggat Chunder Ray Chowdhury, Bholanath Chatterjee, Sumbhoo Chunder Mookerjee and several others. They were elder than myself.

Such was the extent of my acquisition in English while at Utterparah. On the boat, father kindly taught me a few pages from the "Arabian Nights." On my arrival at Meerut I read from a work called "Universal Letter Writer," under Babu Bhola Nath Ghose, a writer in Meerut Commissariat Office, as well as a few letters from the "Complete Letter Writer" under Babu Raj Chunder Neogee, a clerk in a Mercantile Firm and had learnt also some desultory lessons from another gentleman. I also spent 6 months in the Regimental School of the 14th Foot. This was the extent of my scholastic education, when my father placed me as a probationer in the Military Pay Office, then under Captn. Watkin, where I learnt the several modes of keeping Military Accounts. After a year, I attended the Mess House and the Regimental Pay Master's Office, and was thereby familiarized with different Regimental Accounts.

MEERUT

In the beginning of 1824, I was appointed Chief Clerk in the Station Office under Captn. Comb, Offg. Brigade-Major, who was succeeded after a few months by Captain D. D Anderson. Brigadier McComb commanded the Station and Major-General Renell commanded the Meerut Division. In April or May of 1824, Major General Sir David Ochterlony, who was then a resident of Delhi and Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, ordered the 14th Regiment of Foot and other available Military Forces from Meerut, Cawnpore, Furracabad and other minor stations to proceed towards Bharutpore without delay. This movement of troops was made in consequence of the death of the reigning Raja Bulabunt Sing of Bharutpur, who from the fear of his infant son and Ranee being deprived of the Raj by his step brother Doorjun, had constituted the E. I. Company as the guardian of the young Maharaja. But no sooner had Bulobunt Sing died, Doorjun Sal placed the young Rajah and his mother in confinement and usurped the Raj. Genl. Ochterlony remonstrated with the usurper, but he gave no heed to it. Hence the movement of troops with the ostensible purpose to restore the young Raja to the Guddy, but inwardly to take revenge of the defeat of Lord Lake which the troops under his Lordship sustained in 1804. But the motto "man proposes—God disposes" was clearly verified in this instance. In those days of tardy post-office runners "Expresses" were used to be forwarded by *Saree* camels. A letter by Dak Runners used to reach Calcutta in 11 days and by Camel Dak by 9 or 10 days. Lord Amherst, then Governor General, received intelligence of the march of troops to Bharutpore and he was out of his wits. Besides the march of troops in such fiery hot season as April and May, when the health of the European troops must suffer, he remembered the signal defeat of Lord Lake in days of yore. He was afraid that Holkar and other chiefs might again combine as they did before and kindle a fire which will not be easy to quench.

His Lordship was then full of anxiety in consequence of the descent of the Burmese leader Maha Bandula at the head of 80 thousand troops from Ava and Arakan. All Calcutta, it is said, used to sleep at night in ships and boats and the Military was posted in all directions. It was then rumoured that the Burmese troops would make a landing in Calcutta, and loot and destroy everybody and everything that they would find there. Bengal was then ill-prepared to encounter such a large force and it was but natural that every body would be frightened. But Moha Bandula lost his opportunity and after thinking and hesitating for a few days he retired towards his country. The Burmese Moha Bandula with his hordes was falling back from Arakan into the interior of the Burmese Dominions. On this British Officers took courage and followed him. Lord Amherst despatched a small army under Sir Archibald Campbell in whose staff Henry Havelock, the great, the good, the honest and the pious man, the future hero of Lucknow, then a young Lieutenant, destined to be so famous in afterlife and be the Saviour of the Lucknow garrison, was attached as an Assistant Adjutant General. The troops penetrated into the interior and after demolishing stockades here and there stood up fight with the leader Moha Bandula whose troops were defeated. The Court of Ava was so far humbled as to sue for peace which was concluded at Yandabu in 1826. By this treaty the proud monarch of Amarpura ceded Moulmein, Martaban and Tenasserim. We received this news while the siege of Bhurutpore was proceeding. There was a great rejoicing in the camp in consequence of this happy result.

But all this is digression ; I will now resume the thread of my narrative.

While the Supreme Government was under the shadow of a threatened invasion, it cannot be wondered that Lord Amherst, the most timid Governor-General we ever had, should contemplate with anything but terror at the prospect of a war with brave Jats, supported perhaps by all the Chiefs of Upper India. Accordingly, His Lordship in Council wrote a furious letter to General Ochterlony, abused him in no measured terms, and went so far as to say that by his rash act he almost lost the British Empire in the East, and ordered to send the troops back without a moment's delay, and talk no more of Bharutpur. General Ochterlony, though of different opinion, thought if he had his own way, he would have successfully settled the whole matter in a fortnight more, was obliged to carry out the order of the Supreme Government and sent back the troops whence they had come.

Bharutpur was then divided between the two rival parties, and the usurper Doorjun was ill prepared to wage war with such a formidable power, and would have surrendered at once, or in case of resistance, the Citadal and the Fort of Bharutpur could have been taken in no time while the Chiefs of Joypore, Gowalior, Indore, Peshwar and Mysore would be hesitating what course to pursue. Many of the experienced Officers were of the same opinion with General Ochterlony. But the Gods ordained to prolong the existence of the usurper a few months longer, and the troops retired from the vicinity of Bharutpur as fast as they had come. I was left at Meerut by my father to look after our own family as well to minister to the wants of the Officers' and Soldiers' families.

General Ochterlony was so much annoyed and felt himself insulted, and degraded in the eyes of the world, that after countermanding the march of troops, he sent in his resignation accompanied by a spirited explanation of his conduct to the Supreme Council. Lord Amherst accepted the resignation after extolling the General's past services, which, however, was no balm to the wounded feelings of such a veteran soldier, and he after delivering over his several offices, started from Delhi, the place of his usual residence, with a view to proceeding to England. Before he had left Delhi, he had slight fever, which he thought he would soon get rid of on the way, but which became so violent on his arrival at Meerut that, notwithstanding every medical aid, he died regretted by all who knew him and even by those, who had an acquaintance with him. He was a general favourite with all classes of the public. The writer of this Memoir, after a lapse of more than half a century, has a vivid recollection of this painful occurrence. It was very creditable to the Major General commanding the Division to leave nothing undone for marking the respect to the deceased. Every branch of the Service—Artillery; Cavalry, the Civil Officers, vied with each other to show their respect to the last remains of the illustrious dead by accompanying the corpse to the burying ground. Of course the Minute-guns were fired as usual. There were so much bustle and galloping of officers and noncommissioned officers from one quarter to that of the other. If a stranger had arrived there, he would have thought that the station was preparing itself to resist an invading army. It is fresh in the recollection of the writer, a remarkable saying of the Brigade-Major, who was sweating from head to foot by galloping from line to line nearly the whole day, that "Man, if another such an occurrence took place, I would be in my grave in no time." Thus ended the

Round the World

Saints and their Ashramas

The history of India has been a history of great personalities rathern than of institutions. Not that these institutions have not outlived for ages their great founders; but people have not as a rule had that sustained interest in the later life of these institutions as in the life and work of their founders. The Buddhist Sangha did not die with the Parinirvan of the Buddha. But it lost a good deal of public interest after the master whose great personality had dominated the mind of men for fifty years shuffled off his mortal coils. This interest was again revived no doubt three hundred years later but it was so revived again because of the saintly personality of emperor Asoka who espoused its cause and made it a mission of his life to spread the gospel of the Sangha throughout his vast and far flung empire and beyond. What was true in this regard of Buddhism was equally true of Gaudiya Vaisnavism. Its great founder Chaitanya dominated for a number of years the religious and social life of eastern India five hundred years ago. His was a great personality that attracted men from all parts of the country. The Vaisnava community has survived his death all these years. But the interest of the people does not so much lie in the later history of this community and the many *maths* which are the centres of Vasinava worship as in the life and career of the great founder. If we come to our own times, Santiniketatn, Sevagram and Pondichery may remind us of this Indian tradition. Originally discovered as a place of retirement and meditation by Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, Santiniketan was developed as an educational ashram by his famous son, the poet. For decades its life was bound up with his activities. Its importance revolved round his personality. The poet is no more but the institution survives. But could it be said that the institution holds the interest of the people in the same degree as in the life time of the illustrious founder? Sevagram is also there as an ashram but Gandhiji who gave life and interest to it is no longer in our midst. The last among the great personalities to depart was Shri Aurobindo. His ashram which has had a steady spontaneous growth since the Master set foot on that French territory forty years ago is still there. But will there any longer be that sustained interest in this institution which the great personality of the saint happend to enlist throughout India during his life time? Time has come when we should make every effort to belie the old traditions of the country and lay greater stress on institutions than on personalities. Great personalities are indeed always to be counted as part of a nation's capital. They set the standard and save a country from rot.

But at the same time we have in the past attached too much importance to individual personality and too little to collective and institutional activities. That is the reason why in the absence of great men (who in any event would not always be at hand) we have found ourselves so helpless and hopelss. Possibly the history of India would have been different if we had laid greater stress on institutional activity than on the individual contribution of a great man. Now that Tagore, Gandhi and Aurobindo are no more, let their followers and admirers whose number is legion take the solemn vow of not only perpetuating but strengthening and developing the institutions through the medium of which they had worked. This will be an acid test for us in this age of democracy which the new constitution seeks to introduce.

Tibet

At the time of writing news from Tibet is hazy. But there is no gainsaying the fact that a part of the country is already in the hands of the Chinese Communists and the flight of the Dalai Lama is possibly a question of time. In course of the correspondence between the Government of India and the Government at Peking the latter has claimed Tibet as an integral part of China and has excused the movement of Chinese troops into Tibet as an internal police measure with which other countries need not be concerned. It is true that the Government of India has recognised the suzerainty of the Chinese Peoples' Republic over Tibet. This it has done in the light of the history of Sino-Tibetan relations during the last two hundred years. Before 1720 Tibet was a fully independent state but in that year a loose form of suzerainty was established over it by China. Already loose when this suzerainty was accepted by the Tibetans, it became increasingly nominal in subsequent decades. But early in the twentieth century the Manchus tried to strengthen their imperialistic hold over Tibet. This assertion might be regarded as the last flicker of energy on the part of the empire before it finally ebbed away. The Manchus, as it is well known, were ousted from authority in China as a result of the revolution which took place in 1911 and the Tibetan Government seized this opportunity to drive the Chinese battalians which were at this time in occuptation of Tibetan soil. After that there were tripartite negotiations as to the status of Tibet. Representatives of Britain, China and Tibet met at Simla in 1914 and entered into an agreement which enjoined China to recognise autonomy of the Tibetan Government and enjoined Tibet to respect Chinese suzerainty. But the agreement was not for certain reasons ratified by the Chinese Government. But in the absence of the ratification the status quo was to prevail. In other words China would have nominal suzerainty while the Government of the Dalai Lama in Tibet would enjoy for all practical purposes sovereign authority. Neither Chiang Kai-shek nor his communist successor has, however, been reconciled to this position. Chiang was, however, too engrossed with other affairs to think of invading Tibet and transforming the nominal suzerainty there into an active Chinese sovereignty. But the Communist Government has no preoccupation now except in Korea. So it has chosen this moment to invade Tibet. To many of us this latter country may appear to be a very distant unapproachable land, situated beyond the Himalayas. But actually, it should be remembered, its border is less than one hundred miles from railhead in this country. In view of this important fact none of us should miss the significance for our country of the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

Sinkiang.

While the threat to Tibet from Communist China has become real, Sinkiang which is separated from Kashmir by the barrier of the Karakoram is in the grip of the Soviet Union. Sinkiang's old name is Chinese Turkistan. It has been all along only loosely associated with China. Its people are of Turkish origin and neither racially nor linguistically it has much in common with China. Nor is the communication easy between the main part of China and this New Dominion. On the other hand it is an immediate neighbour of the Soviet Union and its trade and other relations with that leviathan are natural and easy. In view of this it was but expected that gradually relationship with China would become thin and that with the Soviet Union intimate. On the Soviet side the interest in Sinkiang has been specially roused because of the knowledge that it contains oil, coal, iron and uranium mines. During the twenties and the thirties Soviet Russia was not sufficiently strong to take possession of this province. Later came the second World War with which the Kremlin remained too pre-occupied to take advantage of the chaotic situation in China and annex and exploit Sinkiang. In fact even those Russian agents and garrisons which were already in the province had to be withdrawn. If after recuperation from the ravages of the last war the Russians were confronted with the Kuomintang forces in Sinkiang, possibly force would have been used and sword drawn and the province occupied by the Russians thereby. But as the Russians recuperated, the Kuomintang in China came to suffer debacle and communism became enthroned in that country. Communist China now being an ally of the Soviet Union the question of using force on the part of the Soviet Union on account of Sinkiang does not arise. But while the Soviet Union respects the sovereignty of its Chinese ally in that province it has gained its point by diplomatic and peaceful means. In March, 1950 several Sino-Soviet agreements were signed in Moscow. Some of them were to last ten years and some thirty years. Agreements regarding the exploitation of Sinkiang are for the latter span. They provide for mixed companies consisting of Soviet and Chinese representatives for exploiting oil resources and non-ferrous metals. It has been arranged that if the

Chairman is Soviet, Vice-Chairman is to be Chinese and if the General Manager is Soviet his Deputy is to be Chinese. Every body knows as to who will gain and who will lose as a result of this arrangement. In any event the fact stands out that by this agreement the Soviet Union has gained what it wanted—the exploitation of the resources of the province of Sinkiang. So with the Soviet Union enthroned in Sinkiang and Communist China in Tibet, the Indian world may very well beware of its future.

Academic Conferences

During the last ten days of December there were two conferences held in the Senate House, Calcutta, under the auspices of the University. The Indian Philosophical Congress celebrated its silver jubilee and the Indian Political Science Association held its thirteenth annual Conference. In Britain there have been at work for a considerable period several cultural associations and societies, but too much attention has not been paid to their annual conferences. This is largely because of the compactness of the country and the close and intimate touch which it is easy to maintain between different members practically throughout the year. In the United States, however, stress had to be put on the annnal conferences. The geography of the country necessitated it. Its different centres of learning are widey separated from one another and people working in the same or allied fields have little opportunity of meeting and exchanging ideas and thoughts. The annual conferences of the different cultural associations provide, however, the forum for such meetings. Indian Universities were only few in number in the last century and the teachers regarded their duty done and their mission fulfilled when they had delivered their requisite quota of lectures to the students in the class rooms. Some who had greater energy and wider interest delivered from time to time some public lectures either on literary or on political subjects. Some edited, or contributed to, newspapers and periodicals. Surendranath Banerjea combined teaching in college classes with journalism and political propaganda. N. N. Ghose edited a weekly journal. After the first World War the outlook changed considerably. New Universities were started, number of constituent colleges was largely increased and Post-Graduate and research departments were opened in several old and new centres of learning. Specialisation in certain particular fields of study was now emphasised and original papers from University teachers were expected. It was in this new atmosphere that several academic and cultural associations of an all-India character were born. It is true that as soon as an association is brought into being its management involves to some extent the practice of 'politics'. There would be manoeuvring for positions. Groups would be formed and canvassing for Presidentship or Secretaryship or some such analogous position would be resorted to. Sometimes this 'politics' is overdone and engrosses too much the attention of the delegates and members. But on the whole it must be said that the annual conferences have had a salutary effect on the different branches of study. The best contribution which they have made is in the social field. Teachers of different Universities have had an opportunity of meeting each other from time to time and appreciating each other's point of view. So far as the advancement of studies and researches is concerned, that also has been stimulated to some extent by the discussions which are held in these conferences. The quality of the papers and the discussions thereon will, we hope, improve gradually and help thereby in the advancement of learning. Possibly more attention should be paid from now on to the ways and means of such improvement.

American Foreign Policy and American Parties

Since before the outbreak of the second World War the foreign Policy of the U.S.A. has been conducted on a bipartisan basis. It should be remembered that so long as the Republicans were mostly committed to isolation, President Roosevelt could not do much towards siding with the European democracies against the totalitarians. His own wishes and desires were well known. But he had to refrain from acting upon them. Pearl Harbour, however, put a quietus to all isolationist agitation and the War was fought by the Americans without any opposition. After the conclusion of that titanic struggle also bipartisanism was continued. And even today President Truman is as much advised by his Democratic Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, as by the Republican Mr. Dulles. There are some other prominent Republicans also who see eye to eye with the Government in the policy of active cooperation with the European democracies against the Soviet Union. But the Republican Party seems to be divided today on this issue. Sometime ago Ex-President Herbert Hoover delivered a lecture to the nation over the Radio to the effect that the policy of the United States should be to defend its own frontiers. From the shores of Britain to the shores of Japan the interests of America were spread and the Government at Washington should take necessary steps by way of concentrating its energy and attention on the protection of these interests instead of frittering them away in the European continent. Hoover is the only Republican Ex-President living. In fact he is the only ex-President living today and as such a considerable body of opinion is likely to attach importance to what he says. He is still regarded as an oracle in the right wing of the party which he once led and of which he is regarded now as an elder statesman. But it should be recalled that as President he proved a dismal failure. His lack of imagination is remarkable. And it is no wonder that Mr. Dulles has found it possible to give a suitable reply to Hoover's exhortation. Withdrawal of help and interest from Europe would mean not only death to Europeon democracies but ultimate suicide to the U.S.A. Either European re-

Reviews and Notices of Books

Muslim Institutions by Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes. Translated from the French by John P. MacGregor (Allen and Unwin) 15s. net.

In 216 pages this book packs an immense amount of information. The publishers claim that it is practically a pocket encyclopaedia. It is not possible for every one who wants to have some idea of Muslim institutions to study the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or *Encyclopaedie Arabe*. This book gives us the fundamentals of Islamic dogma, law, cult, community, caliphate, family and property. There are also chapters on justice, economic life, intellectual life and modern life.

In the Muslim world we never find the temporal clearly distinguished from the spiritual. This makes it difficult for us to understand many things in their proper perspective. In the chapter on social life the author writes that historians have exaggerated the socialism of Muhammad, but inspite of classes created by wealth and authority a feeling of equality is expressed by a certain attitude or tone that is common to all. As we read the chapter on intellectual life we feel that with his capacity for clear exposition and his economy of words the author could have given us much more about the debt that Islamic culture owes to Byzantine civilisation, Iranism, Hellenism, and pre-Muslim civilization in India. The author refers to philosophy in Arabic and not to Arabic philosophy and adds that "it is on the fringe of Islam that we find the philosophers and men of science. Their learning is outside Islam."

In the last chapter on Modern Islam the author comes to the conclusion that the religious unity which has brought about the institutional unity is now only 'a facade, a slogan.' This religion, shackled by revelation, is 'a lifeless mould, a mummy in its trappings.' Turkey has destroyed the conception of a Muslim community. There are now three schools of thought in Islam—free-thinking Turks, Wahabites who depend upon the most ancient traditions of Islam and those in the East who represent a middle opinion. According to those who want to follow this middle path if the Quran is to be the law of the 20th century, as it was of the 7th, it should receive new interpretation and the *idtihad* should be revived.

N. K. Sinha

The Creative Art of Life, by K. M. Munshi. Published for Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan by Padma Publication, Ltd., Bombay. pp. 92. Price Rs. 2-8.

This small book suggesting a reorientation in our educational method and system, by one who is a prominent member of the UNESCO organisation in India, is certainly provocative. It rightly criticises the educational method and system implanted by British rule in India. The product of present day Indian education is neither Indian nor Western. The student's creative spirit is lost and he becomes stunted in his intellectual and spiritual growth. There is no doubt that all this needs changing. Sri Munshi however, suggests an alternative still more dangerous and destructive of the creative spirit in man.

Any alternative must include the study of the ancient and Medieval culture of India before one can understand his own people and society in which he lives. But such a study must be scientific. An understanding of Sanskrit and Persian as the two chief vehicles of thought and culture in India is also necessary. Herein lies the importance of the study of 'classics,' which had been sadly ignored in our country. Probably this is one of the chief reasons why the modern-educated Indian finds himself so cut off from his own people, and in his cultural isolation tries to implant himself unsuccessfully in the latinised background of Westernism.

While Sri Munshi has pointed this out, he goes to the other extreme. He starts with two fixed notions. He is all for "Aryan Culture" and all out against "Westernism." He is certainly entitled to his views. But the danger lies in the fact that he wants this intolerance inculcated in young minds through the new educational system. To be frank, he stands for "Hindu Education". He uses the term 'Indian' and puts in it all the contents of the Hindu spirit. For example, his creative education includes worship of India as the Mother. India's cultural heritage, if we have understood him rightly, does not include contributions made by Muslims or Christians. These he considers as "alien influences," to be spotted out and obliterated without any compunction.

Discussing the relation between the teacher and the student, he pleads for a return to the "guru-shishya" relationship. He says, "The worship of the *guru* is one of the first elements of discipline. The unquestioning acceptance of *guru's* authority is, therefore, demanded not for the sake of the *guru*. It is for the sake of the *sishya* himself." "No student can make any progress in developing his faculties unless his teacher comes to 'indwell' him". The quotations are revealing. The '*Guruvad*' in Hindu social and religious system is the most authoritarian of spiritual bondages. It is significant that Sri Munshi wants to introduce this aspect of 'Aryan Culture' in the new educational system. Will it help the development of creative men?

Taken as a whole, Sri Munshi's educational philosophy is an outspoken revivalist, authoritarian and anti-modern attitude. It is the logical development of religious nationalism as an ideology which is sweeping over India. It is the Indian variety of cultural fascism. Curiously enough, India meets the Occident in this new style!

K. K. SINHA

Ramanama. By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 36. Price One rupee.

A true believer in the virtues of Ramanama, Mahatmaji had been taught to "take" it in the days of his childhood. In these pages the reader will find powerful logic for his belief in the Ramanama.

M. B. B.

Selected Letters. By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahemedabad. Pp. 36. Price Seven Annas.

The letters appearing in this book are to Asram sisters, to Asram children, to Asram workers, to Lakshmidas Gandhi, to Kellenbach together with letters from Yarvada Mandir. The subjects dealt with are work among women, Sanskrit and Music, life and death, qualification of a student, humanity, fear of death, tolerance, Brahamacharya, Christian science, hypocrisy, age of marriage, grace of God, etc. The value of this contribution to Gandhian literature lies in the opinions expressed on these matters by Gandhiji and the influence they continue to exercise on the daily lives of his followers.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Marxbad. Written in Bengali, by Bata Krishna Ghose. Published by Banga Bharati Granthlaya, P.O. Mahishrekha, Dist. Howrah. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 3.

Persons who are bewitched to-day by the appeal of communism and who, at the same time, do not possess sufficient knowledge of it are advised to read this book when they will find in its pages cogent arguments advanced by the author against the doctrines of Karl Marx. They will also be able to understand why if we want to escape the catastrophe threatening to overtake us, we have to revitalise the Congress.

M. B. B.

The Confessions of Mr. Communalism. Text by Saila Chakravarty, cartoons by "Alias". Published by Readers' Corner, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

This small well-printed and admirably got up pamphlet of about 50 pages contains clever cartoons showing the birth and progress of communalism. The evolution of this most disruptive of forces in our public life has been explained in the text and illustrated by a series of very ingeniously drawn and striking cartoons both instructive and entertaining.—It is time that we in India had more literature of this type.

"PEREGRIM PICKLE"

The Gandhi an Institutions of Wardha, by R. V. Rao. Publishad by Thackers, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

To quote the writer, " Gandhiji is not only the Bapu of Sevagram but of India and Sevagram is indeed India's real capital where the various institutions for the political and economic regeneration are working." This useful booklet gives an outline of the working of these various associations at Wardha and deftly brings out the message of hope to the Indian villager. Village sanitation, attention to cattle, the use of hand pounded rice, education through a craft, and the value of the charka were first recognised here and then propagated throughout the country.

The appendix contains information on the distances and fares from the local station. Photographs of our leaders are included.

The print is clear and large, but the price of the book should be lowered. Being an excellent guide to Wardha it should be available to all sections of the public.

Y. MATHIAS

Ourselves

PASSING AWAY OF SARDAR PATEL

The University in all its departments remained closed on the 15th December last on account of the death of Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India, on that day. The news of the death which took place at Bombay at 9-37 in the morning was immediately broadcast throughout the country and plunged people every where in grief. A barrister practising on the criminal side in Ahmedabad, he came in contact with Gandhiji soon after the latter's return from South Africa and became a convert to his way of life. In fact in the course of the next few years he became one of his important associates in the conduct of the national movement. His reputation was at first confined to Western India and there also he was in the initial period known only as the chief executive agent of Gandhiji. But since the later thirties he had come to the fore front as a leading Congress statesman and inspired confidence as a leader in all parts of the country. During the last phase of his fruitful life he was acknowledged as the embodiment of national stability and strength. The incorporation of a large congeries of states in the Indian Union on a suitable basis is certainly his most spectacular contribution in post-independence India. It was in the fitness of things on this account that our Vice-Chancellor has characterised him in a speech at a memorial meeting as the Bismarck of India. But Sardarji's organising ability was all-pervading and if is too early yet to say as to how much India owes to his quiet strength and statesmanship the political and administrative stability which we have enjoyed during the last few years. Indian independence, coming in the wake of a world war, was accompanied by widespread turmoil. Many people abroad were doubtful about the stability of the infant Dominion (later Republic). It was fortunate that in this hour of crisis the helm of affairs was in the hands of far-seeing statesmen. Sardarji has died full of years and glory. In mourning him let us be inspired by the great virtues of head and heart which characterised that great man.

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PROFESSOR ANDRE SIEGFRIED AT THE UNIVERSITY

Professor Andre Siegfried, the well known French writer, scholar and publicist, addressed a gathering of University teachers and students in the Darbhanga Hall on the 28th November last. The subject of his lecture was "The face of the world after two great wars." Professor Srikumar Banerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, presided. Professor Siegfried referred in his lecture to the social and economic stability of the 19th century and to the rapid fluctuations in standards with which we have become familiar since 1914.

Professor Siegfried visited India once before as a youngman fifty years ago. It was good of him to include this country in his itinerary again at this advanced age and to give our teachers and students an opportunity of listening to him whose books on more than one country have made his name so familiar to us.

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THE LATE W. C. WORDSWORTH

The death of Mr. W.C. Wordsworth has been announced from England where he retired three years ago from his long career in Calcutta as an educationist and journalist. In 1907 he joined the staff of the Presidency College with a distinguished academic record in Oxford. He rose rapidly in the Indian Education Service to which he had been recruited. He became the Principal of his college and officiated also as Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. Then in 1923 he left the service and took to journalism. His connection with the Statesman began in 1924 and ended only in 1947. But although during the last twenty five years of his life in Calcutta his main duty was journalistic, he was not wholly divorced from his first love. He continued to be a Fell w of the University, often took part in teaching both in College and University classes and acted as a paper-setter and examiner. We offer our condolence to the members of his family.

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EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

Since we went to press last, Convocations of several important educational institutions have been held and well known educationists and statesmen have delivered addresses on these occasions. The

President of our Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, spoke at length at the Convocation of the Delhi University as its Chancellor. He is a distinguished alumnus of the Calcutta University and was in his early years associated both with the University Law College and for a short while with two of its affiliated colleges. Besides, after the foundation of the Patna University he was for some years its fellow and syndic. Thereafter when the Non-Co-operation Movement was started by Gandhiji he presided over the National College at Patna. In his address he referred to the contributions which the Indian Universities were to make in bridging the gulf between the villages and the towns.

Professor C. V. Raman whose contributions as a scientist need not be dilated upon here was for many years associated with the Calcutta University as Palit Professor of Physics. In delivering the Convocation address at the National Council of Education he issued the timely warning that too much emphasis should not be made on specialised studies and specialised institutions. General education in Arts and Sciences was the basis of culture and without the acquisition of that general culture and education it was futile to expect any specialist to make his proper contribution. Today there are many people who look upon specalised studies as more important than this general education. This misplaced emphasis may lead ultimately only to the crippling of the Indian genius. Research without the background of a thorough comprehensive education brings in no result. Specialised institutions such as an enigneering University is to become would be of little ultimate worth unless such education as they may offer is based on a liberal education in Arts and Sciences.

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrisna Mehtab, former Premier of Orissa and a present member of the Union Cabinet, spoke at Andhra University and emphasised the need of thinking in terms of Indian unity and nationhood. He has been perturbed by the fissiparous forces that have accompanied the achievement of Indian independence. It was in the fitness of things on this account that he chose the forum of the Andhra University to issue the warning. The welfare of the parts depends on the welfare of the whole. It was not only unwise but suicidal to emphasise the interests of the groups at the expense of the interests of the nation.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NUFFIELD FOUNDATION TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS AWARD TO INDIAN GRADUATES

The Nuffield Foundation, with the object of advancing the interests of India as a whole and further strengthening the academic ties between India and the United Kingdom, has decided to make available to India five Travelling Fellowships for the year from 1951-52. An Advisory Committee in India has been appointed by the Foundation to advise them on the administration of the scheme, consisting of Sri Gaganvihari L. Mehta, Member, Planning Commission (Chairman), Shri S. Varadachariar, Dr. C. V. Raman and Shri J. J. Ghandy. It has been decided to award the Fellowships for the year 1951-52 in the following subjects :—

The Fellowships in Medical Sciences, preference being given to candidates wishing to study (1) Physiology or Bacteriology and (2) Industrial Medicine or Public Health.

One Fellowship in Engineering, preference being given to candidates wishing to study Electrical Engineering (Generation or Distribution).

One Fellowship in Natural Sciences, preference being given to candidates wishing to study Plant Genetics or Soil Science.

One Fellowship in Social Sciences, preference being given to candidates wishing to study Industrial Relations or Personnel Management and Agricultural Economics.

The purpose of the Fellowships is to enable Indian graduates of outstanding ability to gain experience and training in the United Kingdom in their chosen fields, and to make contact with scholars working in those fields, with a view to the Fellows equipping themselves to take up senior posts in research and teaching in India.

The Fellowships are intended for men or women of first-rate intellectual and personal qualities, who have already shown unusual capacity to advance knowledge and teaching in one of the fields concerned. Candidates must be Indian nationals, normally between the ages of 25 and 40 years, and must be University graduates holding, preferably, a Master's or Doctor's Degree, and having subsequently had a year or more of teaching or research experience on the staff of a University or comparable institution.

A fellowship will normally be tenable for one year, but in exceptional cases may be extended for a further period of a few months by the Trustees and after consultation with the Foundation's Advisory Committee in India. Its value will be adjusted to suit the needs of the holder. It will be made on the basis that the Foundation provides the Fellow with free board and residence, and meets approved travelling expenses to, from and within the United Kingdom, and approved research or like fees. The only payment made direct to a Fellow will be an allowance to cover other personal expenses. It is estimated that the total value of an award (exclusive of travelling expenses) will be at the rate of from £770 to £890 a year (sterling), according to individual circumstances.

In addition the Foundation will pay the travelling expenses to and from the United Kingdom of a Fellow's wife if he is married at the time he makes his application, in these cases in which the Advisory Committee agrees to a Fellow being accompanied by his wife.

A fellow will be expected to resume residence in India on the completion of the Fellowship.

Except with the express permission of the Trustees of the Foundation, a Fellow may not hold any other award concurrently with the Fellowship.

A Fellow will be required to carry out, at centres approved by the Trustees of the Foundation, a programme of research work and training, similarly approved. Other work, paid or unpaid, may not be undertaken without the permission of the Trustees. During the tenure of the Fellowship a Fellow will not be permitted to prepare specifically for, or to take examinations for higher degrees or diplomas awarded by bodies in the United Kingdom.

A Fellow will be required to submit to the Trustees, at the end of the Fellowship report on his work during the Fellowship.

Should the Trustees at any time find that a Fellow neglects or has neglected the obligations of the appointment, they shall have power immediately to terminate the Fellowship.

The Fellowships will be awarded by the Trustees of the Foundation on the recommendation of its Advisory Committee in India.

Applications for Fellowships to begin in 1951 should be submitted not later than 31st March, 1951, to the Secretary, Nuffield Foundation Indian Advisory Committee, C/o. Planning Commission, Government House, New Delhi, from whom copins of the form of application may be obtained.

L. FARRER-BROWN

Secretary, Nuffield Foundation.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL

Dear Sir,

As a great number of persons from this country will be travelling to Britain in the summer of 1951 to attend the Festival of Britain, attention is drawn to a series of summer schools, held in the Universities of London, Edinburgh and Birmingham which Post-Graduate students, teachers and others might care to attend. These courses, intended primarily for graduates with some previous acquaintance with the field offered, are in certain cases open to under-graduates with good academic records. These summer schools are as follows :—

(a) University of Edinburgh—25th June to 4th August--*The Growth of European Civilisation*.

(b) University of Birmingham—7th July to 18th August, (Courses to be held at Stratford-upon-Avon)— *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama*

(c) University of London—9th July to 17th August— *Literature. The Visual Arts and Musici n Britain To-day.*

Those interested should apply for further details concerning fees, accommodation and other matters to :—

The British Council.
5, Theatre Road,
Calcutta—16.

Yours faithfully,
Mrs. A. H. GALLOWAY,
Functional Assistant
for Regional Representative,
Calcutta.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY, (SOLAN)

Notification

It is notified that—

1. Karam Chand (Present name Karam Singh), son of S. Monsha Singh, who passed the Matriculation Examination in 1941, under Roll No. 13371, is disqualified as being not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination, as he tampered with his date of birth in the original Matric Certificate.

2. Graduates of the Panjab University at Lahore before 1948, or of the Panjab University, at Solan, who are trained J.A.Vs. (Not certificated) of five years' standing and are working as teachers within the territorial limits of the Panjab University at Solan in recognised Schools, are eligible to appear in the B.T. Examination as private candidates.

Solan :
Dated : November 23, 1950.

Illegible,
Deputy Registrar (Admn.).

THE UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, SRINAGAR

Notification No. 1/Msc. of 1950

The following candidates have been disqualified from appearing at any examination of the University, for having used unfair means at the Annual Examination held in 1950, as shown below, for the period and under the Statute (Chapter XXXIII, Section C—Conduct of Examinations), shown against each :—

MATRICULATION

S. No.	Regd. No.	Roll No.	Name of the candidate	Father's Name	Residence or Institution	Period for, and the Statute under which disqualified
1	...	187	Abdul Ahad Wani	Kh. Lassa Wani	Govt. High School, Pulwama, (Kashmir)	For one year (1950 only), under Additional Statute 16.
2	...	343	Ghulam Nabi	Kh. Ahmad Ullah	Govt. High School, Srinagar (Kashmir).	Ditto.
3	...	853	Abdul Razak	Kh. Mohmad Shaban	Hamdania High School, Srinagar (Kashmir)	For two years (1950 and 1951) under Addl. Statute 12.
4	...	855	Syed Mohmood Shah	Kh. Ghulam Shah	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	...	883	Ghulam Hassan Naik	Kh. Abdul Ghaffar Naik	Hanafia High School, Islamabad (Kashmir).	For one year (1950 only), under Addl. Statute 11(a).
6	...	1099	Aman Ullah Shaikh	Shaikh Ahmad Ullah	Islamia High School, Islamabad (Kashmir).	For two years (1950 and 1951) under Addl. Statute 11(b).
7	...	1256	Mohan Lal Turki	Pt. Amar Nath Turki	Standard Public High School, Srinagar.	Ditto.
8	...	1600	Ayudhia Lal	Mr. Chandi Dass	S.A. High School, Bhadarwah (Jammu).	For two years (1950 and 1951) under Addl. Statute 12.
9	...	1601	Ravi Kumar Kotwal	Mr. Niranjan Das Kotwal.	Ditto.	Ditto.
10	...	1622	Mohammad Yasin Khan	Kh. Mohammad Ibrahim	Ditto.	For one year (1950 only), under Addl. Statute 11(a).
11	...	2003	Pawan Kumar Soi	Lala Narain Das Soi	Jammu.	For two years (1950 and 1951) under Addl. Statute 11(b).

INTERMEDIATE

S. No.	Regd. No.	Roll No.	Name of the candidate	Father's Name	Residence or Institution	Period for, and the Statute under which disqualified.
12	84-S-49	93	Piyera Lal Bakhshi	Pt. Prem Nath Bakhshi	S. P. College, Srinagar	For 3 years (1950, 1951 and 1952), under Addl. Statute 12.
13	397-Gj-49	241	Mohan Lal Gandotra	Mr. Krishen Lal Gandotra	Govt. Gandhi Memorial College, Jammu.	For 2 years (1950 and 1951), under Addl. Statute 11(b).
14	315-Gj-49	287	Narotam Singh Chopra	Pt. Prem Nath Chopra	Ditto.	For 3 years (1950, '51 and '52) under Addl. Statute 12
15	5 MB-50	314	Hardia Nath Raina	Pt. Prem Nath Raina	C.M.S. Biscoe, College, Srinagar	Ditto.
16	76-S-49	334	Bansi Lal Ticku	Pt. Thakour Joo Ticku	Srinagar, Kashmir	For 2 years (1950 and 1951), under Addl. Statute 11(b).
17	20-S-49	342	Mukhtar Ali Gani	Kh. Noor Din Gani	Ditto.	Ditto.
18	79-S-49	344	Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din	Kh. Ghulam Rassool	Ditto.	For one year (1950 only). under Addl. Statute 11(a).
19	170-P-49	346	Badri Nath Dullo	Pt. Amar Nath Dullo	Ditto	For 2 years (1950 and 1951), under Addl. Statute 11(b).
20	302-Gj-49	542	Prem Kumar	Lala Amar Nath Bahagotra	Govt. Gandhi Memorial College, Jammu.	For 3 years (1950, '51 and '52), under Addl. Statute 12
21	297-S-49	759	Badur-ud-Din	Kh. Mohamad Ramzan	Srinagar, Kashmir	Ditto.
22	360-P-50	817	Abdur Rahim Saleem	Kh. Mohammad Subhan	Ditto.	For 2 years (1950 and 1951), under Addl. Statute 11(b).

B.A. AND B Sc.

23	326-A-50	83	Umma Mottoo	Sjt. Gopi Chand Mottoo	Amarsingh College, Srinagar (Kashmir).	For 3 years (1950, '51 and '52), under Addl. Statute 12.
24	170-Gj-49	235	Chander Jagdish	Lala Dina Nath Gupta	Govt. Gandhi Memorial College, Jammu.	For 2 years (1950 and 1951), under Addl. Statute 11(b).
25	169-Gj-49	318	Kamal Nain Gupta	Mr. Rup Chand Gupta	Jammu	Ditto.

RATNA (Proficiency in Hindi)

26	210-MI-50	400	Bal Krishen Sharma	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Sharma.	Nunar, Tehsil Khas, Srinagar.	Ditto.

University Office, Srinagar,
Dated : September 12, 1950.

Illegible,
Registrar.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY (SOLAN)

NOTIFICATION

It is notified that—

(a) The following candidates who attempted to obtain certificates even though they had not actually passed the examination concerned are disqualified as being not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination :—

(1) Beli Ram, son of Shri Nirmoo Ram, Onial Cottage Cart Road, Simla.

(2) Parma Nand Sharma, son of Shri Tara Chand, Head Master, Government A. V. Middle School for Refugees, Kingsway Camp, Delhi ; and

(3) Hoshiar Singh, son of Ch. Jug Lal, V. & P. O. Mondaure, District Rohtak.

(b) Daya Ram Ummid, son of Ch. Har Narain, Teacher, A. N. High school, Mohana (Rohtak), who attempted to secure admission to M.A. Examination by making false statement of having passed the B.A. Examination from the Panjab University, Lahore, in 1946, under Roll No. 981, is disqualified as being not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination.

Bhupal Singh,
Registrar.

Solan :
Dated : October 25, 1950.

No. S.T./5628-57. Dated, October 25, 1950.

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

The undermentioned candidates for the various University Examinations held in September, 1950, who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been expelled from the University and declared to be not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination of the University :—

No.	Name of Examination	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	College from which sent.
1.	B.Sc. (Pass) (Autumn Examination)	262	H-6414	Sultan Singh Jain	L. Raghubir Singh Jain	Ex-student.
2.	Subsidiary subjects for B.A. Honours.	584	R-3038	Somdev	Pt Dharma Chandra	Ex-student.

T. P. S. Iyer,
Registrar,
University of Delhi.

Delhi, the 27th October, 1950.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

No. Ex. 3-230/50-51.

Mysore,
2-11-1950.

NOTIFICATION

MALPRACTICE AT THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION OF SEPTEMBER, 1950.

Pursuant to the resolution of the University Council at the meeting held on 30.10.50, the candidates bearing the following register numbers have been rusticated from the Intermediate Examinations for the periods noted against each :—

Examination	Centre	Reg. No.	Name and Address	Period of Rustication
(1) Intermediate Examination in Arts.	Mysore	308	B. C. Krishna Murthy of the Intermediate College Shimoga C/o. Sri B. C. Narayana Swamy, Land-Lord Bettadapur.	For one year from the Examination of September, 1950. Allowed to appear for the Examination of September, 1951.

(2) Intermediate Examination in Science.	Bangalore	1536	S. Jayaram of the Intermediate College, Bangalore. S/o. H. L. Subbiah, Agriculturist, A. 64, 'Kew-garth' Police Station Road, Basavangudi, Bangalore.	For two years from the Examination of September, 1950. Allowed to appear for the Examinations of September, 1952.

By order
Sd/- Illegible,
Registrar.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

No. S2.—7970/50. Waltair, 14th October, 1950.

ORDER

The results of the following examinees who have been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examination held in September, 1950 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the periods noted against each :—

Sl. No.	Name	Examination.	Reg. No.	No of years debarred.	Not permitted to sit for any of the University Examination, before.
1.	G. S. Prakasa Rao	B.L. Degree	35	One year	Not permitted to appear for the examination before September, 1951.
2.	L. V. Ramagopal	B.Sc. Degree	23	Do.	Do.
3.	T. P. P. V. Apparao	Intermediate	35	Two years	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1952.
4.	K. Tata Rao	Do.	354	One year	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1951.
5.	K. Narasinha Rao	Do.	529	Do.	Do.
6.	B. Hanumanta Rao	Do.	723	Two years	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1952.
7.	K. M. Prasadalingam	Do.	728	Do.	Do.
8.	D. Luther Ulh	Do.	755	One year	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1951.
9.	N. S. Abhisekham	Do.	1074	Two years	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1952.
10.	N. P. Ranga Rao	Do.	1241	Do.	Do.
11.	G. Buchivenkaiah.	Do.	1245	One year	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1951.
12.	K. Srinivasa Babu	Do.	1367	Do.	Do.
13.	Ch. V. V. Nageswara Rao	Do.	1814	Do.	Do.
14.	D. Rama Rao	Do.	3245	Do.	Not permitted to appear for examination before September, 1951.
15.	G. Venkaiah	Do.	3289	Do.	Do.
16.	M. Venkateswarasarma	Do.	3323	Do.	Do
17.	P. Sriramamurty	Do.	3627	Do.	Do.

By order
Sd/- Illegible,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

Exam. B-2-R-Dis. 1473/50.

ORDER

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidates at the University Examinations, March-April, 1950, guilty of misconduct or resorting to unfair means at the Examinations, has resolved that the examination taken by these candidates be cancelled and that they be debarred from appearing for any examination of this University earlier than the date noted against the name of each.

Sl. No.	Name of candidate	Reg. No.	Examination taken by the candidate	Where educated	Date of birth	Name of father or guardian	Address	Period of punishment.
1	Nagoorkani Rowther, M.	199	F.L.	Law College, Ernakulam.	21.6.1096	S. Mytheen Picha Rawther	Palamittathu Thekkethil Veedu, Pattazhy, Pathanapuram.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.
2	John, O. A.	7	B.Sc.	University College, Trivandrum.	11,2.1103	O. L. Abraham	C/o O. L. Abraham, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Ernakulam	Not to appear for any examination earlier than September, 1951.
3	Parameswaran Nayar, N.	9	B.Sc.	Do.	26.2.1106	N. Narayana Pillai	C/o M. Narayana Pillai, Typist. Govt. Secretariat, Trivandrum.	Do.
4	Vivekanandan, N.	415	B.Sc.	Sanathana Dharma College, Alleppey.	26.11.1104	A Nanoo	Kizhakke Kumbiyezhikom, Kottapuram, Paravoor, Quilon.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.
5	Parameswaran Nayar, K.	335	Intermediate	University Inter. College, Trivandrum.	9.1 1108	G. Kunjan Pillai	Bhamalayam, Sasthamangalam, Trivandrum.	Do.
6	Chandi Oommen	1010	Intermediate	University College, Trivandrum.	4.9.1101	A. I. Oommen	C/o. A. I. Oommen, Ayrookushiel House, Kuravankonam, Trivandrum.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.
7	Jayadevan Pillai, T. V.	2194	Do.	St. Berchmans' College, Changanacherry.	10.4.1102	...	Thevicapurathu House, Keezhvaipore, Mallappally.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1951.
8	Karunakaran, T. M.	3520	Do.	Sree Narayana College, Quilon.	7.2,1102	Oonnuny	Theckecharuvil, Thalachira, Uthimoodu, A. O.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.

Sl. No.	Name of candidate	Reg. No.	Examination taken by the candidate	Where educated	Date of birth	Name of father or guardian	Address	Period of punishment
9	Harihara Ayyar, K.	13	Diploma Examination in Engineering, Part—I.	College of Engineering, Trivandrum.	5.2.1105	C. B. Krishnier	C/o. R. S. Mony, New Frame Works, Pazhavangadi, Trivandrum,	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1951.
10	Viswanathan Asari, N.	4	Mahopadhyaya, Final	Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.	2.2.100	A. Bhagavathy	C/o. Sree Ramakrishna Asram, Sasthamangalam, Trivandrum.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.
11	Antony, V. J.	13	F. L.	Law College, Ernakulam.	29.7.1927	V. C. Joseph.	Venattuparampil, Pariyaram, Cochin District.	Result released. Not to be readmitted to the Law College earlier than in June, 1951.
12	Thankappan Nayar, T. R.	3136	Intermediate	C. M. S. College, Kottayam.	21.7.1104	A. Ramakrishnan Nayar	Thaiparambil House, Thiruvarppu, Kottayam.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.
13	Sundaresan, V.	3658	Do.	Sree Narayana College, Quilon.	10.8.1105	S. M. Veloo	Velivadakkathil, Pattathanam Quilon.	Do.
14	Iype, P. J.	6	Diploma Examination in Textile Technology, Part—I	Institute of Textile Technology, Trivandrum.	10.4.1104	P. J. Alexander	Panikkaru, Veedu, Kaugazha, Changanacherry.	Not to appear for any examination earlier than March, 1952.

(By Order)

Sd/- P. R. Parameswara Pannikkar,

Registrar.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1951

THE AWARENESS OF IGNORANCE

Dr. A. C. Das, M.A., Ph.D.

Calcutta University.

The nature or structure of knowledge is one of the major problems with which contemporary philosophy is occupied. Indeed many a modern thinker made an acute analysis of the knowledge-situation and some built up their metaphysical theories upon the foundation of their respective theories of knowledge. But for all I know now-a-days the problem of ignorance is not much discussed. Generally speaking, the problem of ignorance is confounded with the problem of falsity and error, on the one hand, and with the problem of negation, on the other. In Indian philosophy of the past, particularly in the schools of Vedanta, however, the whole question of ignorance was threshed out. Saṁkara in his attempt to formulate his theory of Adhyāsa or superimposition launched upon the discussion of ignorance.[1] Later his followers and others, particularly Rāmānuja and Madhva, developed between them a vast literature on the subject. Verily they worked out their subtle epistemological theories in their polemics against one another on the issue of ignorance.[2] In this paper I shall briefly discuss the nature of ignorance and emphasize the need for making a clear distinction between bare ignorance as such and the awareness of ignorance.

There is no difficulty in regard to the word "ignorance." Its meaning is quite clear even to the man in the street. The term

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[1] Cf. *Brahma-Sūtras*, ed. by Swami Vireswarananda, pp. 3-5; also Bhāmatī, ed. by S. S. Sastri, pp. 43-44.

[2] A. Sastri, *Post-Saṁkara Dialectics*, pp. 283-308.

"ignorance" obviously means absence of knowledge, and ignorance in this sense is often taken to be the main condition of error. In a perceptual error we take a thing for its other, and we are told that the error takes place because we have no knowledge of the real fact in the context in question. Suppose in a context I mistake a mother-of-pearl for silver. Evidently there I do not know the real nature of the given. The illusory perception of silver is then taken to be grounded upon the absence of knowledge of the given, *i.e.*, upon the ignorance of the given. Whether error is grounded upon ignorance is debatable. I shall discuss it later on. Anyway, in the situation of the illusion there is no awareness of any ignorance. On the contrary, so long as the illusion lasts I feel cocksure that the fact given is silver. I, however, become aware that I was ignorant a moment ago when I get out of the illusion. When the illusory silver-content passes away and the real fact is revealed to me I at once become aware that I was in an illusion a while ago. There ignorance, or better, awareness of ignorance has a necessary reference to the immediate past in contrast with the present. If I am now aware that I was ignorant a while ago, this awareness on my part involves a negation at the reflective level. In the illusory perception under consideration a silver-content was presented, or as I should now say, a silver-content appeared to be presented, and there no nacre was perceived. Now the memory of the illusory situation in relation to the knowledge I have just now shows that in the illusory situation there was no knowledge of any nacre whatever. This is all that I express when I say that I was ignorant of the real fact in the situation analysed above. Ignorance with reference to the past context is then found to be just the absence of knowledge of the relevant fact which is now known. The foregoing analysis shows that there is a clear distinction between bare ignorance and the awareness of ignorance especially with reference to a past context. As in the above illustration, I am subject to an error or illusion and I am ignorant of the real fact given. And there ignorance is but absence of knowledge. So I cannot possibly be aware of my ignorance within the illusion. Ignorance in this sense is verily bliss inasmuch as it does not constitute any problem whatever. If anybody is ignorant of anything, he is simply ignorant; there is in him a total lack of the knowledge of the thing in question. That is all.

The awareness of the ignorance with reference to a past context of experience, however, is complex and a source of much trouble. If I know that I was a moment ago ignorant of the real thing that I now know, this awareness of ignorance on my part is just the awareness of absence of the knowledge that I now have in the context under consideration. But this awareness does not represent a case of ordinary negation. An ordinary negation is the awareness of a given fact repelling a suggestion directed to the point where the fact is given.[1] If the awareness of ignorance just mentioned is at all a case of negation, it is a negation made at the reflective level. This point needs explaining.

To analyse again the illustration considered above, I now know that the real fact in the context in question is nacre, and I remember that in the very context an illusory silver-content objectively appeared. As I now reflect on the context with the content apparently given in the immediate past, in relation to the content I now fix on in the same context, I become aware of the former context as contradicting the suggestion of the latter context. All this I briefly express by saying that there no nacre was presented. And in the situation of the illusion as no nacre-content was presented there was no knowledge of any such content. So when I become aware that I was ignorant of the real fact in the context a moment ago, the awareness of ignorance on my part then meant only the awareness of absence of the relevant knowledge, *i.e.*, the absence of the knowledge expressed or expressible in the proposition "There is nacre here." This awareness of ignorance, however, is no negation in any real sense. This is found on analysis to be only an implication of the aforesaid negation that I make at the reflective level with reference to the real fact now revealed and to the past illusory content in the context under consideration.

This point will be clearer if we consider the three distinct things that ensue out of the correction of a perceptual error or illusion. When I get out of an illusion I automatically begin to reflect. Firstly, I discard as false the judgment I make while in the illusion. Secondly, I negate the content that objectively appeared in the context of the illusion and is now known to be an illusory one. Thirdly, by way of the implication of all this I become aware that I, while in the illusion, was ignorant of the real fact there, that is to say, there was no knowledge on my part of the real fact. But it does not mean that within the illusion itself I was aware of my ignorance. The ignorance was there nothing short of an absolute lack of knowledge of the real fact. But there was no awareness of all this. Of course, when I have got out of the illusion I become aware that I was ignorant before. This is, however, the awareness that I was ignorant, no awareness of ignorance relating to the present context. The awareness of the falsity of the judgment based upon the illusory presentation, as well as the negation that negates the illusory content is highly reflective. The awareness that I was ignorant before, on the other hand, is doubly reflective inasmuch as the awareness involves reflection on a past situation of experience in addition to a reference to me as the subject concerned. At all events, the awareness that I was ignorant a short time ago can well be interpreted in terms of negation. The three propositions—"I was ignorant," "I did not know the real fact," and "There was no knowledge on my part of the real fact" are equivalent to one another. And each of them means that the illusory presentation in the context in question as remembered contradicts the suggestion of the knowledge I now have in the same context.

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[1] *Vide* my *Negative Fact, Negation and Truth*, pp. 83-135.

It may nevertheless be argued that the sense that I was ignorant is exactly the sense that something covered the reality and thus kept it back from my view. Granted that I have now such a sense as is insisted on, the only thing that covered the reality in the context of the illusion referred to was the illusory content. The seeming silver-content that objectively appeared there, but was not real, screened from me the nacre in question. But the point is that, when I say "I was ignorant" I assuredly refer to me or to a state of me, which is intelligible only as one representing a negation of the knowledge of locus of the illusion. The statement "I was ignorant" obviously does not involve any direct reference to any covering element or agency in the situation of the illusion. Indeed I come to think of the illusory content as covering the real fact only when I view imaginatively the situation of the illusion in relation to the situation in which I now actually know the real fact. This is altogether another matter and has no bearing upon the awareness that I was ignorant. It is likely to be debated whether the illusory content covered the reality because I had no knowledge of the latter or whether I had no knowledge of the reality because the illusory content covered the former. If we, however, consider the question narrowly, we shall find that, when in the illusion, I had no knowledge of the reality, because the illusory content covered the former. Indeed if one is subject to an illusion, one has no knowledge of the real fact that lies in the background. But, if one has no knowledge of a fact, one is not necessarily subject to an illusion. At a definite time we know a definite thing or things and do not know countless other things. But we are not at the time necessarily subject to any illusion. So the core of an illusion is the illusory presentation, and the fact of ignorance on the part of the subject concerned is very important for our purpose as the ignorance is the offshoot of the illusory content. We cannot, therefore, posit ignorance as a condition of an illusory content.

Here it is well to consider whether we can explain an illusory presentation or not. If one demand an ultimate explanation of an illusory content, perhaps we cannot completely explain it quite as we cannot completely explain any particular fact. As a matter of fact, we cannot deduce any particular thing from the primal source of the world that we may posit. At most we can trace the conditions of a thing in so far as they fall within our experience. An illusory content is explainable only in this way. We can, of course, point to conditions partly subjective and partly objective that make for an illusory presentation. But we cannot explain the how of the conditions. It is beyond us to say exactly how several conditions we may think of combine to produce an illusory presentation. A mystery after all hangs over everything in this world, a mystery which baffles our finite mind. The mystery, however, does not represent any mysterious presence ; the mystery is merely a projection of our incapacity to explain anything completely.

Be that as it may. Our task here is to determine whether the awareness that I was ignorant at a particular moment in the past is a case of negation of knowledge. In the above analysis it has been shown that such an awareness is quite distinct from bare ignorance. It has also been shown that the awareness that I was ignorant in a context in the past is a clear case of negation. This point will be clearer if we consider an illustration of which much is made by Vedantists in the controversy over ignorance.[1] In the state of deep sleep we enjoy bliss and do not experience any object. So it is argued that the state of deep sleep cannot be rendered into a negation. There is no doubt that in the state of deep sleep we do not know any object; neither do we there know that we do not know any object. Such being the case, in that state a negation is out of the question. But trouble begins when we awake and become aware that we did not know any object in the state of deep sleep. Now what can the proposition "I did not know any object in deep sleep" possibly mean? Obviously the proposition is a negation. But it does not, and cannot, represent the memory of any negation made in the state of deep sleep ;

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[1] Rāmānuja's Commentary (Thibaut's Translation), S. B. E., Vol. XLVIII, pp. 67-69.

for, as we have just seen, the state of deep sleep is a positive state—one of enjoyment of bliss, which has no negation even as its fringe. A little reflection will show that the proposition under consideration expresses no memory judgment, though the proposition is based upon the memory of deep sleep. For instance, I awake from deep sleep and become aware that I, while fast asleep, did not know any object. An analysis reveals that on awaking I find myself confronted with objects and that the situation of my waking life presents itself to me as a contrast to the state of deep sleep. The memory of bliss enjoyed in deep sleep persists and brings up before mind the situation of that state, which repels the suggestion of objects being presented in that state. Then the proposition " I did not know any object " in the state of deep sleep has two aspects. In the first instance, the proposition expresses the contrast between the state of deep sleep and the waking state. Secondly, the proposition expresses negation, which is just the awareness that the positive state of deep sleep as it is now remembered repels the suggestion of objects being presented and known in deep sleep.

So far I have discussed the awareness of ignorance with reference to a past context of experience. But the main problem remains to be discussed. It is whether the awareness of ignorance with reference to the present context is a negation or not. Nobody can doubt that we often become aware of ignorance at the present time with reference to the present context. The content of such awareness is after all ignorance. And dialecticians are hard put to render such awareness into a significant negation.

One's awareness of ignorance with reference to the present context is expressed in the sentence "I do not know." Now the question is whether "I do not know" implies any absence of knowledge. Clearly such awareness of ignorance cannot be the awareness of absence of knowledge ; for the awareness of absence of knowledge itself is knowledge. So the attempt to construe the awareness of ignorance expressed or expressible in " I do not know " into a negation defeats itself. This argument is irresistible. But the argument presupposes that awareness as such is knowledge, a position which is not acceptable to all. Some, as we know, maintain that judgment is the essential form of knowledge and that non-judgmental experience is no knowledge in the strict sense. Now, if we accept this latter view, there would be no difficulty in reducing the proposition "I do not know" to a negation.

Through we have knowledge of this or that fact or some facts at a time, yet we abstract from different pieces of knowledge the notion of knowledge. Discussion apart, the notion of knowledge means the way of our understanding the meaning of the world " knowledge." Obviously in "I do not know" one may express one's awareness of absence of knowledge, which is exactly the awareness of the present state of one's consciousness contradicting the suggestion of knowledge. The suggestion of knowledge is just the notion of knowledge directed to the state of consciousness in question.

However, if it is that the bare awareness of anything is a form of knowledge, we encounter difficulties in reading a negation of knowledge into the sentence " I do not know." A negation is after all a sort of awareness, or rather the awareness of a complex situation involving elements some of which are subjective and the rest objective. And a negation being an awareness is a piece of knowledge. So the proposition " I do not know " taken as negating knowledge becomes self-contradictory. If the awareness of absence of knowledge itself is knowledge, one cannot possibly express one's awareness of a lack of knowledge in the proposition " I do not know."

The Advaitist (Vedantic Absolutist) is very quick to take advantage of the self-contradiction involved in the verbal expression of ignorance with reference to the present. He finds there an opportunity to develop his thesis that ignorance is something positive. He maintains that in our awareness of ignorance we are immediately aware of something positive intervening between us and reality. But I must say that this conclusion is rather hasty. Even if we accept that awareness as such is knowledge and that the proposition " I do not know " as a negation of knowledge contradicts itself, it does not follow that ignorance is something entitative. In this connexion we cannot ignore that there is nothing like general ignorance. The so-called conception of general ignorance derives from ellipsis in the verbal expression of some different cases of igorance. We often say " We are ignorant," " The people are ignorant," and so on. Each of these propositions is made in a proper context, and in the propositions we omit to mention the thing or things to which ignorance relates. Indeed somehow we form the notion of knowledge and also that of ignorance. There is, however, nothing like general knowledge, far less like general ignorance. Knowledge as such has for its object something definite, and ignorance *qua* ignorance relates to a relevant fact or facts.

Nevertheless sometimes it so happens that, though we have a sense of something, yet we cannot quite grasp what it is that is presented before mind. Such is exactly a situation of awareness of ignorance in the present context. As has already been shown, if we have no knowledge of a thing, we are simply ignorant of the thing. The situation of bare ignorance is therefore much too simple to require an analysis. The situation of awareness of ignorance just now is, however, very complex. We should not confuse such a situation with the one in which we become aware that we were ignorant of the relevant fact or facts in some context of past experience. Clearly the awareness that we were ignorant is no awareness of any immediate ignorance. The awareness of immediate ignorance is a matter of the present time. This point will be clear if we go deep in our analysis of the awareness of immediate ignorance.

For example, I do not know Persian.[1] The proposition "I do not know Persian" is then taken to be a statement of my ignorance of Persian. I hardly need saying over again that, if I be absolutely ignorant of Persian, I cannot be aware of my ignorance of Persian. So it is rather paradoxical to say that a situation of ignorance is somewhat a situation of knowledge. The paradox would be resolved if we can grasp what knowledge is involved in the situation of awareness of immediate ignorance, and how it is that we become aware of our ignorance of the fact or facts in question.

Obviously the proposition " I do not know Persian " is not negation of the knowledge of Persian. In order to have the proposition as a negation I must have beforehand the knowledge of Persian. But this is absurd. How can it be that I at the same time know and do not know Persian ? Some seek to get over this difficulty by making a distinction between specific knowledge and general knowledge. What is negated, they contend, in the proposition mentioned above is simply the specific knowledge of Persian. But the difficulty is that, if I have no specific knowledge of Persian, *i.e.*, if I have no idea what Persian is like, I cannot negate it. And *ex hypothesi* I have no specific knowledge of Persian. The truth is that, while in an ordinary negation a definite idea or concept of the negated functions, in the so-called negation under consideration there is involved no idea whatsoever of what is said to be negated. When I say "There is no jar on the ground" I express my awareness of the absence of a jar here and now. When, on the contrary, I say "I do not know Persian" I have not the least idea what Persian is like. And , if I have no idea of Persian, it is because I am quite in the dark about Persian. At all events, without an idea of Persian "I do not know Persian" cannot be a negation. Again if an idea of Persian function in "I do not know Persian" it cannot be a negation inasmuch as any idea of Persian presupposes some knowledge of Persian.

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[1] *Cf.* Satkari Mookerjee, *Concept of Ajnāna in Vedanta Philosophy,* " Indian Culture," Vol. III, No 1.

Some abandon the attempt to construe "I do not know Persian" into a negation. They maintain that in this negative form of proposition one states only a positive fact, namely, that knhwledge of Persian is possible. At present the subject concerned has, of course, no knowledge of Persian. But it is possible for him to acquire the knowledge of Persian in future.

Some critics make short work of this position. They point out that the knowledge of the possibility of a knowledge is identical with the latter. This view is rather extreme and is based upon a confused analysis of the notion of possibility. When we make the statement "Rain is possible in the evening" we do not actually know the fact of raining, which is yet to occur. It is no use arguing that the possibility of a knowledge is all apart. When we posit the possibility of a knowledge it is not that we have just now the knowledge. As we say, it is possible for one to acquire the knowledge of the bodily system. But we do not mean, in fact we cannot, that one has just now the knowledge of the bodily system simply by thinking of the possibility of that knowledge. It is needless to say that in order to acquire the said knowledge one has to exert oneself and take a long course on the subject. The term" knowledge" as employed in this context is the source of the trouble. We must by all means keep clear before mind the distinction between the word "knowledge" and the phrase "possibility of a knowledge". There can be no two opinions about the fact that "knowledge" is a general term which implies a notion developed on the basis of some different pieces of knowledge. When we speak of the possibility of knowledge of something the notion of knowledge is brought to bear upon the thing in question. In short, in the case of possibility of a knowledge we deal with the notion of knowledge with reference to the relevant thing. So it is idle to speak of the possibility of a knowledge being identical with the knowledge itself. However, in these details we must not lose our point, which is whether the awareness of immediate ignorance is any negation. As we have seen above, the sentence " I do not know Persian " cannot be taken to mean a negation of the knowledge of Persian. In order to say significantly "I do not know Persian" I must know at least that Persian is a language. So obviously "I do not know Persian" presupposes some knowledge of Persian. "I do not know Persian" then does not express any negation of knowledge, or a negation of the knowledge of Persian.

It may, however, be pointed out that here we are confusing between "knowledge of" and "knowledge about". If I know that the word "Persian" denotes a language, this knowledge is verily knowledge about Persian, not of Persian. The knowledge of Persian is the knowledge of Persian as a specific language. And when I say "I do not know Persian" I, it may be contended, in fact negate the knowledge of the specific language. It may further be contended that the bare knowledge that Persian is a language does not in any way affect the aforesaid negation.

There is indeed force in the argument, especially in view of the fact that the sentence "I do not know Persian" is interpreted as expressing the absence of the specific knowledge of Persian, not as a negation of knowledge as such. Now the whole question turns on the nature of negation. To be brief, a negation is the awareness of a context contradicting a suggestion which is but an idea directed to the context.[1] If Persian is a definite language, any idea of Persian as a particular language must be based upon the knowledge of the structure of Persian. So if I have an idea of Persian, I have, of necessity, the knowledge or some knowledge of Persian. Again, if I have an idea of Persian, and, for that matter, some knowledge of Persian, how can I say "I do not know Persian"?

Some may here say that we need no such paraphernalia about negation. They may contend that a negation is a simple thing, nothing more than the awareness of the absence of a thing or quality or relation. The sentence "I do not know Persian" evidently signifies the awareness of absence of the specific knowledge of Persian. If absence is an objective negative fact, we must stop with the analysis that "I do not know Persian" expresses the simple awareness of a simple fact, the absence of the specific knowledge of Persian. I for one cannot accept anything like negative fact. But here I cannot enter upon any discussion of this point.[2] Here our main concern is to see whether in our awareness of immediate ignorance of a thing we have anything to do with the absence of any knowledge. And I can best settle this question by attempting a positive account of immediate ignorance.

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[1] *Vide* my *Negative Fact, Negation and Truth*, pp. 104-105.

[2] *Ibid.*

Broadly we may distinguish between three forms of the awareness of immediate ignorance. (*i*) First, we may not know the content of a thing, though we may know its existence. (*ii*) Second, we may not know the existence of a thing, though we may in some way grasp something of its content. (*iii*) Third, we may know neither the existence nor the content of a thing, though a relevant word or a phrase may convey to us a vague reference towards the thing. Let me analyse each of these forms.

(*i*) It is undeniable that everything we can fix upon in our experience has two aspects, namely, existence and content. A thing that is real exists and has a content, or which is the same thing, a nature of its own. And a real thing is presented or presentable in experience. Generally we cannot separate between existence and content except in thought. A thing as such is one whole and its existence and content are welded into the unity of the thing. As soon as we seek to separate in thought content from existence we begin to move away from the realm of objective facts towards the realm of ideas. This is, however, another matter and is not our concern here. But very often we find content and existence in separation, although we ourselves do not separate them. It is enough for us here to recognize that the first form of ignorance discribed above postulates a separation, at least a relative separation, of existence from content. But this separation takes place in experience, not in thought, nor is the separation effected by thought. An example will make the point clear. Suppose while crossing a field in pitch darkness I perceive something at a little distance in front of me. Indeed I am sure that there is something over there. But I cannot quite know what it is in its nature. The thing here is not completely presented and so not just perceived. Obviously *for me* the existence of the thing that is before me falls apart from its content. This is no situation of an absolute lack of awareness. There is, on the contrary, some awareness, on my part. If awareness as such is knowledge, I can say that in the situation I have some knowledge of something. I at the same time feel that I fail to know the thing as it is in its nature because of the darkness. If my eyes are in perfect working order, the darkness stands between me and revelation of the thing. Now to take the very illustration discussed above. When I say "I do not know Persian" I do mean that Persian is a language. Nonetheless I there express that I am ignorant of the specific nature of Persian as a language. Here again there is for me a separation between existence and content. I know the existence of Persian, but I do not know its specific content, *i.e.* its structure. As has already been indicated, factually, there is no separation between the 'that' and the 'what' of a thing. If in a situation of experience there is a separation between them, the separation is only epistemic, in the sense that the separation is there only for the subject or percipient concerned. Anyway, I have no knowledge of Persian as such. And it will not do to say that I know enough of Persian if I know that Persian is a language. Well, what is a language like? A language is a system of articulate signs and sounds, which serves as the means of communication. Then there is no difference between one language and another as a bare system of signs and sounds. This is corroborated by some such propositions as "Sanskrit is a language," "English is a language", "Persian is a language" and so forth. So "a language" is a general description which is true of every particular language. Evidently when I say "Persian is a language" I simply recognize that a language called Persian exists. And in "I do not know Persian" I express that for me the content of Persian as a specific system of signs and sounds is yet indefinite. In short, I fail to realize in my experience or consciousness the content of Persian. With reference to Persian I fail to heal the gap between existence and content. This failure on my part I trace to my not having learnt the language. All this I express when I say that I am ignorant of Persian.

(*ii*) Now to turn to the second form of ignorance. In this form of ignorance we somehow grasp something of the content of the thing in question, but we know none of its existence. Suppose I am asked: "Where is Peiping?" Of course, I know "Peiping" as it is uttered, to be a word. And, if I know only this much about "Peiping" I answer by asking the question "What is Peiping?" If I am now told that Peiping is a city, I reply "I do not know." The statement that Peiping is a city brings to my mind some idea of Peiping. But this idea is only a construction by analogy. I live in Calcutta and I know what a city is like. A city is a wide area of brick-built houses and a centre of trade, commerce and culture. On the basis of this actual experience I construct in my mind some idea of Peiping as a city. But I fail to locate Peiping; I fail to determine exactly where it is situated. In short, I fail to determine the existence of Peiping. This shows that for me there is a break between the existence and the content of Peiping, though existence and content are two factual aspects of the city called Peiping.

To take another example. For instance, a visitor to Calcutta asks me about the location of the Pareshnath Temple. But I do not know the place of the temple. So I tell him that I do not know exactly where the temple stands. If we take the term "knowledge" in a wide sense to denote any cognitive state of consciousness, we shall find that, though I am ignorant of the site of the temple, yet my mental state at the moment is not a vacuum. There is at least an awareness of the person before me and of what he says unto me. It may, however, be pointed out that all this is not relevant here and that what we are immediately concerned with here is whether the awareness of ignorance in question is an awareness of absence of knowledge.

In our ordinary speech we glibly use the word "absence", and we think that the word "absence" means one and the same thing in all contexts. But a little reflection will show that the notion "absence of a thing" and the notion "absence of the knowledge of a thing" are poles apart in so far as their import is concerned. When we are aware of the absence of a thing we can well have an idea of the thing, though it does not actually exist in the context in question. It is verily on this idea that the awareness of the absence of the thing that is absent depends. The notion "absence of the knowledge of a thing" is, however, on a different footing. It cannot be that we mentally represent a piece of knowledge and at the same time become aware of its absence. If we are aware of the absence of a piece of knowledge we must have this knowledge. In other words, our awareness of the absence of the knowledge of a thing involves the knowledge which is supposed to be negated. So, if there is a lack of a piece of knowledge, we cannot be conscious of the lack of the knowledge. This follows from the very nature of knowledge or knowing as a psychical process. Evidently it is very difficult to reduce a state of immediate ignorance to an awareness of the absence of any knowledge. If the word "absence" is at all employed in this context, its function is symbolic, in the sense that it conveys a sense of something which has not even remote resemblance to what it ordinarily means. *Ignorance is undoubtedly absence of knowledge. But the awareness of immediate ignorance as contrasted with the awareness of igorance with refererce to a past context is no awareness of the absence of any knowledge whatever.* This we have to grasp.

In the example cited above I am asked the place of the Pareshnath Temple in the city of Calcutta. And I am left with the suggestion that there is a temple called so-and-so. I am at the same time conscious that I fail to *realize* the idea as intended by the inquirer. We can well bring out the psychological conditions, some at least, that contribute to this failure on my part. I can sum them up by saying that I cannot quite realize within my consciousness the idea in question, because, I did not previously see the Pareshnath Temple at its place Or granted that I actually perceived it in the past, the failure on my part is obviously a failure of memory. Whatever the way in which the failure occurs, it all shows that I cannot bring together content and existence in respect of the temple. If I know nothing of the Pareshnath Temple except the name just uttered before me, I fail to realize in my consciousness what is meant by the name. The failure on my part then means that the mental representation of what is meant by the name does not take shape. And that is because of the fact that the minimum factual situation required for the purpose in view is lacking.

It may be argued that I at least entertain the phrase "Pareshnath Temple" and that my entertaining the phrase shows that an idea of the temple is functioning in my mind. True, I entertain the phrase "the Pareshnath Temple" in the sense that I understand it. But nobody can deny that there is a sharp distinction between "the Pareshnath Temple" and "the Pareshnath—a temple," though strictly the latter is implied by the former. In the former we are concerned with a particular definite temple called the Pareshnath Temple; the emphasis is there laid upon the particularity and determinateness of the Pareshnath Temple. In the latter phrase, on the other hand, the universal *temple* is stressed. In point of fact there we begin with "the Pareshnath" as a mere word which becomes meaningful to us when the Pareshnath is stated to be a temple. Here the article "a" is significant. The "a" indicates an indeterminate reference to the temple inasmuch as the temple is a particular of the universal *temple*. But the Pareshnath Temple as a definite temple has not yet fallen within my experience. So I have no idea of this temple, though I here employ the idea "temple".

There is indeed a hypothetical idea of this temple, and this hypothetical idea is obtained through construction on the basis of the idea "temple". But there is a vast difference between the idea "temple" and the idea of the Pareshnath Temple. The idea "temple" derives from the experiences of some particular temples each of which is a unitary whole exhibiting the twofold aspect—existence and content. The idea "temple", however, like any other general idea is formed in the way of abstracting content from existence. And the idea as such becomes free from all reference to existence. On the other hand, the idea of the Pareshnath Temple must be based upon an actual experience of the temple or upon an authentic description of the temple by a person who has actually seen the temple. We can say that the idea of the Pareshnath Temple, like the idea "temple", is based upon experience. There is, however, a difference between them. The name "the Pareshnath Temple" stands for a single object. So, unlike the idea "temple", the idea of the Pareshnath Temple involves reference to existence. In short, the idea of the Pareshnath Temple refers to its content in its indissoluble connection with existence. When I have the idea of the Pareshnath Temple I, of necessity, think of the temple with a nature of its own and as existing at its place. In other words, the idea of the Pareshnath Temple is always the content of a full-fledged judgment or assertion.

As has been indicated above, if I know nothing of the Pareshnath Temple except that it is a temple, it may be that I possess a hypothetical idea of the temple. But this hypothetical idea, if at all intelligible, is found on analysis to be nothing more than the idea "temple". Nevertheless, with the help of this idea I seek to grasp whatever I can of the content of the Pareshnath Temple. But what I think I grasp of the temple remains purely ideal. The lack of the requisite experiential basis nullifies whatever reference is involved in the so-called hypothetical idea; consequently there cannot be any joint reference to the content and existence of the temple. And without this the idea of the Pareshnath Temple remains unformed. This is all that I mean when I say that I do not know where the Pareshnath Temple is situated.

(*iii*) Now to consider the third form of awareness of immediate ignorance. In this form we know neither the existence nor the content of the thing of which we are ignorant, although there we refer to something vague and indeterminate. This form of awarenese is expressed in some such sentences as "I am ignorant of *Brahman*", "I do not know the nature of the ultimate Reality". I have never known anything called *Brahman* nor can I form any idea of it; for by definition *Brahman* is the complete other of everything of this world. Then how can I at all be aware of my ignorance of *Brahman?* The answer to this question is quite plain. I become aware that I am ignorant of *Brahman* through the mediation of some relevant words and phrases. We, for instance, read in the Upaniṣads *Satyaṁ jñānam Anantaṁ Brahma—Brahman* is Truth, Knowledge and the Infinite. Evidently we cannot quite grasp the content which is sought to be made clear with the help of the above terms. So, though we feel that there is a vague reference to something beyond the finite world, yet we fail to realize within our experience any idea of that. This is exactly what we express when we say that we are ignorant of *Brahman* or the ultimate Reality. There both existence and content fall beyond our experience, and, for that matter, fall apart from each other for us.

As we have seen above, the awareness of immediate ignorance is just the awareness of one's failure to realize the idea of the thing in question and has for its epistemic counterpart the dissociation of existence from content. There are obviously some conditions that make for the failure under consideration. Whatever the conditions, the lack of a relevant perception or experience, or a lapse of memory, the failure referred to is an ultimate fact. It does not admit of any further analysis. If the failure once occurs, we find that the awareness of it is no negation whatever, though the awareness is expressed in a form of language that involves the negative particle "not". Strictly then the failure under discussion is the failure of the will to fulfil the innate urge in the function of knowing to fix upon an ideal apparatus wherewith to assimilate new facts into an ever-growing structure of knowledge. In the knowledge-situation the usual course is from fact to idea, and this indicates that any idea of anything cannot be realized in consciousness except on a factual basis. Mere ideal constructions there may be. But constructions absolutely ideal, *i.e.*, having no experiential basis whatsoever, are fictions. The awareness of immediate ignorance is a riddle, in the sense that, though ignorance is absence of knowledge, yet the awareness of immediate ignorance is not the awareness of absence of any knowledge. We can solve this riddle only if we can analyse the psychological situation of the awareness. I have in my discourse tried to show that the awareness of ignorance relating to the present context is the awareness of the failure to realize the idea of the thing of which one is ignorant and that this awareness is equivalent to the awareness of the failure to bring together existence and content.

Now we may be told that we cannot rest on the aforesaid failure as an ultimate fact. It may be pointed out that the failure is an effect of our finitude. But how to conceive of finitude? If we feel that we are finite it is doubtless because of the fact that we cannot know everything and achieve every object of desire. Our finitude is then intelligible only in the light of the failure of the intellect and the will to grasp all things actual and possible and to attain every object we want to attain.

Some may further contend that the failure under consideration is due to Nescience which is a positive objective principle operating at the basis of the Cosmos. May be that there is a principle like this. But it ought to be now clear that nothing like Nescience comes into our view in our awareness of ignorance. As I have shown, the awareness of immediate ignorance is not a negation of any knowledge,nor does the awareness of immediate ignorance involve as its content anything like entitative ignorance. It will not do to say that to be aware of immediate ignorance is to be aware of something positive intervening between the knower and the reality. To say so is to oversimplify the situation of the awareness of immediate ignorance. I have tried to show that the awareness of immediate ignorance is quite complex An analysis of it all brings to the fore the fact that the awareness of immediate ignorance is far from being the awareness of absence of any knowledge and that such awareness is a positive state, in which one is immediately conscious of one's failure to frame an articulate idea of the thing in question. The awareness of ignorance with reference to a context of past experience is, however, as I have shown above, the awareness of absence of the knowledge one has just now in the same context. We shall then have to distinguish clearly between bare ignorance, the awareness of ignorance with reference to a context of past experience, and the awareness of ignorance that relates to the present.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(*A Fragment*)

JOY KISSEN MOOKERJEE

II

BHARATPUR CAMPAIGN

When Lord Amherst saw that the Burmeese troops were no match for the British Bayonets, he began to think that Bharutpore might be attacked in the cold season without any great danger to the British Empire. His Lordship was assured by a distinguished military Officer of the North-west, that no danger was to be apprehended by hostile proceeding against Bharutpore. Still after a great deal of deliberation and hesitation Government resolved to make preparation for the undertaking and secret orders were issued to provide commissariate and military stores, to enable the troops to take the field in the beginning of the cold season. Accordingly, at the latter end of October, or, at the commencement of November, the troops began to move out from their respective stations. His Majesty's 11th Light Dragons, 16th Lancers, 14th and 59th Infantry and so many native Regiments of native Infantry, Horse and Foot Artillery, 2 regiments of Regular Cavalry, began to assemble in or about Bharutpore in the beginning of December, 1825. The material and number of troops were so large and effective, that even if the whole of the Rajawaras had combined, the British would have been more than a match for them all.

Lord Combermere, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief, arrived at Bharutpore by *Dak* after the army had assembled there and assumed command of the Forces. Col: Skinner and Gardner, an Irregular Cavalry Officer, did good service in this Campaign. They kept the Bharutpurian army in check from attempting to molest our pickets and reconnoitering parties. One or two attempts were made but they were driven back with heavy loss by these gallant Soldiers. Major General Sir Jasper Nicholls commanded the First Division, and Major General Rennell commanded the Second. Mr. Metcalfe, afterwards the celebrated Lord Metcalfe, who had succeeded General Ochterlony as Resident and Governor General's Agent, accompanied the Force as Political Agent.

Before entering the territory of Bharutpore, a regiment of Native Infantry and 2 guns were despatched to take possession of Surjya Coondoo, a large reservoir from whence water used to be conveyed to the ditch of the Bharutpore Citadel. The Rajah could have prevented it by throwing the water into the ditches before our troops took possession of it, but no such attempt was made, and the ditches were fit for military operations. The troops then entered the Bharutpore territory, *i.e.*, a large number of villages outside the Citadel. Reconnoissance parties were sent from several directions to ascertain the range of Citadel guns. Outside the range the tents of the Officers and men were pitched at so many yards distance from the City Walls. Notwithstanding every precaution, a stray ball fell on the breast of an old Subadar and his head was severed. I remember one evening the fall of a ball from the Fort on one of our gunpowder magazines. The shock was so great that we felt as if the earth's floor with our tents were lifted up to the air, though we were living at a distance of many yards.

I had accompanied the force with my superior, Major D. D. Anderson, who was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General to the First Division. We were detained a few days at Mathurah till the arrival of other troops, and then proceeded to Bharutpore territory as above stated. My worthy father had accompanied the 14th Foot as Banian and Chief Native Officer connected with the Mess and Pay Master's Department. His tent was pitched at a distance of several miles from that of mine, at a quarter on the ground assigned to the 14th Foot. I was in the midst of the Head Quarters of the First Division. General Nicholl's tent was pitched next to that of his Assistant Adjutant General, only a few yards' distance from that of mine. The Commander-in-Chief's tent was not very far distant from our place. General Nicholls, thinking that a Bengalee lad—as I was then only 16 years old, would not be able to understand all that was written in the military phraseology, used to send for me frequently to his tent to transcribe several copies of his demi-secret instructions to Commanding Officer of his Division. Being thus officially connected though in a subordinate capacity I managed to pick important information connected with the military operations. On the assemblage of troops, the Political Agent opened negotiations with Doorjun Sal to vacate the Guddi and to release the young Moharajah and his mother; and certain provision would be made for his respectable maintenance. But the usurper rejected the proposals, and the war regularly commenced.

British Officers both Europeans and Natives, with undaunted courage crept within the range of the gunshot of the Fort by flatly lying down on the earth and with the shelter of large trees, erected mud batteries in places from whence they could throw shells and bombs and rockets into the Citadel. These high mud batteries also enabled our officers, to lay mines without being observed by the Raja's troops. I believe cannonading commenced on our part from these batteries about the 18th or 19th of December, 1825, and after battering the walls of the Citadel, very little impression was made. Large hollows of 2 or 3 feet in diameter were the results of this cannonading. I think only once or twice the Raja's troops came out of the Fort, and attempted to attack our batteries, but Skinner's Horse soon made a short work of them, and they retreated in great disorder into the Fort. Four Mines in different parts were ready by the 18th January, 1826. It was then secretly arranged that assaults on the Citadel walls were to be made on the morning of the following day. After the mines were set fire to accordingly, between the hours of 3 and 4 in the morning, troops began to be got ready and before 5 A.M. four columns consisting of Europeans and Natives moved down towards the Fort. The Raja's officers and men from the bastions, who were firing away cannon balls, perceiving lights and noise in our Camp, at once guessed that some mischief was brewing, lighted huge masses of fire and vociferated the names of the principal officers and men to resist the attack that was intended to be made. Our troops from the batteries then set fire to four mines alluded to, and the mud walls of the citadel fell with a crash and noise by which the mother Earth and every body upon her trembled. And the noise was so tremendous as would be produced by a 100 thunder-bolts. As soon as parts of the mud wall fell, there was a rush of troops upon the broken walls from our side followed by a brisk musketry fire against the Raja's troops who were advancing to oppose the attacking force. The latter fired their guns with great dexterity and skill for nearly an hour but as their munitions were far inferior to those of the British they suffered much more than their opponents. The soldiers on both sides soon closed, and bayonet and surrendering fighting was maintained for 2 or 3 hours. When the Raja's troops found more prolonged resistance useless, they fled on all directions and most of them jumped down into the City. At this juncture, Major Everard of the 14th Foot hoisted the British Flag on the bastion. Several men of the Artillery were placed and the latter facing the inner stone fort, regular cannonading commenced. Some of the

European and Native soldiers jumped down into the City and cut down many of the Raja's men as they were flying. Some of the innocent inhabitants were maltreated and their property was looted. About noon our men, who were stationed outside the Western Gate, saw that a number of horsemen were flying away from that gate. They soon got their horses ready and pursued these fugitives ; on nearer approach, they attempted to fire at them, but some of the fugitives cried out "Do not fire at us : Doorjun Sal, Ranee and children are among our party ; we will easily surrender to you." On this the British troopers surrounded them and took them to the Commander-in-Chief's Head Quarters.

As soon as their surrender and arrival became known, our Politicals at once had two tents pitched—one for the Rajah and the other for the Ranee and children. Every attention and respect was shewn to them and to their unfortunate position. As soon as Doorjun Sal and his family had fled from the fort, the lawful young Rajah and his mother sent a trustworthy messenger to the Political Officer Metcalfe, stating that, as Doorjun Sal had fled from the Fort, there was no occasion for further fighting or firing, that he would open the gate of the inner fort and that the principal British officers had only to come inside and place him on the Guddee as that was the object for which the British Government have undertaken the war. These measures should be promptly adopted to secure the town from plunder by the troops. Mr. Metcalfe at once applied to the Commander-in Chief to place European and Native Sentries at each of the city and Fort gates, and all plunder should be strictly prohibited; No egress or ingress was permitted without a pass. Still before order could be restored, there was loot in the Rajah's Palace as well as in the houses of the most influential officials and wealthy men of the place. The booty brought to the Prize Agent, who was at once appointed by the Commander-in-Chief, amounted to less than 11 *Eleven Crores of Rupees* in Gold mohurs, silver Jewels and shawls. All the plundered things were not accounted for to the Prize Agent but a large portion was appropriated, or rather misappropriated, by officers, men and camp-followers. The value of the property thus kept back from the Prize Agent, amounted to double the amount stated above.

END OF THE SOJOURN.

After the fall of Bharutpore the troops were directed to return to their respective cantonments. Before all the troops marched back, a review of some of these took place near the Fortress of Dig, a small dependency of Bharutpore Raj which was then taken possession of by a relative of the usurper. Afterwards a portion of the troops marched to Alwar, the Rajah of which had manifested anything but friendly feelings towards the British during the progress of the war. The mere presence of the troops brought him round without firing a shot. At this place Major D. D. Anderson received orders to proceed to Agra as First Adjutant or Brigade-Major. I accompanied him thither only to deliver over charge to my successor. As my father had desired me to return to Meerut as a preliminary step for his going home at Oterparah. I, on arriving at Agra, was lodged in the Fort and remained there nearly a month. I of course visited the Taj Mehal and the Black Marble Floor of Akbar. The Fort Walls were constructed of red granite. As to defence from a military point of view it was of very little value. The walls could be battered down by 18-pounders in no time. I left Agra about the beginning of March, 1826 by *Dak*, a kind of conveyance then in vogue all over the country. In Government Post Offices a large number of Palkee bearers were retained for the convenience of the public, and by application to the Post Master, the traveller would be supplied with 8 bearers, two *birgybardars* and two *Musalјees* at a cost of 8 as. per mile. After my return to Meerut I remained a few months there, and finally bade adieu to that place about the beginning of August 1826, and reached home, partly by *Dak* and partly by boat, in about 25 days.

REMINISCENCES

The time I passed at Meerut was the happiest in my life. I there acquired rudiments of knowledge in trade and official business under a talented father and surrounded by the rest of my family. I there witnessed grand reviews, military manoeuvres, reconnoitering parties, and forlorn-hope parties. I saw officers and men engaged in cutting trenches, preparatory to place the guns in position. I was also made acquainted with military jurisprudence and attended the sitting of some Court Martials. In consequence of valuable services rendered by my father, the officers of the 14th Regiment of Foot treated this Bengalee youth as one of their sons, particularly Brigadier McCombe, Captain Bowers, Lt. James Grant and Capt. Kenneth Mackenzie, who not in frequently taught him lessons in History and on English Society. I was so much charmed with military life that I actually asked the Brigadier to procure me a Commission in His Majesty's service, but not such opening was then, nor is practically at the present time, for a native of India. Thus my military aspiration began and ended at Meerut. I however remember with grateful feelings the kindness of the Officers of His Majesty's 14th Infantry. While residing at Meerut I became acquainted with the circumstances connected with the trial of Mr. Colebrook, the all powerful resident at Delhi, for corruption and other malpractices brought to light by his young assistant Mr. Trevelyan, who attracted the attention of Government, and who in after life took such deep interest in the Education and improvement of the Native Community. Here also I became acquainted with the venerable old lady, Begam Sumru of Sirdhana, whose age then exceeded eighty years and who was frequently the guest of the officers. The Lion of the Punjab, Moharaja Ranjeet Sing, was at this time in the zenith of power. He was not only popular among the Punjabees, but also with the Hindusthanis as well. I was here that Lord Amherst sent his youthful son as a Cavalry Cornet, to learn the A. B. C. of Military Warfare. He was attached to Major General Sir Jasper Nicholls' Division. He was then about 16 and I about a year older. We both used to laugh and joke and chit-chat whenever we had spare time to do so. One day while so engaged, a bearer brought a letter to Cornet Amherst, who on reading it told the bearer "*Tom-Boitho*". The bearer accordingly sat cross-legged on the Carpet inside the tent at which Amherst was much annoyed and told me. "How very stupid your countryman is." I told him that the blunder was on his part; he should have told the bearer; "*Bahar may hazir raho*". It is here also the death of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena was announced, I believe in 1822; somehow or other, this event gave general satisfaction among the military circle.

PER ARDUA AD ASTRA

My worthy father, besides his employment in the 14th Foot, carried on trade in European merchandise, and had also opened accounts with the Principal Agency Houses at Calcutta on whom he used to draw Bills of Exchange either at sight or on different dates after presentation of the Bills. In those days of no Money Order Office, the Up-country Bankers, or as sometimes called *Mahajans*, used to charge or rather exact, from Europeans a large percentage on Hoondy remittances. Father, on issuing Bills at reduced rates, secured large transactions on this branch. He had opened accounts with Messrs. Faidley, Fergusson and Co., Mackillop & Co., Colvin Dinsley & Co., and Alexander & Co. These were then called and considered by the public as Merchant princes and they did not confine their business to agency alone, but advanced to indigo and sugarcane Planters and encouraged and promoted the cultivation of coffee as well, and assisted in other investments Their transaction extended far and wide. The public was amazed at the splendour of their living. Many of the higher classes of Civilians envied their position and wealth, so much so that a Civilian, Mr. J. C. Southerland, resigned Government service and became a partner in the house of Messrs. Alexander & Co. Col. Young also resigned the Govt. service and associated with these Merchant Princes. But wealth and position bred carelessness and extravagance which gradually undermined the foundation of their prosperity. Their downfall followed each other between the years of 1831 and 1834. Their simultaneous fall gave a shock to the trade and commercial interest of the City of Palaces, and many thousands of European and Indian Officers lost their appointments, many hundreds and thousands of orphans and widows who had deposited their all in those houses, were at once reduced to penury and poverty. In fact their sorrows and sadness were plainly depicted in the countenance of all the classes of people. My poor father, instead of putting his little capital in any one of the Houses, thought he had acted wisely by dividing it among those 4 houses, but alas, human sagacity and ingenuity come to nothing when the Gods rule otherwise. He, accordingly, was not a little sufferer by these unforeseen circumstances, but as he had some money laid out in other businesses, he bore the misfortune patiently and thought that besides commerce, investment in landed property would not be a bad speculation, at least not so ruinous as the result of the late failure. He accordingly desired me to make myself acquainted with the Revenue and Civil laws of the country with a view to manage the landed property if we happen to purchase any.

In consequence of this, in 1831 I took service with Mr. D. C. Smith, then Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly, as Sudder Buxy or Collector of Chowkidary Taxes in the towns of Hooghly, Chinsurah and Serampore. After serving that Department a year, Mr. D. H. Belli, Collector of Hooghly, appointed me as Record Keeper, of that Collectorate. After two years' service in that office Mr. E. Gordon, Offg. Commissioner, came to Hooghly and issued *Istahars* calling for complaints against the *Amlahs* of the Magistrate and the Collector, when ill-disposed persons were not slow in preferring false and malicious charges against several ministerial officers, and I was one of the number. After a summary enquiry, he ordered my dismissal, as well as of several others. He would have also dismissed the Magistrate and the Collector had they not been covenanted Civil Servants. He calamniated the character of those officers in his letter before Government and had Mr. Gilmore removed to an inferior district and Mr. Belli stood the shock and remained where he was. The Sudder Dewany and Nizamut took severe notice of these high-handed proceedings of the Officiating Commissioner and in his turn he was reduced to the appointment of a Civil Judge.

While I was employed in the Collectorate Office I gained a great deal of information regarding landed property which was of great service in my after-life. Though I was not desirous of getting another appointment in the Government service still, to clear my character, I applied and obtained from our next Commissioner Mr. H. Walter, an order stating that I would be eligible for an appointment that might fall vacant in future. But instead of taking any appointment in the Government service, though an offer was made to me to accept the treasurership of the General Treasury of Calcutta, I have remained ever since with the consent and advice of my worthy ather as on independent gentleman.

The few years I passed at Chinsura call for some mention of it, and here it is.

CHINSURAH

The Settlement of Chinsurah was sold to the East India Company by the Dutch Government about 1822 or '23. This place was considered by the Military authorities as well-suited for establishing a Military Depot for newly-arrived recruits from England as well as for locating invalid soldiers before their embarkation for their mother country as well as volunteers and sometimes a whole regiment was kept there prior to their embarkation. For the accomodation of Officers and soldiers, it was necessary to construct large barracks, hospitals, guard-rooms &c. and Capt. Bell, an Engineer, was appointed to carry out the work. I vividly recollect the dismantling of the old Dutch Fort—two centuries old at the time—and in its place a range of barracks built for men and another range for the quarters of officers. A Col. Tidy, C. B. was its first commandant and Capt. Magdernot the first Depot Adjutant. He however soon fell ill and was succeeded by Brevet-Captain afterwards the famous General Havelock. The latter Officer was called by his Commandant "Bonny Napoleon" for his Napoleanic proclivities. Havelock was a great admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte and I heard him several times to say, that Europe gave Napoleon no rest and goaded him to war; after all, he was not such a malign person as his biographer Scott painted him to be.

The Depot was in full swing from 1825 to 1829. In the following year (1830), the evil eye of Lord Bentinck "the half batta" Governor General as he was designated by the Military, fell upon this spot and his Lordship decided that this was an unnecessary and expensive establishment and accordingly decreed its abolition. The Commander-in-Chief, the Earl of Dalhousie—father of the Governor General of that name, demurred at his decision and said that he would report the matter for the consideration of the Horse Guards, but Lord William would brook no delay and ordered the Commander-in-Chief to carry out the order immediately. The latter thus constrained but still not subdued, passed a partial general order directing the suspension of the functions of the Depot Officers until the pleasure of H. M.'s Government be known. Lord William considered this as tantamount to disobeying the orders of Government and peremptorily asked the C.-in-C. to publish in the general order an unqualified abolition of the Depot at the risk of unpleasant and harsh measures. The poor C.-in-C. was thus humbled in the eyes of the Army, carried out the orders of Government as directed, but made a thundering report to the Horse Guards but without success. Thus about the end of the year 1830, the Depot Officers, both Commissioned and Non-Commissioned, were sent down to Fort William in Calcutta and from there they proceeded to join their respective Regiments. Thus ended the dispute between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief. The son of the humiliated father had a little fracas with Lord Napier, the spirited and headstrong C.-in-C. at that time about subordination of the head of Military to the Governor General. Of course the latter triumphed over the other.

I also have an early recollection of Sir Edward Raget the then C.-in-C. ordering a number of Sepoys, to be short and still a large number to be disbanded at Barrackpore for their mutinous conduct in 1821 or '22.

While employed in the Hooghly Collectorate, I brought about the purchase at a public sale, of 4 annas share of the Collectorate

Zemindary, Lat Kristo Rambattee and Jote Haranund, in the month of Agran *1239*—Nov. *1832*. This was the *first* Talook purchased by my father. Other purchases soon followed before my much-revered father died on 4th Assin, 1247 B.S., (1840 A.D.). Large number of Puttunee and Collectorate Mahals and Lakhraj lands were purchased. Before his death, he divided the landed property among his children by a Will dated the 31st Vadra 1247 B.S. He allotted different Estates separately to my step-brothers and sisters, but the property he gave me and my brother Raj Kissen were kept joint. The step brothers and sisters were all minors at the time, the youngest Nobin Kissen not born till after a month of my father's death. As Executors to their properties, we had to manage their Estates as well as our own. Rajkissen and myself remained joint till the beginning of 1260 B.S. Before separation we had purchased several large properties, and after separation I have purchased many valuable estates and tenures; Rajkissen had also purchased some property though small in extent than of mine.

MY ZAMINDARY MANAGEMENT: A VINDICATION

There have been some differences of opinion about the system of management of landed property introduced by me. There are not a few who condemn it as oppressive and vexatious and calculated to impoverish the tenantry; they allege that I appropriated to myself all that the land and the industry of the ryots produced and barely left anything for the sustenance of the ryots' life, that I resumed valid rent-free tenures of long-standing right, without justice and mercy; while others stated that my management of landed property was the best that could be made under the peculiar circumstances of the country, that while it increased and improved my income, at the same time it secured the comfort and ease of our tenantry.
is to justify my character that I should make some observations on this most important subject. It was my practice, on purchasing a new estate, to go to the mofussil in the year of purchase or the next year to look at things with my own eyes. The picture I witnessed there was anything but cheerful. Law-suits between landlord and tenantry, law-suits among the tenantry between each other, law-suits between the *mahajan* and his debtors, resulting in the best lands being taken from the actual cultivators and passing into the possession of middle classes or of the Mahajans and Zemindary rent very low on account of large quantities of rent-paying lands being gradually

converted into apparently valid rent-free tenures by Mahajans, influential persons, Poorohits and Gooroos. It was not infrequently that influencial moneyed classes in the village by lending a few rupees to cultivators at exorbitant rate of interest say from 18 to 36 per cent increased the debts of the ryots to a formidable amount from which the ryot could never expect to extricate himself and was often compelled to sell either a portion or whole of his *jotes* to his inexorable creditor. Sometimes when the creditor could not manage the ryot, he sued him in the Civil Court, obtained a decree and generally managed to sell his debtor's *Jote* and purchase it either in his own name or in that of one of his dependants. Sometimes coveted lands were obtained by attaching the same fraudulently in execution of decrees between a third person and of which the actual cultivator would be kept ignorant until he was ejected from his lands by the peon of the Court. Sometimes when *mandals* or other principal ryots were pressed for debts, they used to sell the portion of their rent-paying lands as rent-free, while they continued to discharge the stipulated rent of the Talookdar, it was scarcely possible for the Talookdar to know the fraudulent transactions without assistance of his Gomastah. But the latter functionary generally sided with these fraudulent alienations for money considerations. These considerations were settled and determined according to the exigency of each case. I found, in not a few instances, the Gomastah pocketting from 25 to 50 rupees in each case ; the Gomastah sometimes apprised his master of one of two instances, just to keep himself in the good graces of his master. What efficient measures can a landlord take under such circumstances his own principal agent in the Mofussil being secretly, if not openly, in collusion with the perpetrators of these wrongs? The Talookdars were seldom made acquainted with the salient points involved in issue, and the Talookdar was ignominiously defeated if he had recourse to law. The Gomastah would always write long letters to his master stating false particulars and would now and then, attend personally to give a long account of his exhortation and ingenuity in gaining over some of the witnesses of the opposite party. But he would, at the same time, clandestinely securing a few witnesses in the background, allow such witnesses to give depositions entirely against the landlord and would then make a fase report to his master expressing his surprise and consternation at the treachery and breach of faith on the part of the renegade ryot. The loss of one or two such cases prevents to Talookdar from making further attempts to check the evil and leaves the Gomastah free to do as he pleases. Sometimes when a near relative dies, Mondals and principal ryots, not infrequently, make gifts of rent free lands of their jotes to their Gossain, Gooroos and Poorohits. The Shastras declare that the giving and taking of lands secure the giver and the receiver eternal bliss ; no wonder then that all classes of people, from the Brahmin to the Sudra, should connive at these huge frauds. Many a time when I found out these frauds, Brahmins, Rajpoots, Kaisto and Satgepee made confessions and stated that, according to the Shastras, such transactions were not sinful. In one instance when I went to settle a village after due measurement, I found that the revenue-paying lands were far less than the rent free lands of the village, that the suddar Jama of the Mohal was Rs. 2000 and the Mofussil Hastobood was only Rs. 2100 per year If Rs. 100 be taken as the "saranjamee" charges of the estate, it would not leave any profit to the Talookdar, though the lands were situated on the banks of the Ojoy, greatly improved by annual deposits of silt from that river, and though the cultivators' rates of rent averaged from 2 to 7 rupees per standard Bigha. I was greatly puzzled at this aspect of affairs, postponed the settlement for a day or two and began to look about for means of arriving at truth. If Bengal contains a large number of fraudulent persons, it also contains a proportion of honest men who seldom fail to acquaint you with real facts. In the dead of might, two gentry of this class privately gave information that a very large quantity of "mal" lands were sacrificed in the manner above stated and that, "As the village contained a large number of Brahmins and Kayastes, knowing your firmness and perseverence to trace out frauds, these holders will not be able to tell falsehoods in your presence." Having obtained this clue, next morning, I summoned all the parties concerned and after long exhortations and promises to give up half of the land thus fraudulently obtained, if they would tell the truth, I persuaded my amiable friend who, after a great deal of consultations and whisper and hesitations, made a clean breast of everything, and admitted the fraudulent means by which those alienations were made. By these confessions five hundred Biggahs of good land were at my disposal ; but having previously made a promise of giving up one half of these dishonest acquisitions, I was constrained to do so and obtained as increase of Rs. 500 in the Jammah by the other half. These scoundrels ought to have been hanged instead of being so richly rewarded for their villainy. This confession would not have been readily made if the Act 10 of 1859 had been promulgated before that time, but this settlement was effected about 10 years before that dishonestly conceived law was promulgated. A Collectorate Mahal in Chunder Konna was inherited by 5 brothers. These shareholders being impoverished by droughts and innundations, it became apparent that the Mahal, under in default between the shares of each proprietor, would be soon under the hammer of the Collector for arrears of revenue. A cunning Putonee Talookdar, foreseeing this contingency by which his Putonee would be annulled, got a creature of his to institute a suit in the Moonsif's Court against another creature of the Tolookdar for a sum of money, easily obtained a decree in execution of which he attached about 50 bighas of best land in the village as a rent-free tenure of the debtor and had them sold by the Collector and purchased then "Benamee" in the name of another creature. After my purchase of the estate I went to the Mofussil to make a settlement, when the nephew of the ex-Talookdar presented the sale-certificate for the exemption of the lands in his possession. After a day or two I obtained information secretly of this dishonest transaction and summoned the ex-Talookdar after having summoned the principal persons in the village. After a great deal of hesitation the ex-Talookdar made a full confession and gave up the sale-certificate. In the Burdwan district I have purchased several Putnee estates from the Raja of Burdwan. In these estates "Agoory" residents predominated over other classes. In visiting one of these estates, I found that one of the Agoory ryots in an execution decree had attached a large "Mal" tank as the property of his debtor, said to be a Debuttur Mokrurree on annual rent. The debtor, had not the slightest connection with this tank, and, it was a fraudulent act of the decree holder to get possession of this tank containing an area of 30 Bighas. I sent for the decree-holder and told him in plain terms, that unless he withdrew the attachment immediately, I would expose his villainy and would have him punished for this fraud; knowing, as he did, the resolute character of the new Talookdar, the decree-holder gave way; and the tank remains up to this date as the integral part of the 'Mal' estate.

When the above estates and many others become the Khash property of the present Maharaja of Burdwan, he made an attempt of managing them Khash instead of letting to new Putneedars. It was announced in the papers about the time 1850 that the Maharajah had appointed a council of several competent native gentlemen to aid him in the management of scores of villages which had fallen in his hands by the default of the Putneedars. Nayabs, Gomastahs, Tasildars, and Ameens were sent out in all directions by this august council, Kash collections commenced and in some instances measurements of the village lands were undertaken. After two or three years, one Mr. Thomas, an East Indian, usually called by the people 'Tony Shahib' was deputed to the mofussil to superintend these operations. But notwithstanding this trumpetting in newspapers, the Rajah's collections happened to become less and less every year. Here a Gomastah fled with the collections, there the Rajah was defeated in half a dozen rent-suits for want of sufficient evidence. In not a few instances, ryots commenced fraudulent suits for exactions and obtained decrees against the Maharaja for large sums. The chief aims of these suits were to reduce former rents; the ryots obtained from late Gomastahs receipts of rents at considerably reduced rates. The Rajah was called upon to controvert these receipts which he failed to do in consequence of the incompetency of his so-called members of council and combination of ryots to assist each other by false testimonies and other means. In some instances an honestly disposed Gomastah attempted to assert the rights of his master; the official was well-thrashed and driven out of the village. Complaints from the Maharaja on the one side, the one or two intriguing ryots on the other were preferred to the Criminal Courts; our worthy Magistrates were generally prejudiced and biassed against the Zemindars and gave their decisions generally in that spirit. In many instances, the complaints of the Rajah's people were dismissed, and those of the ryots decided against the Gomastah and collecting peons of the Rajah. The Magistrates generally viewed the proceedings of the Zamindars and their agents with a feeling somewhat akin to that displayed by Sir G. Campbell when he called them "wolves of the realm." The Rajah thus failed in his honest attempt to manage the estates *Khash*; he disregarded the advice of his council and began to look about for persons to re-let the estates in Potunee. In many instances, the Rajah was obliged to make a reduction from the former Jammah of the Potunee, with a view to secure new purchasers, for the longer the estate remained in his "khash" possession they became the more deteriorated. I recollect an instance in which an honest Talookdar had gone to his estate to enquire about its assets when the ryots entered into a league collected about Rs. 200 as a "Dharmaghat Chanda" from the whole body of ryots, preferred a trumpery charge against the Talookdar for immediate intended loot and burning of the village to the nearest Police "Daroga" and paid him Rs. 100 to induce him to act as they advised. The "honest" Daroga came on the spot and after some enquiry, decided to send the Talookdar and his Gomastah to the Magistrate's Court, a distance of twenty miles from the place. In vain the Talookdar protested that as there were only two collecting peons and two had accompanied him as his bodyguard, he could not and dared not make the attempt ascribed to him by his ryots whose number exceeded 500 able-bodied men. The Daroga also wrote in his report to the Hujoor that the Talookdar and his Gomostah attempted to run away, for this reason he was compelled to send them hand-cuffed and they were accordingly thus sent to the Hujoor. After a month's attendance at the Magistrate's Court, the charge against the Talookdar and his agent was dimissed, yet neither the Daroga nor the raots were punished for this false complaint. Soon after the Talookdar in disgust became a defaulter and got rid of the estate under the Regulations of 1819. I had purchased a Putnee estate in the Katwa Sub-Division the ryots of which combined to deprive me of the purchase. They accordingly prepared a deed of Ijarah in the name of a widower servant in the service of one of the mohunts of the village and drove away my Gomostah and Collecting peon on one hand, and preferred half a dozen false charges for intended loot and burning of the village, as well as certain other complaints of this nature on the other. The ryots appointed half a dozen moktars to conduct these suits vigorously and persistenly; fortunately for me, the Katwa Criminal Court was at the time presided over by a Mr. Hewett, an uncovenanted officer, who after much private and public enquiry and after a delay of 6 months, awarded me the possession of the village. Notwithstanding my repeated applications, not a single ryot was punished for this nefarious and audacious fraud and tresspass. In a village in the Sub-Division of Serampore in the District of Hooghly, the ryots and Talookdars were at law about enhancement of rent; the Talookdar was of some substance and conducted his suits vigorously. The ryots, besides having the advantages given them by law in resiting the enhancement, had resource to various means of annoying the Talookdar by false complaints in the Fauzdary Court, but in which they were generally defeated, as the Assistant Magistrate Mr. L. S. Jackson, was a shrewd and intelligent officer in charge of the Sub-Division and was not easily deceived by these attempts. A happy thought, however, occurred to the ryots; they selected a stout but indigent person from among their number and beat him on his back with a branch of a date tree which so lacerated that part of his body as blood was gushing out from several places. The poor fellow in that wounded state was carried in a "dooly," accompanied by one or two females of his family, to Mr. Jackson where he complained that the Talookdar's Gomostah and peons had inflicted the punishment in consequence of his having given evidence against the Gomostah in a case or two. That functionary was horrified at the cruelty of the *Zamindar's* party, sent the wounded man to the hospital and issued a warrant against the Gomastah. Within 8 or 10 days the Gomostah was convicted and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. Numerous cases of this description of false complaints can be quoted from all parts of the country. I appealed to the old class of civilians who were still in the country to verify this assertion. Our Criminal Courts were thus unwillingly and unintentionally made the vehicle of promoters of dissensions and disputes between Talookdars and ryots. These contests were prolonged, sometimes for many years, until either the resourses of the ryots or the Talookdars were exhausted. If the ryots were defeated, the Talookdar revenged himself by enormously increasing the rents of the village with the exception of some of the influential persons, who were exempted for fear of another outbreak. If the Talookdar were defeated, his case became truly deplorable, as the persons who chiefly contributed to the downfall of the former became a greater authority than that of the legitimate proprietor. These persons enriched themselves by robbing the Talookdar and the ryots at the same time. They took the best land of the unhappy ryots at a low jummah and re-let them to "korfah" ryots at enormous rates. They did not scruple to convert "mal" lands into rent-free ones by the false evidence of the "Korfah" ryots and debtors. It is well-known to those who have had anything to do with the Mofussil, that the general body of cultivators have been reduced by money-lenders and the "korfah" system to the position approaching to slavery. The Talookdars in former time used to check the cupidity of these classes to some extent, but their legal powers and privileges were altogether annihilated by the Act 10 of 1859. Consequently, these checks have been removed to a large extent by the operation of Act 10 of 1859 and moneyed classes now rule supremely. The powers of oppression of these classes have been aided and abetted by the provisions of that law, while it annihilated the necessary powers and privileges requisite for maintaining the good government of a village. A slight glance at its provisions will at once show to an unprejudiced person that that law was conceived in the belief that the Talookdars are wrong-doers and the cultivators are their victims ; but this supposition was entirely founded on wrong data, because the Talookdar and the ryots were by turns, the sinners and the sinned against according to circumstances, for, by far the mischief-makers were the few intriguers in every village. One set of these mischief-makers was succeeded by others in the proportions of tact, talent, and means at their disposals. Our English Rulers by an analogy of the actions of the middle-classes in England, who generally originate and carry out great reforms for the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes there, dream that similar measures will result in similar success in India, as they have done in England ; but they forget that the actions of the principal reformers are, in each and every instance, controlled, checked and modified by the more sensible portion of the people. It cannot be, and indeed is not, denied that the middle classes in England have contributed in no small degree to the improvement of internal administration. Notwithstanding this candid admission, one cannot help adverting to the growing complaints that the deposition of this class is gradually assuming proportions at once detrimental to the interest of the Crown, the nobles and the masses. While the crude legislation in some instances has led the masses to imagine that wealth, capital and rank are antagonistic to their welfare, they argue that one set of God's creatures, possessing fine buildings and equipages and living luxuriously, why, at the same time, should so much misery exist among the other portion, which is by far the largest? Why the one class should be exempted from bodily toil and labour, while the other classes be doomed to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow? The latter class sigh for the day when property will be equalized and toils and troubles be divided among all classes alike; in fact, they are dreaming of the communistic principles and as the hope is deferred, the people are becoming a nation of grumbelers. Now, if the agitation of the go-ahead reforming middle clalses have created so much alarm and mischief in free England, what can be expected by bodily transferring that agitation to this country, where neither the checks nor the responsible means of redress do exist? Here the striking of a few selfish persons who are no less ignorant than they are selfish, is taken to be the voice of the nation.. Sometimes official opinion is called for from district officials, but the means of information of the latter is as meagre as at the headquarters. The district officers generally collect their information from Muktars at the Suddar Station and one or two landholders or merchants who may by chance come to visit them. The district officers form a set of opinions almost on their entrance into the service, to which they cling through good or evil. These convictions may be enumerated in a few words:—"That the land-holders are a wicked set of people, indolent, untrustworthy, great oppressors of their ryots, stupid, ignorant and cunning." Their opinion of the Trading and moneyed classes is nearly as bad as that about the the land-holding classes, but that their powers of oppression are less than those of the first class, in fact that they are monstrous in a lesser degree. In their opinion, the ryots, have been trampled upon by the superiors, miserably fed, compelled to live in hovels fit for pigs, and that they are robbed right and left. These officers then reject any opinion that do not come up to their preconceived notions, whenever they go out to the Mofussil as the Executives have been enjoined to do during the last two decades. The honest and the self-respecting portion of the people keep themselves aloof from them, for fear of getting into a scrape for saying things which the Shahibs may not like. If one be caught accidentally, he looks around, and should no one lie near to over-hear him, he generally confines himself to saying that he is very poor and has nothing to eat, that the village Gomostah and Mohajan are great oppressors, that he cannot get any redress from the Talookdar. In their Mofussil tours, then, the Officers are informed generally by the small knots of agitators that are found almost in every village, and also by petty village Talookdars. Each of these classes tells a false tale of what they vainly imagine would promote their own selfish interest. For want of confidence on both sides the Officials generally fail to obtain the real and genuinely honest opinion of the people, and they think, therefore, that all their early impressions are best, and adhere to them with might and main. We see now and then, native Officers under Government, and very rarely one or two outsiders, wishing to obtain name and fame, have been in the habit, from the last few years, to publish pamphlets or write articles in the Newspapers on the conditions of the peoples ; but as these writers principally belong to the ryot classes, and very seldom possess any correct information on this most difficult subject, they therefore lean to the popular side and, exaggerating in no small degree the misery of the ryots, refuse the land-holders the barest justice.

The tendency of modern legislation in India can, with no great difficulty, be traced to the opinions and information obtained by Government in the manner stated above. Laws, amended and newly enacted, all bear testimony to the unsubstantial foundations on which they are built ; whatever prejudice and ignorance may be urged to the contrary, it is patent to all unbiassed spectators that this class of legislation is beneficial neither to the ryots nor to the Zamindars. It has, on the contrary, been productive of much litigation and discontent, and has loosened the bonds that formerly existed between the two parties. The ryots are taught not to confess to their Talookdars as they did formerly, but to depend, for the care of their property, upon the law courts. They would naturally say that this procedure would be worth following, for instead of spending their all for capricious and selfish private individuals, Law Courts can surely be preferred. But, my good Sir, do not be in a hurry to give your decision on this all-important subject. You must see what benefits the law courts offer to the parties. These courts of the Munsiffs, as we are all aware, are beset with men of every class and colour, from leading pleaders to Mooktears, and whenever one of the harpies get a petty Talookdar or a ryot under his clutches, he gradually empties the pockets of his victim, and, not infrequently, supplies him with borrowed money either from others or from himself at enormous rate of interest.

(Concluded.)

HISTORY OF INDIA (712—1205)*

A Retrospect and a Standpoint

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Like any other period of equal length, the era with which this address is directly concerned has its intrinsic importance as marking a definite stage in the history of this subcontinent,—a phase of its culture and civilization which has a recognizable individuality and stamp of its own. This period begins with the establishment of the first Islamic state in India and ends with the extension of Muslim political power over the greater part of Northern India by the close of the twelfth century. The Muslim invasion and conquest of India created manifold problems, which, by their magnitude and complexity, cannot but be regarded as incomparable and unparalleled. Although more than a millennium has passed since the Muslims first appeared in this country, some of these problems have not yet been finally solved, taxing the resources of saints and statesmen in all the succeeding centuries. This has imparted a sort of modern interest to the history of this period. Because some of the most complicated problems of modern times, so far as the fate of this vast subcontinent is concerned, originated in this period, and because foundations were then laid for new lines of national enterprise and endeavour, which have yet to reveal their final shape and achieve their complete fulfilment, I may venture to suggest that the modern era in Indian history began in a medieval setting from some moment of exceptional significance within the limits of our period, which the historian will have to determine in tracing the background of our present-day developments. If we want to solve our present problems with the knowledge of the past, we must go back to this period; we must study its history with the devotion of a scholar and with the anxiety which is felt by every well-wisher of India to seek light from the past in his effort to consolidate her strength and vitality and realistically face some of the major issues of to-day. It is necessary that we should have as much accurate knowledge as possible regarding the social, political, religious and cultural activities of India during the period of five hundred years or more preceding the establishment of Muslim paramountcy in Northern India, so that we may bring it to bear upon the problems which confront us in modern times. The standpoint from which the history of this period should be investigated, has not, I am afraid, been settled in a manner which to my mind can alone give us a correct insight into its mysteries and their significance relatively to the progressive stages of our civilization. Stunned by the tragedy of India's enslavement under a foreign rule, which occurred in this period, with its far-reaching consequences, we are apt to think that such a tragedy could not have happened if our own house were in order. Our investigations are not infrequently influenced by some such preconception; we start with the belief that India must have declined in every field of activity, so that our weaknesses were the advantages of the aliens who finally established their sway in this country. It is true that if we were sufficiently strong and resourceful, we might have stopped the inundation which swept over our country, but we must find out in what particular respects we should have been strong to fight the specific evils which overwhelmed us. Such limits are hardly observed when we regard the Muslim conquest as the central theme and proceed to show all the forces of history, all the institutions of our cultural and political life as merely preparing the ground on which the Muslim flag was ultimately hoisted. Not only there is a spate of careless and irresponsible observations on the subject, but even reputed scholars are found indulging in strange speculations when they subject the institutions of this period to a searching criticism with a view to explaining why the Hindus failed and the Muslims succeeded apparently under the bias that if everything were in order, the Hindus would not have lost their independence. But the perfection which they imagine is of an ideal character, determined according to modern standards that have evolved out of our accumulated experiences of the past, grown out of the complex workings of historical forces. The trend of their arguments seems to be that India could have withstood Muslim attacks from the eighth to the twelfth century only if her army were organized as efficiently and scientifically as the army of a highly advanced modern nation; if the Indians were as conscious of national unity as the British are to-day; if their social system were based on a complete acceptance of the doctrine of equality and economic justice; if instead of the multitudinous diversity of creeds there were only one creed in a pure monotheistic-form, professed by all the people in the country; if there were no caste restrictions and social conservatism ; if the people did not worship idols, etc. I think there is no room for such idealistic speculations ; they have a tendency to misinterpret not only our own history but also the history of the Islamic leaders who conquered India. An eminent scholar who has given us a valuable account of the dynasties of Northern India down to the twelfth century A.D. pleads his inability to account for the success of the Muslims, pending a thorough examination of India's administrative system, her social institutions, religion, etc., which he promises to undertake. I admire his caution, but I would ask him with all the respect that is due to his scholarship to change this angle of vision, and to study all the phenomena of our culture and civilization included in his projected work, as representing in their varied phases the results of the operation of their own inner laws of growth and decay and not as objects of investigation subsidiary to the purposes of an idealistic interpretation of history. Foreign attacks succeeded even when our country had been more vigorous and creative. The Muslims did not originally come as torchbearers of a higher civilization ; they had their own serious weaknesses ; they were in fact driven by certain elemental passions led by men on whose shoulders the burden of an ancient civilization did not rest. My contention is that all the forces and phenomena of history should be studied and investigated in their proper perspective, each according to its importance ; we must not overemphasise one episode or factor and neglect others. What we want for this period is a complete history, not merely of the progress of Islam in India but of all the other forces which operated in the country for half a millennium, either related to this phenomenon or not but driven by antecedent circumstances and conditions as all historical processes are.

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If the history of the period is critically studied on the suggested lines, the structure of our national life during its last two or three centuries will be found to have contained many cracks and crevices. It is essential to investigate the real character of our weaknesses in this stage rather than determine what our points of strength would have been if that structure itself had been formed of different materials, capable of combating, according to our present estimate, the hard blows which were struck at its foundation by the Muslim armies. By about the beginning of the tenth century India had fully attained the maturity of her ancient civilization; the potentialities of those elements of her culture and those factors of her society, which had remained predominent for centuries and been in active operation, stood self-realised and exhausted. Unless the other elements and factors were now organised in order to be able to set out on a course of integrated progress and expressiveness, the vigour and creative urge of our civilization and culture would have been destroyed. The progress of an alien power at this juncture may be regarded as a calamity for it was an external pressure resulting in political subjection which temporarily diverted our energy for national reconstruction. But it is doubtful if the nation could have realised the tension of its inward impulses for resurgence in this period of transition unless it passed through a profound shock. The necessary realization may have possibly come through some other revolutionary change, but it seems that destiny required that the forces which had to be stabilised to become active creative elements in the succeeding periods of our history should work for greater ends, and for a larger society.

Medieval history before the end of the twelfth century shows two definite stages: the earlier one witnessed the attainment of maturity by the dominant elements of the ancient civilization, followed by a stage which was characterised by the exhaustion and decay of these elements and the first stirrings of a new order. A new stimulus was necessary to which both the old and the new forces could respond by tapping their respective resources to bring to fruition all that they were capable of achieving.

Having regard to the facts of our history as we know them, I am of the opinion that we should not have placed the beginning of our period in the eighth century synchronising with the establishment of Muslim rule in Sind. Placing its end in about 1200 A. D. we seem to give encouragement to the posing of a wrong approach to its history by implying that its sole importance lies in disclosing the successive stages in the growth and expansion of Muslim power in Northern India. But it is to be noted that even before Islam established itself in the Lower Indus Valley, frictions between the Arabs and Indian interests had already begun in the Helmund and Kabul Valleys and on the western coast of this country. There are again some scholars who are inclined to start a new period from the end of Harshavardhana's reign on the ground that the collapse of his empire marked the break-up of the political unity of India which remained the characteristic of her history down to the twelfth century. But empires were also founded and developed after Harsha's death, which brought considerable areas under their paramount authority. I believe most of the outstanding characteristics of the period ending approximately with the close of the twelfth century began to reveal themselves as symptoms of a new age, if not from the time when the

Huns appeared in India, at any rate from the final dissolution of the imperal system of the Guptas. Some of the features of fundamental importance in the history of the period were the constitution of a new Kshatriya order after the older political and military elements had been overpowered or reduced in strength; the consolidation of the political resources of the Deccan, inspired by an imperialistic ideal, with a systematic programme of active interference in the affairs; of Northern India the shifting of the centre of gravity from Bihar to the Gangā-Yamunā Doab; the organization of Kanauj as the seat of a steadily growing empire whose effects marked the whole course of the history of the Age down to its very end in its characteristic trends; the rise of a powerful monarchy in Gauḍa; the rise of Islam which set the stage ready for its adventures in India, etc. All these characteristics appeared in their initial from in the sixth century, and it will, therefore, be proper and scientific to conclude that a distinct era began from that time when new conditions as typified by these characteristics became first visible and began to fashion themselves and crystallise into definite shape in each successive stage of development.

I have already referred to a preconception regarding the history of this period which may lead to wrong conclusions. I may here also mention the tendency, which is frequently noticed of emphasising lack of political unity as the cause of the Muslim conquest. I think there is much of confused thinking on this subject, which requires a very careful consideration. Political unity, as we understand it in modern times, did not exist in any territory of the world during the period under review. Even England which had developed a fairly united kingdom fell a victim to Norman aggression in the 11th century A. D. In India from very early times attempts were made on various occasions to bring different regions under the control of a paramount government. A large measure of political unity was achieved under the Mauryas whose empire included practically the whole of India. With this unity to their advantage they could repel the attack of the Greeks when they were strong. If there were a powerful empire like that of the Mauryas under Chandragupta or Asoka, it may be surmised that India could have met the Muslim challenge successfully. When we say that there was no political unity in India from the eighth to the twelfth century, do we mean only this that there was no empire embracing the whole of this country, symbolising this unity? As an alternative, is it intended to mean that there should have been an imperial organisation like that of the Guptas of the time of Samudra-Gupta or Chandra-Gupta II, whose paramountcy was admitted by a number of autonomous states? But it is admitted that one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Gupta empire was the attack made by the Huns. It may also be suggested that some kind of effective political unity could have been established if an organization consisting of a number of independent states were evolved. But this would have been against the normal political tradition and usage of India, and I do not think that such an experiment was ever made on a large scale. An empire in India always depended for its stability on the personal qualities of its ruler. It was natural that whenever there was a weak or incompetent ruler, attempts were made to overthrow his government. India did not develop a constitution which might keep a weak ruler on the throne and yet maintain a strong and efficient government obeyed throughout his dominion. When a new dynasty was founded and it produced a set of vigorous men, extension of power took place; when it ceased to produce men of like calibre its government began to totter and was in the end overthrown. A weak king meant a weak and unstable government. If he was not removed, the people would suffer from the evils of maladministration. Whether a king was strong or weak was to be determined to a large extent by the way foreign relations were managed by him. If he showed skill and vigour in defeating his enemies and making conquests or otherwise extending his power, he would be regarded as a strong king, feared and respected by others. Otherwise stronger men would take advantage of his failures and difficulties and would either impose humiliating terms on him or annex his dominion. No doubt, politics in these circumstances was inevitably tinged with opportunitism, but rather than allowing a weak king to continue his government, it was desirable in the interest of political stability that there should be forces which could be marshalled to put his regime to an end. Political rivalry between different families of rulers was thus a means of stabilising conditions and maintaining some continuity of governmental functions. As a deterrent to forces inherent in a system of flux, it was not an unmitigated evil. The empire of the Mauryas when it became weak could not resist the Graeco-Bactrians. But in the sixth century foreign inroads were checked by powers of much lesser importance than the Mauryas. The Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas were conquered by the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan who were able to build up a limited empire by defeating their enemies. The non-existence of an empire symbolising India's political unity at the time when the Muslims knocked at its gates therefore does not ipso facto prove her political weakness or incapacity. Lack of this particular type of political unity was certainly in evidence in the spirit of dissension prevailing in the capitals of many kingdoms in the North and South and also in unceasing hostilities of rival dynasties; but unless it can be proved on the reliable evidence of recorded cases of unusual treachery, showing that several Indian rulers deliberately threw themselves on the side of the Muslims when their rivals were engaged in bitter fightings against those aliens or even attacked their territories, taking advantage of their dreadful preoccupation, it will be a mere generalisation to affirm that lack of political unity helped the cause of the enemy in a substantial measure. If we suppose that all the different states of India should have combined together to meet the common enemy, we miss the point that the awareness of a common danger threatening the security of the country as a whole when its frontiers were attacked is a comparatively recent development, which could not be anticipated in this age as a potent factor forging political unity, as now understood, since no definite organisation had then been conceived or evolved to promote and foster this outlook.

It will not be fair to conclude that the political system of the Hindus lacked resistant power. The Gurjara-Pratihāras were able to check Muslim advance in the eighth century; the Chālukyas of Lāṭa under Pulakeśi Avanī-Janāśraya defeated in the same century an Arab army which had caused troubles to Sindh, Cutch, Surāshṭra and other kingdoms, and was trying to extend its power into the Deccan. When the Hindus Śāhi king Jaypal was engaged in a bitter and protracted struggle against the forces of Ghazni, it did not appear at the outset that he was fighting for a losing cause, and that his ultimate defeat was a matter of certainty. There was no tendency to surrender; to fight to the last ditch was the motive that inspired his own actions and those of his successors, Anandapal and Trilochanpal. It is not definitely known if Jaypal and his successor were able to organise confederacies of contemporary rulers to oppose Muslim armies, but the fact that such efforts to pool together the resources of neighbouring kings, if actually made, did not succeed, need not also be overemphasised, for quickly improvised measures for joint action, unsupported by precedents, creating innumerable problems of leadership and organization, had their inherent defects, impeding effective operation. Even the nations of the modern world with maturer political experience and identity of interests have not yet been able to build up an organisation, perfect in all its parts, to put forth concerted action against aggression. There was lack of political unity in the sense that those powers which were more or less interested in the prevention of Muslims aggression did not combine together even when diplomatic considerations had brought them closer to one another by ties of friendship. The Kashmir government in the eighth century appears to have maintained friendly relations with the Śāhis who were fighting against the Muslims. The policy seems to have been reversed by Śaṅkaravarman of the Utpala dynasty in the latter part of the ninth century, when the Gurjaras are found to have allied themselves with Laliya Śāhi. If the gravity of the situation were sufficiently realized, some way for concerted action might have been found to cause pressure to bear upon Arab strongholds. The traditional hostility of the Gujaras to Islam should have found its unfailing expression in a policy of persistent opposition in collaboration with the Sāhis. There were many reasons, however, why no joint plan of defence or aggression was formulated. From the eighth to the tenth century there was little realization of the extent of danger which threatened Indian rulers, due to the rise of Islam as a political power. Secondly, the political shrewdness of the Arabs, who inaugurated a policy of toleration towards the social and religious systems of the Indians, may have gone a great way in disarming suspicion against their intention amongst the conquered people and the neighbouring Hindu rulers,—a policy which was carried forward in undertakings of collaboration between the Hindus and the Muslims in the administrative and other fields. The Arab principalities with no avowed policy of playing havoc with the normal course of the lives of the people, came to be regarded as part and parcel of the political system of India. But if the policy of the Gurjaras and that of the Chālukyas, which evidently succeeded in the eighth century, were steadily and forcefully pursued, and if with the help of the Śāhis it could result in the dislodgment of the Arabs, those Muslim invaders who came later might have taken a lesson from such effective display of Hindu strength, and it is doubtful if they could have possessed those bases of operation from which they subsequently led their attacks on India. But this was not to be. The Rāshṭrakūtas entered into friendly relations with the Arabs; the Gurjaras turned their attention to projects of expansion in the east and other directions; in Kashmir the forces of disintegration could not be kept under control; the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar found the Arabs agreeing to the step taken by them to build up a hegemony in Northern India in opposition to the Gurjaras who were the natural enemies of the Pālas as well as the Arabs. The strategic importance of the alliance between the Arabs and Jaypal was fully appreciated by Sabuk-tīgin whose diplomacy succeeded in detaching Shaikh Hamid Lodi from the side of the Śāhis. Had the Arab rule been already eliminated, the situation would have been quite different.

From the 10th century onwards resistance to foreign attacks could not be as strong and effective as it might have been in the earlier period. The Rāshṭrakuṭa attack on the Gurjara-Pratīhāra King Mahīpāla in the early part of the tenth century was a great calamity so far as the security of Northern India was concerned, breaking the backbone of his power, and destroying the prestige and reputation on which his family's suzerainty was based. The blow came at a time when after the vigorous reigns of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, the energy of the family should have been exclusively devoted to a renewed effort of consolidation. The decline of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, hastened as a consequence of the Rāshṭrakuṭa raid on their territory, deprived India of a power which could have given some trouble to the advancing Muslim army, led by Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century. The Rāshṭrakuṭas in attacking the Gurjaras had no constructive policy of their own ; they never seem to have thought of bringing Kanauj permanently under their rule. On the other hand their attack resulted in the weakening of the nerve-centre of the political structure of the Gangetic valley, which had been built up in the course of several centuries.

It may be doubted, however, whether the Gurjara-Pratīhāras could have given due attention to the N.W. and the Punjab at an earlier stage of their history. They had to guard their frontiers against the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas and to keep a sharp watch on the conduct of their feudatories. They, however, succeeded in building up an empire which in the reign of Mahendrapāla in the ninth century stretched from the Karnul district in the Panjab to Bihar and from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal. But when the hostility of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and that of the Pālas remained as a constant threat, they could not possibly venture to open another front in the west to fight Islam, specially when, as they seem to have supposed, there was no immediate threat of aggression from that side.

Finally the point should be stressed that there were some serious defects in the military policy and organization of the Hindus when they failed to stem the tide of Muslim conquest. The army which Jaypal assembled on the field against Sabuk-tīgin towards the end of the tenth century was a vast one and chances of success were for some time hanging in the balance. Had he, instead of collecting the entire strength of such a large army as he assembled on the occasion to face a single issue, relying more on its numerical superiority than on mobility of action, distributed it into smaller sections, exploring the possibilities of applying diversionary and other tactics to harass the enemy from all available points of attack, its effect on the moral, and fighting capacity of his troops may have been encouraging. It is recorded that the accident of a snowstorm finally decided the battle in favour of Ghazni and that the soldiers employed by Jaypal being mainly recruited from the plains were unable to deal with the Muslim troops. But there should have been more troops on the side of the Hindu monarch capable of carrying on a sustained fight under the climatic conditions of the region where they met the enemy. Further experience of warfare with the Muslims seems to have made some Indian rulers conscious of the necessity of adapting their military manoeuvres to the tactics of their enemy, instead of depending on conventional methods. The Rājataraṅgiṇī gives details of the military advice offered by Trilochanpal to Tuṅga, the Kashmir prime minister after he had obtained an asylum with promise of military help from the Kashmir king Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.). As all the relevant facts are not known, we are not in a position to judge whether Anandapal acted wisely in offering help to Mahmud when he was in a difficult situation, being attacked by Ilak Khan, the leader of a rival Turkish horde. Anandapal was, however, regarded as an inveterate enemy by the Muslims; and he once refused to give passage to Mahmud's army through his territory on its expedition against his ally, the Amir of Multan. It is impossible to decide finally if Anandapal were still left with sufficient forces for a surprise attack on Mahmud's army from the rear after it had passed through his territory to attack Thaneswar. It may he supposed that if all the relevant evidence of this period is examined, it will show that the western defences of the Gangetic doab were never made as strong as they should have been if there were repeated challenges from the N. W. before the Muslims actually invaded this region. Under the imperial Guptas, the zones vital for the defence of the Gangetic plains in the Panjab and the North-West, beyond the Jumna and the Chambal, remained outside their own system of government; being administered by tributary or semi-independent rulers, they were deprived of the benefit of the organising power of the Guptas, which territories directly under their rule enjoyed. In the succeeding centuries there arose no indigenous power in the Punjab and the North-West, stronger than the Gurjaras, which may have necessitated sufficient alertness in regard to the security of their frontiers on the western side.

There is some evidence to show that the religious susceptibilities of the newly formed Kshatriya aristocracy were taken advantage of by the Arab rulers of the 9th century A.D., who to prevent Hindu attacks on their territory threatened immediate destruction of Hindu idols if the Gurjara-Pratihāras made any attempt to invade it. Thus when the Hindus were in a position to give hard blows to the enemy, the supreme political task to which their resources should have been devoted was subordinated to the expediency of the moment. Hindu rulers, however, in another part of the country, enjoying by reason of its geographical position, a temporary immunity from foreign aggression, were devising ways and means for increasing the coffers of the state, including barbarous spoliation of religious properties and in a contemptuous mood ordering sacred images to be systematically desecrated and destroyed, probably in imitation of Muslim vandalism.

The political life of the people during the period under review was not entirely absorbed in the Hindu-Muslim conflict, which for a long time was a comparatively minor episode in its history, presenting almost an unbroken record of singular achievements and distinctions. There was an unceasing process of constructive work reflected in the foundation of new dynasties and kingdoms, replacing those which played out their part, and in vigorous pursuits of imperialistic policies, unrestrained by geographical or other barriers and limitations. The coming into being of a new Kshatriyahood when the politically conscious elements of the old Hindu society had been either exterminated in the course of the long drawn-out battles against foreign hordes in the preceding centuries, or demoralised and suppressed by the imperialistic regime of the Guptas, probably contenting themselves with the pleasures and comforts of a landed aristocracy, the Hindu community produced a new brand of Kshatriyas to save the country from chaos. The vitality of our national life was thus preserved; the stream of political activity flowed on uninterruptedly through wars and conquests, alliances and settlements of ever-shifting territorial boundaries. In some phases of political history marks of a struggle between the new Kshatriyas and the older stocks with their habits and traditions rooted in the past seem to be implicit. Brahmin advisers and ministers in whose houses Vedic sacrifices were performed lent their wholehearted assistance to the Buddhist rulers of Bengal and Bihar in establishing their paramountcy; here kings and Brahmins gave proof of exceptional aptitude for religious compromise in the interest of political planning and solidarity. For several centuries, although wars and intrigues never stopped, there was no part of India where some form of organized government did not exist. The building up of new capitals, of fortifications and defences, organization of military expeditions on a large scale, judged by the standard of the time, kept up a lively political activity in the whole subcontinent; and provided occupations in the army for thousands of people, whose efficiency and mettle were repeatedly put to test. The patronage extended to cultural and religious causes, including building of temples and grants of lands to Brahmins, must have added to the strain on the financial resources of the states, caused by their warlike preparations and repeated military engagements, both offensive and defensive. Constant military movements all over the country brought out the strategic importance of many sites, and the comparative strength or weakness of frontiers between different states. Military expeditions, some of which may have been undertaken not for any definite political purpose but for plunder, facilitated the extension of traffic between one part of the country and another, and in particular brought the North nearer to the South. Paradoxical though it may seem, the political set-up of the country, though characterised by bitterness of strife and clash of interests, materially contributed to the strengthening of the realisation of India's geographical and cultural unity. Long distances were abridged and barriers overstopped by unlimited political and military ambition which did not regard any part of India, however remote, as lying outside its scope. The Karnāṭas, who established their power in Bengal in the 12th century, brought with them new ideas which they had imbibed in their homeland and introduced them into the territory which they occupied, thus helping the cause of cultural unity which was advancing under similar pressure of circumstances throughout the whole country.

Indian civilization would have been much poorer but for its many achievements in diverse realms of thought, literature, art, architecture, craftsmanship, law, religion and political organization during this period, which in its final stage, however, witnessed the virtual end of Hindu rule in Northern India. It was in this period that the Hindu sciences and folklore were carried beyond the frontiers of our country in the trail of its commercial articles through Arab intermediaries to take their legitimate place in the progress of world-culture; Indian scholars and saints went to Tibet and China and other Eastern countries and made profound contributions towards their intellectual, moral and religious progress; strange rituals, beliefs and customs which continued to infiltrate into this country, instead of being suppressed or banned, were being steadily absorbed into the ever-widening stream of Indian culture, opening out new boundaries of human relationships; and unassimilated racial elements in Assam and other border states were being brought into closer contact with the progressive cultural and religious forces of the country. It was in this period that literature and art attained their efflorescence with amazing richness of variety and content as true media of expression of India's distinctive thoughts, conceptions and aspirations; new social and political forces were generated for the defence of India's freedom and culture; Sankarācharya's bold speculation reduced the universe to a single principle; the ambitious Chola rulers of the far south built up a powerful navy and extended their political power beyond the borders of India; Kashmir engineers set themselves to the task of grappling Nature's opposition to material progress and executed a stupendous project for the fertilisation and irrigation of the soil, which might extort admiration from their counterpart in modern times.

It is impossible to appreciate the nature and implications of the spiritual experiences and disciplines and social transformations through which the country was passing without keeping the historical background constantly in mind. The problem before the country for many years was how to reorganize society when Buddhism was rapidly passing from one phase to another in its downward course, reflecting in each such stage an effort to find out a path for the guidance of its followers across the tanglewood of accumulated beliefs and customs, myths and doctrines, all of which were not of Indian origin. Buddhism and Hinduism were opposed to each other both doctrinally and institutionally, but the latter had for ages striven to assimilate those elements of the former in the various stages of its evolution, for which its ideals and capacities fitted it. The Tantric system, which developed when Buddhism was in decline in this country, furnished at some points a common meeting ground for the two religions. Out of the struggle between the two religions Hinduism emerged stronger. The triumph must have been all to the advantage of those who undertook to reorganize social institutions and the stratification of castes when Buddhists whose faith was changing had to be admitted into the Hindu fold and the evils arising out of the collapsing monastic order had to be fought. This was the age when social controls became increasingly rigid, and castes further hardened into a hierarchy of exclusive groups, whose place in the system was determined by historic associations—racial, economic and cultural. Although a synthesis was broadening out, the social framework did not obliterate memories of a hundred fights. The bitterness and hatred characterising the historic struggles of succeeding ages left their indelible mark on the social structure which was refashioned under the guidance of scholars and reformers steeped in traditionalism. Attempts were made to purge society of its evils by a resort to Vedic sacrifices, which got an impetus from the advocacy of the Mīmāṁsists led by Kumarila.

The advent of Islam and its progress created unparalleled difficulties in the field of social reconstruction which had been undertaken to meet the problems arising out of the decline and breakdown of Buddhism and the associated monastic system. When the Hindus lost their political power, when thousands of people were being *en masse* forcibly converted to Islam, when the temples and Viharas of the Indians were being fanatically destroyed, it was impossible to preserve Hindu society from extinction except under the guidance of the intellectuals, to which it had to submit in the absence of any alternative leadership. The influence of the Brahmins on the Hindu state before its final overthrow by the Muslims had already become increasingly dominant; this influence now began to work in a far more authoritative manner, with its excesses now left without any corrective that might be administered by the organs of a government, responsible for the welfare of the society as a whole. The utility of the system imposed upon the people by the intellectuals, however reactionary it might seem, judged by the modern standard, was proved in the resultant social consolidation. When the protection of the state was unobtainable, people were also thrown on their individual resources, to the development of which they had to bend their energy in the critical situation in which they were placed. The Hindus had now to carry on their religious duties without much ostentation, and this required the opening out of new channels and possibilities of spiritual experience, which was to be more direct and individualistic than what might be derived through the practice of elaborate conventional rituals, the usual facilities for whose performance were fast disappearing. The stress on individual striving after a spiritual ideal, undisturbed by the vandalism of fanatics, grew stronger and more insistent. When all the malevolent forces of the world seemed to have risen against them when they were losing everything which was precious and sacred to them, people began to endeavour earnestly to conquer terror and despair and lay the foundations of a more intimate faith in the inner resources of man which had to be organized, as they perceived, through dangerous and difficult experiments aiming at the final sublimation of human impulses. These efforts probably gave some a taste of their inner power, when the foundations of the ancient civilization were shaking, stimulated new realisations and finer sensibilities, but although they craved strength and power, their aim was not to galvanise the political consciousness of a dependent people, who must recover their freedom first, before they can save their souls.

But this recovery could not take place because the Kshatriya spirit had been practically wiped out in a large part of this country by the close of the 12th century, because the economic foundations of the Hindu community had been effectively undermined by adverse conditions and forces whose mischief was further accentuated with the transfer of control of India's trade into Muslim hands, and the establishment of Islam as a political factor. It is necessary to investigate how far the mercantile classes in this country were gradually losing their initiative and spirit of enterprise in a changing world. They became more interested in the hoarding of wealth than in investing it in trade. In spite of the injunction of the Śāstras against hoarding, temples all over the country became the repositories of vast amounts of hoarded gold and jewels. Frequent wars interrupted the normal course of trade and commerce. Profiteering and exploitation of the poorer classes, in which sometimes even high state officials and dignitaries took part, as recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, must have constituted normal features of the economic condition of the people at least in many parts of the country. I do not think state control over trade and industry for the purpose of balancing the conflicting interests of middlemen, employers, labourers and consumers, on the lines suggested by Kauṭilya, was ever seriously enforced as a distinct part of administrative policy. New items of taxation appear. It was not easy to build hundreds of lofty temples if labour and craftsmanship were not cheap. The arts and crafts, which depended to a great extent on the patronage of the Hindu aristocracy, languished when it was overwhelmed by the Muslim onslaught. Men must have left towns and cities, taking shelter in villages with the consequence that more pressure fell on land, agricultural labour becoming cheaper and rural crafts more crowded.

Hindu political thinkers had followed a line of speculation which regarded the state and government as indispensable for the preservation and promotion of *dharma* with which every individual, according to his station, had to be concerned under the compulsion of law and custom. The state evidently was a matter of vital interest for all; its grandeur and nobility as an instrument of human progress was vividly realised, but the people, in whose interest the state was required to function, were not accorded any right to determine its nature or the form of government suited for them, or assigned any active part in the discharge of its functions except in the very limited sphere of some branches of local administration. Government remained a kind of trust held by the king and his ministers in the interest of the people. A great opportunity for the development of political consciousness on the part of the people was thrown away although the speculation of our ancient thinkers should have logically led to the conclusion that what concerned all so vitally should not have been made the exclusive privilege of one or more groups only. A logical extension of the principle of autonomy, granted to castes and corporations, to the broader field of politics would not have been an unexpected development. Praise is often bestowed on our village-system as having provided the strongest bulwark for our culture and civilization. The fact that cultivators were able to plough their fields peacefully while towns and cities were burnt and devastated, should make us realise, if of course, it is admitted that our historic role does not consist merely in the unhampered production of raw materials, that the system must have bred a spirit of isolation from the all-embracing interests and purposes of the state, and an indifference and callousness which were suicidal in their effect on the political life of the nation. I am not prepared to hold that our people, even though the economic order under which they lived was unprogressive according to modern canons of justice and equality, were constitutionally unable to reach a fair degree of organizational development in the political field. In the eighth century when, due to repeated political disturbances, there could be no stable government in eastern India, it was the people of Bengal who put an end to the prevailing state of anarchy by electing a king whose dynasty maintained peace and order in a wide territory and pursued an energetic foreign policy for many years. After the end of the rule of the Lohara dynasty in the latter part of the 12th century, citizens in Kashmir for want of a worthy successor, are said to have elected a king. The Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla records that Brahmapāla, the founder of a new dynasty in Assam, owed his throne to popular election, which, if the evidence is reliable, took place in the beginning of the 11th century. These recorded instances, though few and isolated, show that our people were able to take political action at critical moments in their history. Hindu thinkers frequently describe the evils of anarchy (mātsyanyāya), but they generally hold that the first king who was set up to save the world from lawlessness inherent in a state of nature was created by the supreme God out of divine elements; the Buddhists on the other hand declared that the first king was elected by the people from among themselves. But the above-mentioned instances of popular election show the strength of the Buddhist idea; the non-encouragement of popular participation in the broader duties of the state seems to have been due to the preponderating influence of Brahmanic thought, which advocated the divine theory of kingship. But with the shadows of the national crisis gradually deepening, the warning of history seems to have been caught by Śukra and even some authors of Smriti commentaries, who were expected to defend Hindu orthodoxy and follow conventional rules of interpretation. Śukra draws a distinction between kings who are like gods and those who are like demons giving the subjects the right to rebel against and overthrow oppressive rulers. Earlier thinkers also advised the subjects to abandon a worthless or tyrannical king, but the manner in which they did so seems to be a half-hearted one, because they were obsessed more powerfully with the doctrine of the divinity of king. But Śukra's clear thinking in the context of the political experiences of his time and the few centuries which preceded him, bears a great historical significance. Presumably part of the problem which seems to have confronted him was whether the alien rulers, who had established their power deserved the allegiance of the people as representatives of God on earth. The Mīmāṁsakas, 'the most authoritative interpreters of the Sacred Law,' applied the term "rājan" to the Kshatriya only. Visvarūpa while commenting on Yājñavalkya restricts the term 'King' to a consecrated Kshatriya alone, ignoring the fact that there had been many rulers in the past who were not Kshatriyas. But Medhātithi, commenting on Manu, declares that non-Kshatriyas can also perform royal functions and that whoever "protects the people" should be called king, irrespective of caste considerations. Medhātithi's interpretation is found to be in substantial agreement with the views expressed by Aparārka and Vijñānesvara. Medhātithi grants the people the right to bear arms for self-defence as well as for the protection of the lives and properties of others. Rebellion is also supported if it is not motivated by personal desires, if it is backed by the "will to sovereignty". Our scholars and jurists seem to have been making an appeal to the people, although in a cautious and guarded language, and trying to kindle martial spirit and engender political ambition in them for the restoration or consolidation of Hindu sovereignty. Wise men evidently felt that the old order was approaching its doom, and it was imperative that those human resources which had been hitherto neglected should now be utilised.

One of the surest signs of the decay of the old order was the decline of originality of thought and form of art, dating from the 10th century, which could not be compensated merely by massiveness, solidity, ornamentation, laborious reproduction of old styles, techniques and themes, and scholasticism. When attention fell on the common people, possibilities of further progress were revealed. Jayadeva's Gitagovinda, composed in the 12th century, was a unique literary endeavour in his time, which derived its inspiration and form from a popular source. The beginning of some of our provincial languages is to be dated from this period, which set in motion a new machinery for cultural progress enlivened by direct contact with the masses, whose importance in our national life manifested itself in a far larger measure in the next epoch of our history. The drift towards reaction and conventionalism was combated by the movement inaugurated by the Liṅgāyat sect founded in the 12th century, which rejected the caste system, the supremacy of the Brahmins, sacrifices and other rites, did not insist on child marriages, nor object to the remarriage of widows. The Tantras also breathe a liberal spirit, allowing women to act as teachers, and following a programme of social reform like that adopted by the Liṅgāyats. Al-Bīrūnī who composed a notable book on Hindu civilization and history, may be said to have accomplished a pioneering work which was an essential preliminary to Indo-Muslim co-operation in the cultural field. These are some of the indications that when the old order was decaying, new forces made their appearance to preserve the vitality of the race.

In conclusion I beg to put forward an earnest plea for a more intensive and also comprehensive study of the ancient history of our people. There is no doubt that a good deal of spade work has already been done, but much remains to be accomplished. The output of research in respect of the period with which our section is particularly concerned, has been proportionately meagre. We have not yet been able to carry out even a preliminary exploratory study of the immense material which lies scattered in hundreds of epigraphic records. Many of us surely regret that the Archaeological department of the Government of India has not yet made accessible to the scholarly public numerous documents still unpublished, although on the staffs of the universities of India there are specialists whose co-operation can be obtained for the purpose of editing them and assessing their historical value. An intelligible framework of dynastic history is available, which may be depended upon until fresh material is discovered requiring further investigations and modification of the conclusions already arrived at. But the sociological aspect of our history has so far been sadly neglected. The material which we find in the Smritis and commentaries thereon must be tested with the help of the data contained in contemporary inscriptions, foreign accounts, etc. The field of research, so far as sociological studies are concerned, is so wide and is of such varied interest that it can easily accommodate hosts of scholars, promising them a rich harvest provided they labour with patience and devotion. I may be permitted to presume that I know the value of specialisation to some extent, but I feel that if it is carried to an excess, it defeats its own purpose. Data collected by specialists in different branches of research, must be constantly compared and their inner conflict or harmony noted, so that they may know the real value of their work in the context of the whole progress attained in the various departments and also appreciate the problems on which their immediate attention should be focussed. We have developed an outlook which is more antiquarian than historical. Our ultimate object must, however, be to make contributions to the reconstruction of our history as part of world-history and its interpretation, and not to get lost in the niceties of antiquarian research. Some eminent men of our country have in recent times expressed their fear lest in free India we should forget our loyalty to truth, being carried away by patriotic zeal or provincial feeling. Undoubtedly this danger lurks round the corner, but I respectfully point out that although under European guidance we learnt to regard truth as our motto, it was psychologically difficult at times to work in a completely free atmosphere under stresses of a number of complexes, too well known to need any mention here. If we could reconstruct some parts of our history in an era of dependence, we may do the rest now when our moral responsibility is much greater. I am not making any appeal for more facilities for research

JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU: A PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Rajkumar Mukerji, M.A.

"Tel est le Contrat Social. Entreprise pour rendre les hommes libres"..."Il se trouve que c'est un des plus complètes instruments d'oppression qu'un maniaque ait jamais forgé" (J. Lemaître—J. J. Rousseau, p. 267). Such is the Social Contract says Mr. Lemaître, an enterprise to make man free. It is evident that it (Contrat) is one of the most complete instrument for oppression that a maniac has ever prepared.

Was Rousseau really maniac when he wrote the Contrat Social? Or was it a fact that Rousseau wrote his famous "Contrat" under the dictates of his sub-conscious mind or was it the outcome of a conflict of which Rousseau suffered throughout his life? These are the questions which we are going to answer in this short article and further we will try to show that Rousseau wrote his "Contrat" when he was more normal than when he wrote his "On the inequality of man," "Emile" and "Nouvelle Héloise" which are generally considered to be the writings of a sane man.

Character traits

To analyse the character of Rousseau we must divide it into three particularities :

(*a*) Rousseau cannot work amicably with anybody. He is always a failure in service.

(*b*) His first writings : anti-social.

(*c*) His later writing : Contrat-social, Social.

To explain these characters of Rousseau we must delve in the past to find out in what stage Rousseau's mind was fixed :

The libido, the sex urge, *i.e.*, the prime urge develops in the following stages :

1. (*a*) Early or sucking } Oral.
   (*b*) Later or biting }

2. (a) Early or Expulsive }
   (b) Later or retentive } Anal
3. (a) Early or Phalic }
   (b) Later or fully developed adult } Genital.

How the Psyche is fixed in an earlier stage?

During the growth of the libido, the prime instinct, if it is checked by something from free flowing, two things may happen: Ego may be overwhelmed by the Libido or the Sex urge which continues unabated or Ego succeeds in repressing it, *i.e.*, the mind is always potentially in danger of being overwhelmed by the repressed impulse, *i.e.*, the subconscious self is fixed to the repressed thing. Libido stops there.

A. *Rousseau cannot work amicably with anybody. He is always a failure in service. Point of fixation: Oral Stage.*

It is not possible to give in detail in this short space the early life of Rousseau. We will give only such details as are necessary to explain our points.

We know that Rousseau was born in Geneva on the 28th June, 1712. His mother died immediately after Rousseau's birth. The motherless child had none in this world but his romantic father of an adventurous and nomad type. The motherless baby had no soft breast to satisfy his hunger and no one to appreciate his efforts. Naturally the baby was the prey of constant dissatisfaction. This character trait of Rousseau was clearly reflected in his later adult life, in his activities and in his writings. He was constantly dissatisfied in his service for the reason that he could not fix himself in any one line. "Il aime vivre au hasard. Apprenti greffier, graveur, laquais, valet de chambre, seminariste, employé au cadastre, maître de musique"—He was an apprentice record-keeper, an engraver, a laquais, a chamber boy, a seminarist, a clerk of the cadastre, a teacher of music, and last of all the secretary to the French Consul in Rome! He was all these during a very short span of his life.

If we closely go through his biography we will see that he wished to fix himself, he tried to work on amicably but he had always a feeling of frustration, he was afraid of being cheated. He writes about his carear of a laquais in the following vein "Mme de Vercellis ne me parlait plus que pour son service. Elle me jugea moins sur ce que j'étais que sur ce qu'elle m'avait fait, et à force de ne voir en moi qu'un laquais, elle m'empêcha de lui paraître autre chose...Je crois que j'éprouvai dès lors ce jeu malin des intérêts cachés qui m'a traversé toute ma vie et qui m'a donné une aversion naturelle pour l'ordre apparent qui le produit''—Mme de Vercellis did not speak with me any more except on duty ; she judged me more on what she did for me than what I was. She did not give me the opportunity to prove myself otherwise to her...I believe that from that day I experienced the cunning play of the hidden interests that vexed me throughout my life . . ''. This state of mind was nothing but an echo of the cry of the motherless child when hungry, who tried in vain to satisfy his hunger. The mother was not there to appreciate his cry. ''Il a un grand besoin d'aimer'' says rightly Mr. Lemaître ''et une credulité qui le font se jeter a la tête des gens ; et ce premier movement de sensibilité confiante est peu a peu suivi de sensibilité defiante ; car il trouve bientôt chacune de ses idoles inférieure ā l'idée que son imagination s'en était formée ; ou bien son orgueil croyait très vite que l'idole ne lui rende pas son affection ou même se moque de lui''—He had great desire to be loved, a belief urged him to throw himself at the head of the people and this first movement of confidence is gradually followed by a defying nature; because he soon found that each of his idols, is inferior to that of his imagination ; or rather his pride was soon humiliated and he thought that the idol is not giving him the required affection or that it is going to mock at him. There are numerous instances in his writings which make this character of Rousseau quite clear.

We should not forget that Rousseau's mother died, leaving Rousseau completely in the hands of his father who pampered the child so much so up to the age of eight that he acquired subconsciously a sense of superiority feeling which created in him a tendency to move towards persons who will pamper him. He excluded all other persons from his life. He became a-sociable.

B. *Society is bad, individual is good. Fixation point* 2 (*a*)(*b*). 3(*a*).

Before plunging deep into the antisocial writings of Rousseau it is necessary to see *what was society to Rousseau.*

The Society Equation.

If S :: Society

Then S :: E plus C

where E is environment and C is constitution.

As far as the constitution of Rousseau is concerned it is nil. "Je naquis" says Rousseau "infirme et malade. Je suis né presque malade mourante"— I was born infirm and ill. I was born almost dead (a dying patient).

Therefore the equation turns to be:

S :: E plus O

or S :: E

Environment in early life is created by the parents:

Therefore E :: F plus M

Where F is father and M is mother. But Rousseau had no mother. Therefore:

E :: F plus O

or E :: F

or S :: E :: F

i.e. S :: F

In other words Father was Society to Rousseau.

Rousseau is a motherless baby. He is well cared for by his father. His father is all in all. His romantic father used to read to him romantic novels night after night when Rousseau was only seven. His father never scolded him. He was well coddled by his father. Rousseau loved his father. Rousseau's father loved Rousseau which was the natural outcome of a father to a motherless baby. Rousseau loves his father, not out of fear or out of respect as a parent but out of love. He is in love with his father. Rousseau is becoming a homosexual: Fixation point: Anal.

Had Rousseau's libido been allowed to flow to complete maturity *i.e.* up to 3(b) his homosexual tendency would have been sublimated and he would have become a society lover. But his libido could not find a proper channel to flow to complete maturity. Mr. Lemaître rightly says " Abandonné par son père à l'âge de huit ans et qui à partir de dix ans ne fut pas élevé du tout et devint, il le dit lui-même à plusieurs reprises, un polisson, un larron, un parfait vautrien"—abandoned by his father at the age of ten and who from the age of ten had not at all been brought up properly, became, he himself says, a mischievous child, a thief, and a perfect worth-for-nothing. Are not these characters express an a-sociable nature? Are not these characters the expressions of the unsatisfied libido?

Rousseau was separated from his father, nay Rousseau thought that his father abandoned him. His father "was a worthy man but fond of pleasure, frivolous and remarried who abandons him and leaves him to his fate" says Rousseau in the first pages of his "Confessions". Rousseau's father loved Rousseau, but after this separation from his father Rousseau began to doubt whether his father really loved him. This doubt finally led Rousseau to think that his father did not love him. His father wanted Rousseau to die. Rousseau's father hated Rousseau which was quite natural for a father like that of Rousseau. But Rousseau will not die. He will not let himself to be destroyed; he will break the situation created by his father: a natural impulse towards a situation created, for survival. He, Rousseau will not be destroyed. His father equal to society will be destroyed, *i.e.*

He : : Rousseau : : Individual, will live.

In other words Rousseau began to hate his father *i.e.*, society and consequently he became a society-hater and lover of individual.

This state of mind of Rousseau reflected clearly on all his anti-social writings where his main ideas are: Man was good, Society has made him bad. Rousseau was good. His father equal to society has made him bad. Society of man is the source of all evil, Society should be hated. Rousseau's father is the source of all his evils and Rousseau hates his father.

Ego-libido conflict in Rousseau

Rousseau's homosexual love about his father is anti-social. Hence ego or the conscious mind does not like it to be published. Ego checks it. Libido tries to raise its head. Ego tries to check it and finally succeeds in suppressing, nay repressing it. But the wish remains. Ego is conscious that some time it may come out. Ego continually remains on the alert. Ego repeats continually: Love to father is homosexsuality, it is bad. If you cannot check it say "I hate fat r, I hate father to check I love father, I love father"—at first whenever the urge arises, but later, to be on the safe side continually, continually Ego keeps on muttering, day and night. Ego is in conflict with libido. The result of which is: Success→Repression→Reaction formation→Tension.

This tension in Rousseau made of him a nervous wreck, a mentally impotent (towards sex). This is evident from Rousseau's writings He speaks often of his "unknown disease". At the beginning of his "La confèssion" René (Rousseau) speaks as follows: "J'étais inquiet, distrait, reveur, je pleurais, je soupirais, je desirais un bonheur dont je n'avais pas d'idée, et dont je sentais pourtant la privation". I was anxious, I was distracted, I dreamt, I wept, I desired for a happiness of which I had no idea, however, of which I felt the privation and further on "Pleurs que Je versais souvent sans raison de pleurer" I wept often without reason. "J'avais des frayeurs vives au bruit d'une feuille ou d'un oiseau"- I had frights from the noise of a flying leaf or of a flying bird.

We will take up the question of Rousseau's mental impotency towards sex later on

C. *His social writing: Contrat Social: Individual must submit himself to the will of the people.*

Rousseau is homosexual, his psyche is fixed. As long as this fixation will persist, Rousseau will remain antisocial. If by any chance, if by some miracle, this fixation is released, real Rousseau, Rousseau who loved his father (F : : S), Rousseau who was destined to be a society lover will come out. *And this miracle happened.*

Rousseau was left by his father under the guardianship of Mme de Warens whom we will symbolise as mv. Here it is necessary to sketch a portion of Rousseau's biography.

Rousseau's father was forced to expatriate himself being trapped in an unpleasant affair. He left Rousseau in charge of a rich peasant of Bossey. Rousseau fell in love with the wife of the peasant, a girl of thirty years, when Rousseau was only ten. Rousseau was mercilessly flogged by the peasant's wife Mme Lambercier. He left the Lembercier family and came to Geneva. There he began to live under the roof of his uncle Bernard. Here he fell in love with Miss Voulson and Miss Gothon. One evening when he was returning home after a walk he found the village-gate closed. He became the wanderer of the outskirts of Geneva. At last he went to the priest

Confignon for a shelter, who recommended him to Mme de Warens at Annecy.

Who was this Mme de Warens and what was the first impression of Rousseau about this lady :

"J'ai nommé plusieurs fois madame de Warens" says Mr. Lemaître "Elle est assez singulière pour qu'on dût s'arrêter sur elle. Mais vous la connaissez. Je n'ai pas à vous rappeler sa naissance protestante, son mariage, sa fuite de Vevy, à la suite d'on ne sait trop quel incident doméstique, son recours au roi de Sardaigne sous les auspices de qui elle se convertit au catholicisme et qui lui fait une pension de deux mille francs. Elle travaillait elle-même dans les conversions (comme on le voit par sa première recontre avec Jean-Jacques), quoique son catholicisme fut extrêmement latitudinaire ......En amour, un vieux monsieur lui avait appris dans sa jeunesse que l'acte est chose indifférente en soi, et elle l'avait cru. Elle se donnait à ses amis pour leur faire plaisir et pour se les attacher et elle n'était pas regardante sur leur condition sociale......Bref elle était en amour un homme"—I have several time mentioned the name of Mme de Warens. She is very singular. One cannot but speak for a long time of her. But you also know her. I do not think it necessary to recall to you that she was a protestant by birth, her marriage, her disappearance from Vevey, as a consequence of what family incident one does not know, her appeal to the king of Sardinia under the presence of whom she was converted a catholic. The king offered her a pension of two thousand francs a year. She herself worked as a converter (Rousseau was converted by her), although her catholicism was extremely latitudinarian... .. In love, an old gentleman taught her when she was young that the act itself is immaterial, and she believed in it. She gave herself to her friends in order to please them and to attach them to her. She never cared for the social status of her friends......In short in love she was a man!

Such was the woman Mme de Warens and the first impression of Rousseau is very remarkable : "Prête à entrer dans l'église, madame de Warens se retourne à ma voix. Que devins-je à cette vue ! Je me figurais une vieille dévote bien rechignée; la bonne dame de M. de Pontverre ne pouvait être autre chose à mon avis. Je vois un visage pétri de graces, de beaux yeux bleus pleins de douceur, un teint éblouissant, le contour d'une gorge enchanteresse......Je devins à l'instant le sien, sûr qu'une religion prêchée par de tels missionnaires ne pouvait manquer de mener au paradis"—About to enter in the church, Mme de Warens turned back at me when I called her. What became of me at that sight! I saw myself face to face with the devout person with a sullen look; the good lady of M. de Pontverre could not have been otherwise. I saw a face strewn with graces, with two beautiful blue eyes full of charm, a dazzling colour with the enchanting contour of the neck......I became in a moment hers. I was sure that a religion preached by such a missionary could not fail to lead one directly to paradise.

Rousseau loved Mme de Warens but with the devotional love characterised by the words " Maman " & " Petite ".

Now the hatred of Rousseau to his father is transferred to this new society, Mme de Warens. Rousseau hates his father, he hates society, he will hate Mme de Warens. But Mme de Warens is of different sex ! But that does not matter, she is wicked (Ego's reaction formation persists). Are all people of the same sex of Mme de Warens wicked? Object love is transformed into part object love. It will have to develop into adult sexual maturity. Rousseau thinks " Let me play tricks with women by falling in love with them, let me slight them." He falls in love and experiences heterosexual pleasures but he also gets some amount of frustration though there is also some losening of tension. Whenever he is frustrated he comes back to Mme de Warens. Why? Surely to get some amount of peace. He began to love Mv : :Society. Mv : :becomes Society to Reusseau. If Mv rules Rousseau will get peace. Rousseau ; Individual must be sacrificed to Mv : :Society, *i.e.* individual is to be sacrificed to Society.

People of Rousseau's type cannot marry. We will comment on this point later on.

We have seen :

He : :Rousseau : : Individual will live

Now we see :

He : :Rousseau : : Individual will be sacrificed.

These equations are clearly contradictory. A-sociability was the foundation of all writings of Rousseau. Contrat Social is an exception. Mr. E. Faguet was right when he said—" Est-il douteux

que l'insociability soit le fond des sentiments et des idées de Rousseau ; que s'affranchir lui-même, et affranchir l'homme s'il est possible du joug dur, degradant et corrupteur que l'invention sociale a forgé, soit sa pensée maîtresse, cent fois exprimée......ses théories politiques ne sont nullement dans ce sens, et ce serait à peine, ce ne serait vraiment point......une exagération de polémiste que de dire qu'elle tendent plutôt à renforcer le joug social et à le rendre plus solide, plus étroit et plus lourd......je dis que le contrat social de Rousseau est en contradiction avec ses idées—Is it doubtful that Rousseau's sentiments and ideas were founded on unsociability? Is it doubtful that Rousseau hundred times expressed in his works the idea of making himself free, making man free, if possible, from the unkind, degrading and corrupting yoke that a social device has ever forged? His political theories are not of this sense, and it will hardly be, nay it will not really be an exaggeration on the part of a critique, if he says that they tend rather toward re-enforcing the social yoke and making it more solid, more strait and more heavy......I say that the Social Contract of Rousseau is in contradiction to his ideas.

In his first writings Rousseau supported the view that the society is illegitimate, and illegitimate is its pretention for demanding from individuals a one-sided sacrifice. But in Contrat Social he upholds the idea that individuals should be sacrificed for the society.' "On convient, dit Rousseau, que tout ce que chacun aliène, pour le pacte social, de sa puissance, de ses biens, de sa liberté, c'est seulement la partie de tout celà dont l'usage importe à la communauté: mais il faut convenir aussi que le souverain (C'est-à-dire le peuple en tant que souverain) est juge de cette importance.—It is agreed, says Rousseau that all that one alianates for the social pact, of his power, of his properties, of his liberty, is only that part of all those things, of which the use is necessary for the community: but it should also be agreed that the sovereign (*i.e.* the people as sovereign) is the judge of that necessity. This is really dangerous.

As long as Rousseau was with Mme Warens, the libido got a channel to flow but it could not make itself completely free from its repressed condition, for the only reason : F : : S : : Mv.

Rousseau's hatred on Mme Warens became apparent when he returned after two months' stay in Montpellier to Mme Warens and found his place occupied by the wigmaker Ventzenried. After few years when the poor woman was completely in the decline Rousseau sent to her from Paris a little sum of money. We should not forget that Rousseau lived more than ten years on Mme de Warens !

After Mme de Warens, Rousseau met Therèse a girl of 23 years, in the hotel Saint-Quentin, near Sorbonne. We will not enter into details about Rousseau's life with Therèse. We will say this much that Therèse played the same part as that of Mme de Warens. Therèse remained with Rousseau till the end of his life. But the most interesting fact is that he could not marry Therèse. Why?

Rousseau himself gives various reasons :

He wrote to Mme de Francueil : " Que ne me suis-je-marié, me direz vous? Demandez-le à vos injustes lois, madame. Il ne me convenait pas de contracter un engagement éternel, et jamais on ne me prouvera qu'aucun devoir m'y oblige "—Why am I not married, you will ask. Ask it to your unjust laws, madame. An eternal engagement is not suitable to me, and never will any one be able to convince me that I am duty bound to it. Is it a plausible reason?

To Mme Luxembourg he wrote : "Un mariage public nous eut été impossible à cause de la difference de religion "—A public marriage had been impossible for us because of the difference of religion. But Rousseau was a catholic !

Rousseau could not marry Therèse not because of any religious or legal reasons but because he chose heterosexual line of his life and because of his a-sociable nature, his libido could not completely free itself from ego's reaction in his childhood.

Why Rousseau's libido could not completely free itself? For the same reason : F : : Mv : :Therèse : : any other woman : : society, *i.e.* all women were F to Rousseau. If such is the case then was it possible for Rousseau to enter into conjugal play with any woman? It seems it was not from Rousseau's own confession :

" Je revais en marchant à celle que j'allais voir, à l'acceuil caressant qu'elle me ferait, au baiser qui m'attendait à mon arrivée ......Ce seul baiser......avant même de le recevoir, m'embrassait le sang...... J'étais obligé de m'arrêter, de m'asseoir "—I dreamt while walking, of her whom I was going to meet, of the caressing welcome that is awaiting me, of the kiss that was waiting for my arrival...... that only kiss......even before receiving it took possession of my blood. I was forced to stop, to sit down......!

And then his meeting with Juliette in Italy : J'entrais dans la chambre d'une courtisane comme dans le sanctuaire de l'amour et de la beauté......A peine eus-je connu, dans les premièrs-familiarités, le prix de ses charmes et de ses caresses, que de peur d'en perdre le fruit d'avance, je voulus me hater de le cueillir. Tout à coup, au lieu des flammes qui me dévoraient, je sens un froid mortel couler

dans mes veines, et prêt a me trouver mal, je m'assieds, et je pleure comme un enfant "—I was entering in the room of a "Courtisane" as in the sanctuary of love and of beauty......Hardly had I known, during the first intimacy, the price of her charms and caresses, I hastened myself to collect the fruit for the fear of losing it in advance. Suddenly, instead of flames which was devouring me, I felt a mortal coldness in my veins, and I was almost ill. I sat down and I wept like a child "—These are clearly symptoms of neurosis resulting out of a conflict which became ingrained in Rousseau's sub-conscious mind. On the one hand the libido was anxious to find out a channel for free flowing. It wanted to satisfy its sexual hunger but as soon as Rousseau approached a woman, ego's spell over libido became too strong. As a consequence there was always a tension which used to bring a complete nervous breakdown and Rousseau's conclusion with a woman became impossible. Such a man cannot have any children.

But Rousseau had five children of whom Therèse was the mother, born between 1746 to 1755. It was Rousseau *himself* who advertised to his friends that he had five children and that he had put them in "Enfants trouvés". This fact makes our conclusion too strong. We must not forget that Therèse was a well-known woman, well-known to men and women friends of Rousseau but is it not somewhat surprising that none of these friends of Rousseau ever spoke of the pregnancy of Therèse? Five times Therèse became pregnant and it was completely overlooked! Why did Rousseau feel it a necessity to advertise this fact to his friends, when the fact, if it was true, was too apparent? Rousseau himself says that he said it "a tous ceux à qui j'avais déclaré nos liaisons, je le dis à Diderot, à Grimm,......à Mme d'Epinay......encore à Mme de Luxembourg *sans aucune nécessité et pouvant aisément le cacher à tout le monde* "—to all whom I declared our union, I said it to Diderot, to Grimm, to Mme d'Epinay......again to Mme de Luxembourg, without any necessity and I could have very easily hid it from all. Rousseau says that he advertised the fact without necessity, but we say that *it was a necessity* for Rousseau to hide his own weakness in order to save himself from the worst kind of humiliation that *a man* may suffer from, in a society of gallant men and women. The terror of being caught as an impotent obsessed him and forced him to act abominably wherever there was any chance of being declared publicly. The history of the ribbon proves this character trait of Rousseau. He was "Laquais" to Mme de Vercellis. When the lady died, Rousseau, in the disorder that followed her death, stole a little ribbon of rose color. He was caught, He said that it was the cook Marion who gave the ribbon to him and thus saved himself. In his confession he writes "Je ne craignais que la honte, mais je le craignais plus que la mort, plus que le crime plus que tout au monde......L'invincible honte l'emporta sur tout; la honte seul fit mon impudence, et plus je devenais criminel, plus l'effroi d'en convenir me rendait intrépide. Je ne voyais que l'horreur d'être reconnu, declaré publiquement......Un trouble universel m'ôtait tout autre sentiment"—I was afraid of humiliation, I was afraid of it more than death, more than a crime, more than anything in this world......it is humiliation alone that made me an impudent, and the more I became criminal, the more the fright of being caught made me bold. I saw only the horror of being caught and declared publicly, as a thief, as a liar, as a calumniator, I was stripped off of all my sense by a universal trouble.

The story of five children was hatched by Rousseau himself to cover up his weakness.

THE GENTLE ELIA

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One summer evening Charles Lamb, a short, flat-footed man who stammered, was walking on Hampsted Heath in England side by side with a friend. Once in the course of conversation being somewhat grave he condemned himself for his slavery to the habit of snuff-taking and deciding not to take again a single pinch, he threw away the snuff-box among the brambles at the foot of the hill, and went back home with a feeling of achievement. That night without snuff was for him a wretched night. On the following morning he was seen at the foot of the same hill searching among the bushes. It happened the friend of the previous evening was at that time on the same hill looking with wonder at the man below. As soon as Lamb saw this friend he burst into an ingenuous, childlike laugh and confessed he was looking for his snuff-box. That was Elia ; wayward childlike and confessing with a smile his vices to others.

He hated concealment. He was the last person to put on the garb of a professional author. For him the highest ideal was beyond any shadow of doubt self-revelation, disclosure of the godlike heights and the abysmal depths of one's own personality. He will endeavour as much to convince you of his frailties and imperfections as most others will do to hide theirs. Is there anybody else in the entire range of English literature who speaks with so much candour and force of his ignorance as Elia? He opens his heart—In everything that relates to science I am a whole Encyclopaedia behind the rest of the world. I know less geography than a schoolboy of six weeks' standing . . . I do not know whereabout Africa merges into Asia; whether Ethiopia lie in one or other of those great divisions; nor can form the remotest conjecture of the position of New South Wales, or Van Diemen's Land. Yet do I hold a correspondence with a very dear friend in the first-named of these two Terrae Incognitae. I have no astronomy. I do not know where to look for the Bear, or Charles's Wain; the place of any star; or the name of any of them at sight . . . . . . Of history and chronology I possess some vague points, such as one cannot help picking up in the course of miscellaneous study; but I never deliberately sat down to a chronicle, even of my own country. . ." "The old and the new schoolmaster" is nothing but a piece of confession, a catalogue of his defects.

The truth is that he was a lyricist by temper. His medium of expression was prose but he was essentially a poet. It was not for him to construct a spire of meaning. Preaching was alien to his temper, philosophising gall and warmwood. His theme was he himself, his joys and sorrows, his fund of memories. It is not by a pageant of gorgeous words that he arrests our attention. He captures us by his ring of sincerity, by his words that emerge, warm and glowing, after being stored long in the deep delved earth of his heart. His words have spearheads, they penetrate to the heart. When we pore over the essays of Elia, we do not so much read him as hear him speak. A strange feeling comes upon us. It is as though we had suddenly walked into a room where prevails an atmosphere of tranquillity. Round a table are sitting some persons, a small quiet group. Tobacco smoke hangs in the air. At the head of the table sits the speaker with a melancholy face and a genial smile tinged with sadness. What strikes one most about his face is his large and hooked nose. Slowly he speaks, in a haphazard manner, now and then puffing at his pipe. And amazingly simple are the subjects on which he speaks. With a wealth of illustration, allusion and tender feeling he speaks of the little things of life to which we seldom pay much attention. He narrates with a sly smile the tale of a greedy boy who crammed down his throat in a beastly fashion pieces of a burnt pig and his father who first with a stern face tried to stop him but later on discovering the taste himself sat down and did not leave off till the remainder of the litter had been despatched. He refers to the little chimney sweepers of London who appear early in the morning, so many tender boys with maternal washings not quite effaced from their cheeks. A shade of melancholy descends on his eyes when he begins to describe the days he has passed at a Norfolk house gazing at the old busts of the twelve Caesars of Rome and roaming about in the specious old-fashioned garden amidst melancholy-looking Yew trees. With the recollection of those vanished days rise before his mind's eye the faces of those near and dear relatives with whom he was once inseparably connected; his brother who was a spirited youth, his extremely pious grandmother, Field, and so on and so forth. Thus he goes on narrating, in a desultory manner, tales of which some are reminiscences, some wistful longings and some saturnalia of fun. It is these desultory talks of Lamb that have come down to us as pearls of English literature bearing individual titles such as "Roast Pig," "Dream Children," "Praise of Chimney Sweepers" and "All Fools' Day." Is there anybody who does not feel elated when he hears Lamb's invitation to drink "the sparkling gooseberry?" Lamb's voice comes with an irresistible charm—"Do not we know one another? What need of ceremony among friends? We have all a touch of that same—you understand me—a speck of the motley." And then follows an interminable procession of the great fools of the world carrying caps and baubles; Empedocles, the great Sicilian philosopher who went a salamander-gathering down Aetna, Cleombrotus who threw himself into the Mediterranean in order to exchange this life for a better one, the country-gulls portrayed by Ben Jonson, Aguecheek of "Twelfth Night," Shallow of "Merry Wives" and a troop of such motley-decked individuals. What other appellation can you give them save "darlings of absurdity," "minions of the Goddess?" Lamb's playful warning comes—"And take my work for this reader, and say a fool told it you, if you please, that he who hath not a dram of folly in his mixture, hath pounds of much worse matter in his composition."

As we read the essays a new vision dawns on us, we feel the birth of some unique experience in our hearts. The scenes and the beings he speaks of assume such clear outlines and solid shapes that they do not seem to be altogether new things to us but in some strange manner appear to be a reproduction of things we have seen and heard, a recreation of our own experiences. His recollections become recollections of our own experiences. It is our innermost desires and longings that find expression in his lyrical intensity and passionate outbursts. The essays with their rumination, pathos and ripple of laughter raise a nostalgic yearning for our own past, for the golden days we have left behind and thus the charm is wrought. They evoke our spirits. And, pray, is not that the very essence of romanticism ?

Critics have tried to describe Elia with some or other specific epithet. Some have called him "gentle," some have characterised him as "a protean character" and some have adorned him with the phrase "a humorist." No one of these tributes does full justice to Elia. Elia cannot be crystallised in a single phrase. There is a flavour in the essays of Elia, something emotionally apprehensible but defying analysis. It is an inescapable fact. You cannot deny it just as you cannot deny the existence of the sun or the moon. It cannot be located at a point; it is some intangible, insubstantial gold that permeates and sheds glory on his work. It lies in his fundamental approach to life. Few have loved "this green earth" more passionately and with greater desire to cling to it than Lamb. In spite of its many anomalies and repellant features the earth fascinates him, entrances him. Keats, hurt by the spectacle of youth growing pale and spectre-thin, sought refuge in a world where beauty was imperishable and joy inextinguishable. But Elia is supremely content with life as it is. He has no aspiration for wings, he is a poet of the earth. He would set up his tabernacle here. Love of earth is not a rare feeling. Many before Lamb have glorified the earth. But most of them have glorified the earth with some purpose, for the sake of something. Blake sees in earthly things a manifestation of the Divine. Wordsworth loves the earth because every object, living or inanimate, in his eyes is symbolic of certain spiritual values. Lamb's is an unadulterated love, his mind a cascade of pure gold. He loves the earth for its own sake. For him "the rurual solitudes" and 'the sweet security of streets' are tangible, stubborn facts; parts of his experience. He does not spiritualize; he takes them for what they are; things solid, substantial and inevitably material. No wonder he raises his finger to stop "the great wheel of time." For him human beings in spite of their countless follies and foibles are lovable creatures, "trailing clouds of glory." Their oddities and idiosyncrasies interest him and he stands gazing at them, without any venom, an observer with imposing calm. Neither teaching nor correction is him aim. He laughs and at the same time loves. This is something of which most of us are incapable. To sneer or laugh at one who has defects is no sign of greatness. For that is what we usually do. Upon those who wallow in foibles Pope fires shafts of flame and poison, Dryden opens a volley of abuse. But Elia? . . . . He will notice with a keen eye all the incongruities of a person and yet, instead of trying to expose him, look on with a bland, sweet smile. The defect of a character when touched by him is not held up to ridicule but transmuted into a thing of glory. Are not the characters portrayed in the essays troops of unique individuals? That James Elia is a bundle of contradictions nobody will deny. His passion for works of art he disguises under the pretext of buying to sell again. With always some fire-new project in his brain James Elia is the systematic opponent of innovation. Enormous and many are his defects, and yet Lamb shows a fountain of love for him. "Marry, heaven, and all good manners, and the understanding that should be between kinsfolk forbid!—with all the strangeness of this strangest of the Elias—I would not give him one jot or tittle other than he is; . . . . " Who will doubt after hearing these words that his literature springs from the fullness of emotion, that it was bred in the heart and not in the head? Certainly Lamb deserves the niche he occupies in the temple of fame.

THE VINAYAPITAKA—TIBETAN VERSION

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The Tibetan version of the Vinaya, known as the Ḥdul-ba, belongs to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school—an off-shoot of the sarvāstivāda school according to some scholars—but there is not yet a consensus of opinion on the point. It was translated from Sanskrit sometime in the 9th century A.D. It[1] contains 13 volumes and is divided into the following parts:—

(1) *Vinaya-vestu* (Ḥdul-gzhi) comprises 4 volumes covering folios—407 + 563 + 478 + 470 = 1918.

(2) *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* (So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo) contains 30 folios.

(3) *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* (Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa) comprises 4 volumes covering folios—409 + 431 + 446 + 417 = 1703.

(4) *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra* (Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-so-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo) contains 36 folios.

(5) *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya-vibhaṅga* (Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa) covers one volume of 447 folios.

(6) *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu* (Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi) comprises 2 volumes extending over folios—324 + 708 = 1032, and

(7) *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* (Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma) comprises 2 volumes containing folios—458 + 473 = 931.[2]

Some are of opinion that the Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba)[3] is divided into 4 books entitled (1) *Vinaya-vastu*, (2) *Prāti mokṣa-sūtra* and *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, (3) *Vinayakṣudraka*-vastu and (4) *Vinaya-uttara-grantha*, corresponding to the 4 divisions of the Pāli works, *viz.*, (1) *Mahāvagga*,

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[1] *Asiatic Researches*, pp. 42ff, *Calalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, pp. 1ff

[2] It is to be noted that the folio references are according to the Snarthang edition, but they vary in the Sde-dge edition, and are noted here :— (1) *Vinaya-vastu*—311 + 317 + 293 + 302 = 1223, (2) *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*—20 folios, (3) *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*—272 + 287 + 287 + 269 = 1115, (4) *Bhikṣuṇi-prātimokṣa-Sūtra*—25 folios, (5) *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya-vibhaṅga*—303 folios, (6) *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*—310 + 333 = 643 and (7) *Vinaya-uttarar-vrantha*—302 + 313 = 615—vide *Calalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others. pp. 1ff.

[3] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, p. 44, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools* by N. Dutt, p. 283.

(2) *Suttavibhaṅga,* (3) *Cullavagga* and (4) *Parivāra-pāṭha.* The *Prātimokṣa-sūtra-paddhati* (So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdoḥi-ḥgrel), an exegetical text on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra,* gives the order of divisions of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya as: (1) *Vinaya-vibhaṅga,* (2) *Vinaya-vastu,* (3) *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu* and (4) *Vinaya-uttara-grantha.* The *Mahāvyutpatti*[1] supports this classification, but it finds no corroboration in the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) as noticed above.

Alexander Csoma de Körös,[2] the noted Tibetan scholar, has given us a full analysis not only of the Ḥdul-ba but of the Kanjur (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur) and a short one of the Tanjur (Bstan-ḥgyur). In his French translation Leon Feer[3] gives also an analysis with additional matters based upon Csoma's work.

The *Vinayavastu* (Ḥdul-ba-gzhi) comprises four volumes and is the first book of the Tibetan Vinaya, corresponding to the Pāli *Mahāvagga* and portions of *Cullavagga.* It contains the following 17 chapters :—

1. Pravrajyāvastu (Rab-tu-ḥbyuṅ-baḥi-gzhi),
2. Poṣadhavastu (Gso-sbyoṅ-baḥi-gzhi),
3. Pravāraṇāvastu (Dgag-dbyeḥi-gzhi),
4. Varṣāvastu (Dbyar-gyi-gzhi),
5. Carmavastu (Ko-lpags-kyi-gzhi),
6. Bhaiṣajyavastu (Sman-gyi-gzhi),
7. Cīvaravastu (Gos-kyi-gzhi,
8. Kaṭhinavastu (Sra-brkyaṅ-gyi-gzhi),
9. Kauśāmbīvastu (Kau-sambiḥi-gzhi),
10. Karmavastu (Las-kyi-gzhi),
11. Pāṇḍulohitakavastu (Dmar-ser-can-gyi-gzhi),
12. Pudgalavastu (Gaṅ-zag-gi-gzhi),
13. Pārivāsikavastu (Spo-baḥi-gzhi),
14. Poṣadhasthāpanavastu (Gso-sbyoṅ-gzhag-paḥi-gzhi),
15. Śayanāsanavastu (Gnas-paḥi-gzhi),
16. Adhikaraṇavastu (Rtsod-paḥi-gzhi),
17. Saṁghabhedakavastu (Dge-ḥdun-dbyen-paḥi-gzhi).[4]

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[1] Ed. Sakkaki, p. 110.

[2] *Asiatic Researches,* vol. XX.

[3] *Analyse du Kandjour.*

[4] Ḥdul-ba, vol. Ka, folios $2a^4$-$2b^1$ (Snarthang, edn.) or $1a^4$-$2a^1$, Sde-dge, edn. For most of these *vastūs* (chapters) in Sanskrit, *vide Gilgit Manuscripts,* ed. Dr. N. Dutt, vol. III, pts, I-III.

The second division of the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) contains the *Prātimokṣasūtra*[1] and the *Vinayavibhaṅga*[2] consisting of five volumes.

The *Prātimokṣasūtra* (So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo), or the Bhikṣuprātimokṣasūtra, which forms a part of the fifth volume, i.e., vol. Ca, corresponds to the Pāli *Pātimokkhasutta.* It is not an original work but is a translation of the Sanskrit text called the *Prātimokṣasūtra*—the manuscript fragments of which have recently been discovered at Gilgit in Kashmir. It contains 8 sections, and the offences have been grouped in a descending order, *i.e.*, from the graver to the lighter, just as we have in the Pāli *Pātimokkhasutta.*[3] There are no less than seven commentaries on this text in Tibetan.

The *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* (Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-so-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo) appears in vol. Ta. It was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra and Nāgadhvaja. It answers to the Pāli *Bhikkhunīpātimokkhasutta* and contains seven sections corresponding to the seven categories of rules.[4]

The *Vinayavibhaṅga* (Ḥdul-baḥi-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa), or the *Bhikṣuvinayavibhaṅga*, is contained in the volumes, Ca, Cha, Ja and Ña. It is an extensive commentary on the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* rules. Each rule is explained word for word and the occasion for the introduction of each rule is given. The narratives recorded here are all ascribed to Buddha. They are, however, stereotyped stories of little or no value, and most probably invented with no connection with actual facts and some of them hideously obscene. Further, it contains some four avadānas, such as Cūḍāpakṣa, Svāgata, Sahasodgata and Rudrāyaṇa—they are identical with those in the *Divyāvadāna.*[5] The text corresponds to the Pāli Mahāvibhaṅga of the *Suttavibhaṅga.*

The *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga* (Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa) is contained in vol. Ta. It was translated into Tibetan by Sarvajñadeva, Dharmākara, Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal-gyi-lhun-po and revised afterwards by Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal-brtsegs. It is a commentary on the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* just like the *Vinayavibhaṅga* better known as the *Mahāvibhaṅga* on the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣasūtra*. It is a much shorter text and is less comprehensive than the *Vinayavibhaṅga*. It is also a word for word commentary, and the rules are explained in the same way and in the same words as in the *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga*. In short, the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga* is a mere reproduction of the *Bhikṣuvinayavibhaṅga*. The text has a fair correspondence with the Pāli Bhikkhunivinayavibhaṅga.

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[1] There are two *Prātimokṣasūtras*, one for the monks known as the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣasūtra* and the other for the nuns called the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra.*

[2] There are two *Vibhaṅgas*, the *Bhikṣuvinayavibhaṅga* and the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga.*

[3] There is divergence in the number of rules. The Pāli *Pātimokkhasutta* gives the total number of rules as 227 as against 258 of the Tibetan version.

[4] According to Pāli *Bhikkhunīpātimokkhasutta* the total number of rules is 311 while in the Tibetan version it is 371.

[5] *A comparative analytical catalogue of the Kanjur division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka* published by the Otani Daigaku Library. Kyoto, Japan, 1930, p. 407.

The third division of the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) contains the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi) which extends over two volumes, *viz.*, Tha and Da. It was translated into Tibetan by Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmaśrībhadra and the Tibetan monk Dpal-ḥbyor. It contains briefly rules regulating life and conduct of the bhikṣus for their practical guidance, and the social conditions of the people of Central India. In the words of the great Hungarian scholar, Alexander Csoma Körös, "they (materials) are of little consequence, except a few allusions to events, persons, customs, manners, places or countries." It corresponds to the Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka of the Pāli *Cullavagga*.

The *Vinayauttaragrantha* (Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma) which is the fourth division of the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) consists of two volumes, Na and Pa. It was translated into Tibetan in the time of the famous Tibetan scholar Kluḥi-rgyal- mtshan (Nāgadhvaja). It is an appendix to the Vinaya. It tells us nothing new, but it is only an abridgment of the Vinaya texts, even then it is a book of great value as it helps in the study of the Vinaya literature. It is in the form of a dialogue and contains 12 smaller treatises. It corresponds to the *Parivārapāṭha* of the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka.

The Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) is a mosaic—it contains materials of various kinds. "The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins," says Prof. J. Przyluski,[1] "seems to be a sort of reservoir into which have flowed all the currents of the Sarvāstivādin literature." It contains not only Vinaya materials but also historical and other valuable facts for reconstructing the ancient history of India. For instance, the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) opens with a graphic description of the conflict between the kings of Aṅga and Magadha. It contains the *Sthaviragāthā* corresponding to the Pāli *Theragāthā* and as already observed, a few avadānas which have their counterparts in the *Divyāvadāna*.

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[1] Fables in the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school, I. H. Q., vol. 5, March 1929

The Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra which belongs to the Pāli *Suttapiṭaka* also appears here—Sūtra and Vinaya being mixed up together. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. This also finds corroboration in Rockhill who writes, "the Tibetan Vinaya (Ḥdul-ba) is not solely devoted to recording the rules and regulations of the Buddhist order, as is the Pāli work of this name, but it contains jātakas, avadānas, vyākaraṇas, sūtra, and udānas......" Further in the words of Alexander Csoma de Körös, the great Hungarian scholar, the Tibetan Vinaya records, "the manners, customs, opinions, knowledge, ignorance, superstition, hopes, and fears of a great part of Asia especially of India in former ages." The importance of the Tibetan Vinaya can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated. The study of this is, therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of Indian culture and civilization. A scholar desirous of knowing the history of literature and culture of ancient India can in no way neglect these Tibetan translations. These have only been partially laid under contribution—a large volume of wealth still lies buried in the translations which the scholars have not yet explored—a careful study of which will be a valuable contribution not only in the field of Buddhistic literature but also on Indian history and on Indian and Tibetan civilization and culture.

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[1] *Life of Buddha*, Introduction p. VI.

Round the World

The Future of Japan

Mr. Dulles, the American Republican politician, who is now acting as President Truman's special envoy in the Far East, has invited Japan to join the Western countries in collective protection against the red menace. Both the American State Department and the special envoy must have considered all the implications of this invitation before issuing it in the name of the American President. It should be remembered that Japan is not yet a free country. It is still under allied occupation. There is no sign yet of a peace treaty being arrived at and Japan being set on its own legs. Several procedures have so far been suggested for initiating talks on such a peace treaty. One of them is to the effect that it should be entered into with Japan by the Big Four, *e.g.*, Great Britain, U.S.A., China and the U.S.S.R. Another suggestion is that all the powers which were engaged in war against Japan should have a substantial voice in the framing of the peace treaty. It is still uncertain as to which procedure will be adopted. In view of this uncertainty there was a proposal mooted in the United States that the Government of that country should not wait any longer but should sign a separate treaty immediately with Japan. When Dulles flew to the Far East, there were many who believed that he was taking this trip particularly with this objective. It has, however, been denied now that the State Department at Washington has any such desire at the present time. But although the talk of a separate American peace treaty with Japan has receded to the background, the invitation which Dulles has issued has evidently the implication that so far as the United States is concerned Japan will be treated as a free country if she chooses to cast in her lot with the democracies against communism.

The second implication of the invitation is that the anti-war propaganda which MacArthur's headquarters had so much encouraged in the past among the Japanese people will have now to be rolled up and a fillip will have to be given instead to some kind of militarism in the country. It should be borne in mind in this regard that in pre-war Japan the spirit of the old Samurai military tradition was fully maintained although the army had been remodelled and reorganised on modern lines after the Restoration. This spirit was supposed to be responsible for the military class to get the upper hand in public affairs. To this also was attributed the spirit of aggressive military imperialism to which Japan happened unfortunately to resort. After Japan's defeat in 1945 several steps were taken to damp and even eradicate this spirit of militarism.

First, many members of the old military class were treated as war criminals. Secondly, the army and navy were disbanded and in Japan today there is no native army unless the armed police force is given that appellation. Thirdly, the new Constitution laid it down as a basic principle that in the future Japan would never resort to war as a method of solving international disputes. Now all these will have to be reversed. If the people are to be switched on to a new war programme it cannot be done except considerably in tune with old military traditions. Every country has its own genius regarding organisation and it is unlikely that Japan can be an effective military unit again without reviving the old militarist tradition to a great extent. The Constitution to which many people have by this time become inured has to be drastically amended in regard to the no-war clause.

Besides, it is not enough that Japan is made free to build up a new army, a new navy and a new air force. If she is to do all these, she must have a well-established industrial organisation behind it. As in the field of governmental and military organisations so in the field of industrial organisation and development also every country has its own way of doing things. It cannot be divorced from its own genius without detriment to development and growth. But industrial organisation as fostered in Japan before the War has been unhinged under the directions of the Occupation authorities. Possibly to some extent at least the old principles will have to be revived. Lastly, it should be emphasised that Japan's geographical position is such as to make it imperative for the proper protection of its frontiers that Korea, at least South Korea, should be either under a friendly government or under the control of the Japanese authorities. The United States Government must have, it is expected, studied these implications minutely before issuing the invitation through the medium of Mr. Dulles.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Australian Commonwealth

In January, 1951 the Commonwealth of Australia completed the first fifty years of its life and history. The Commonwealth of Australia Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1900 and was brought into operation early in 1901 and since then the Australians have worked their federal constitution with considerable success and made immense progress in all fields of activity.

British authority was first set up in the Australian continent late in the eighteenth century. The territories under the British flag were, however, used at first only as a penal settlement. They in fact played the same part in the history of correcting crime in Britain as the Andamans have played for a considerable period in correcting crime in India.

But territories, so good in climate and natural resources and so rich in other potentialities, could not but attract the attention of free and respectable colonisers. Gradually a number of British Colonies grew up in Australia and by the middle of the last century they secured some form of democratic and responsible government. About that time the British Government further felt that these Colonies instead of remaining separate and isolated settlements should be brought together under one Australian Government, and actually for a time as an earnest of the move there was appointed one Governor-General for all the Colonies and he became a symbol of political and administrative unity. But the plan miscarried and early in the sixties it was withdrawn. Thereafter for over twenty years nothing could be done towards uniting the Colonies either on a unitary or on a federal basis.

Sir Henry Parks was a leading statesman of New South Wales and for a considerable period its Premier. He had emigrated to Australia very early in life and acted as a stone breaker on the highways of the Colony he had selected for settlement. But his political gifts were out of the ordinary and gradually earned for him the reputation of an able, far-seeing and sagacious statesman. His vision was not blurred by the particularism which was then dominant in Australian politics. He felt that if the Australians were to play any important part in history, they must bring about some form of unity and set up at least the rudiments of a common government. It was mostly through his efforts that the Federal Council Act of 1885 was passed and a Federal Council consisting of the representatives of different Australian Governments was established. It had, however, neither any legislative nor any fiscal nor for the matter of that any real executive power. For about ten years it was in existence and during this period it could not do much towards bringing about a closer unity among Australian Colonies. But all the same its establishment was a landmark in the history of the movement for establishing one Australian Commonwealth. It at least changed the angle of vision of the Australian people and accustomed them to the existence of a common national institution.

Another important step taken towards unity was the publication of the report of Major-General Edwards. He had been sent to Australia by Her Majesty's Government to examine the defences of that continent and make recommendations for strengthening them. He reported that without some form of central authority in Australia for purposes of defence, it would not be made effective. This recommendation was an eye-opener. It provided the incentive for creating a central authority at least in the interests of defence. The report was brought out in 1889 and in the following year the Melbourne Conference was held. It consisted not only of the representatives of the Governments of the Colonies but also of those of the Opposition Parties in the Legislatures. It did considerable spade work and suggested the holding of another Conference at Sydney in the following year. The Sydney Conference was more representative in this that the delegates were elected by the legislatures and were not simply Government nominees. Ideas were now pooled and certain conclusions arrived at. But the enthusiasm for political unity was now rather at a low ebb in the country. Sir Henry Parks had retired from politics as a result of an accident and Sir Edmund Barton who later piloted the movement of unity was not yet in the forefront. So for about four years nothing practically was done. Only Conferences of Premiers were called from time to time and common problems discussed and settled there. But the movement which had been set on foot by Sir Henry Parks was not destined to die out. It got a fresh momentum in 1897 when a meeting of representatives was held at Adelaide. Thereafter the progress was satisfactory. A bill was framed and it was carried to London by Australian representatives and amended here and there it was introduced in and passed by the Parliament Westminster.

The Colonies in Australia were thus united after long and protracted efforts spread over fifty years. It should be remembered in this connection that circumstances in Australia were more favourable to a Union than in Canada. In the latter country the racial and religious differences between the French-speaking and the English-speaking Canadians appeared for a time as a serious impediment to their coming closer. In Australia, however, people in all Colonies were predominantly of the same race, spoke the same language and were affiliated to the same Church. But paradoxically it was the existence of differences in Canada which provided the incentive to the establishment of the Dominion. But their absence in Australia created an atmosphere of inertia. There seemed to be no compelling reason for the Colonies to sacrifice their local authority in order that they might become members of a wider Commonwealth.

The Constitution embodied in the Commonwealth of Australia Act provided for a federal form of government. The distribution of powers between the Centre and the units was in principle more akin to the system in the U.S.A. than to the principle observed in Canada. The status of the component units, *e.g.*, the States was also intended to be better and higher than the status assigned to the Provinces in Canada by the British North America Act, 1867. The six States which compose the Commonwealth has today about seven million people. In Canada the population is now eleven million. In this regard Canada's advantage is that the French-Canadians are a prolific race and multiply fast. Australia is without this advantage. At the same time the Australian Government is tied to the principle of white Australia. It would shut out all Asian people and maintain the whole island-continent as the whiteman's preserve.

Lest the small population occupying so vast a land becomes an effective argument to Asian colonisation, the Australian Government is moving heaven and earth to attract whitemen from all over the globe. This racial exclusivism is the chief blot on the otherwise glorious half century through which the Commonwealth has now lived.

Raja Chhattarsal

The president, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, recently unveiled the statue of Raja Chhattarsal at Panna. In this connection he gave tribute to the memory of this great historical figure of the 17th and 18th centuries as also to the Bundelas of whom he was the leader for more than half a century. All evidences at our disposal tell us that these Bundelas had originally come to their mediaeval habitat from somewhere near Banaras in Uttar Pradesh. They must have migrated through the district of Mirzapur. Their history before the 16th century is more or less shrouded in mystery. But by 1531 we find a Bundela kingdom well-established with its headquarters at Urchha on the Betwa. The Raja of this kingdom with whom we become first familar was Bir Singh who at the instance of prince Salim murdered Abul Fazal, the great statesman of Akbar's reign. This dastardly act on the part of Bir Singh made him a close friend and confidant of Emperor Jehangir and during his reign he had practically everything in his own way. He died in 1627 and his death was followed by that of the Emperor who was so much his benefactor.

In the next reign the family of Bir Singh Bundela was confronted with many freaks of fortune and ultimately the kingdom not only lost prestige but autonomy as well. But meanwhile the Bundelas had multiplied fast and younger branches had established small principalities of their own. When the main branch of the Bundela family came to grief, a scion of a minor branch of the family came into prominence in the person of Champat Rai. He had set up his headquarters at Mahoba. His fortune was at first very low but he took to the profession of a free booter and succeeded in carving out a principality for himself. Fortune, of course, did not smile upon him uniformly and ultimately he died a violent death. His son, the future Raja Chhattarsal, whose statue has been unveiled after more than 200 years of his death was only 12 years old at the time of the death of his father. His was, however, a long and fruitful life. Born in 1650 he died at the ripe age of 82 in 1731. At first he did not know exactly his mission and accompanied the army of Raja Jai Singh into the south when that Rajput Prince went over there on an expedition against Sivaji. His motive was to persuade Raja Jai Singh to give him a suitable appointment in the Moghul Army. He was, however, by nature a rebel and did not find himself at home for long under Moghul discipline. He in fact wanted to emulate the part of Sivaji and make the Bundela territory again independent of Moghul authority. As a result of many exploits he succeeded at last to a very considerable extent in this business of kingdom-making. Circumstances were not very unpropitious then. The Moghul Empire was no longer what it had been before. It is true that pitted against his ambition of making Bundela territory a Sovereign State by itself was Muhommad Khan Bangash, the Viceroy of the Moghul Emperor at Allahabad. He was an enemy to be reckoned with. The founder of the house of Farakkabad Nawabs was a man of great resources. But ultimately because of the help and co-operation of Baji Rao, Chhattarsal succeeded in defeating the objective of the Muslim Viceroy. For the help which came from the Maratha side, Chhattarsal had, of course, to make territorial concessions to the Peshawa ' and actually one-third of the Bundela territory had to be handed over to Baji Rao. But all the same the fact stands out that at the time of his death he left to his successor practically an independent principality.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Russian Imperialism: How to Stop It? By R. Swarup. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 38, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta. pp. 56, Price Rs. 2.

Beyond Communism by Philop Spratt and M. N. Roy. Published by Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta, pp. 164. Price Rs. 4

The ideological movement of Communism began a hundred years ago from the time of Marx and Engels. Even in its first half century, it captured the imagination of the workers, and the intelligentsia in Europe and became a social force to be reckoned with. Asia was then reeling under the iron heel of colonialism. With the success of the Russian Revolution immediately following the First World War, the Asiatic people heard of Communism as a 'Heaven on Earth,' brought about by mortal 'angels.' "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need" resounded like the voice of God to famished exploited and suppressed humanity. One can imagine the emotional appeal of such a picture of Communism. This emotional appeal has persisted in thousands of ways ever since in the minds of the people of Asia because of its contrast to their immediate life and environment. For over thirty years now, the intellegentsia have read Communist literature avidly and have grown up in that intellectual tradition. Their mental make-up and their pattern of thought have been considerably influneced by Communist ideology.

It is against this intellectual and emotional background that a study of Russia as a place of practical experiment in and experience of Communism has to be made. Naturally, such a study if detached, would be regarded with suspicion and disfavour. Nevertheless, Communism is no longer a Utopia today. It has been experimented with and experienced for a considerable length of time by a fairly large bulk of humanity. It is high time that those who welcomed this Utopia should assess the facts of actual experience before they continue to adhere to it. There are now available several reactions to the Russian experiment. Mr. Prasad presents those reactions which are strongly unfavourable, quoting mostly from those who at one time had been wedded to communism. In Asia it is very necessary that those unfavourable reactions should be closely studied for having grown in the midst of admiration of Russia and Communism, it is possible that we might lose balance and a sense of independent judgment. From this point of view Mr. Prasad's book is strongly recommended, specially because, it is written by an Asiatic and endorsed by Sri Aurobindo who cannot easily be described as an Anglo-American agent.

One thing has been strongly brought out in Mr. Prasad's book that Russia is imperialist. Russian Imperialism includes (*a*) physical incorporation of defeated people, (*b*) Imposing itself as a ruling class over an alien people, (*c*) Incorporation of the wealth of the defeated people and (*d*) exploitation in trade. In discussing how to stop it, Mr. Prasad rightly stresses the need of understanding it. Communism is an ideology and one cannot resist it effectively merely by armies. It can be resisted only after understanding it as such and pointing out its weakness and inadequacy. But without minimising this aspect, there is the other aspect of resisting 'Russian Imperialism' which is an organised force. Political and military defence against it seems therefore also equally called for.

Communism spread rapidly over a large part of the world as an ideological force because it offered hope and ultimate salvation to a large sector of humanity which found none in their immediate present or future. In a way, it developed and spread as a modern religion providing immediate emotional consolation and harnessing one's spiritual energies for the attainment of an ideal. Unless a new ideology evolves which not only solves the political and economic problems of the day but also provides a still better emotional consolation and spiritual guidance, Communism will remain as a force and will continue to spread in men's minds.

'Beyond Communism' is a serious attempt at this constructive endeavour by two capable thinkers who have been disillusioned about Communism. They rightly start with an attack on the philosophy of Marxism, for Communist practice results from this philosophy. The 22 theses offered as an alternative constitute an excellent basis of discussion with a constructive bias. The authors seem to have given up class war, dialectics, economic determinism, revolution by insurrections dictatorship, and even socialism. Since 1946, that is since the lectures were delivered, the school they represent is known to have further given up the idea of planning by the State and of the need of political party. Thus, it appears, they go in a direction which is not 'beyond communism' but in a totally new direction. This bold adventure in ideas is extremely welcome today. For those who are spiritually and intellectually dissatisfied with either Communism or its predecessors, this new school of thought is invigorating.

The new perspective opened by Mr. Roy and his colleagues is not yet clear. They themselves are still working on it. But there is no shadow of doubt after the study of this book that a new road is necessary. Mr. Spratt has, incidentally, a highly interesting criticism of the Gandhian approarh which lately has been claiming to salvage the world.

However, it may be pointed out that a new philosophy arising out of an intellectual criticism of communism and liberalism may emerge to satisfy the intellectuals, but what is needed further is a new way of life for the modern individual, family and community, if present spiritually-starved humanity has to give up clinging to antiquated religious modes of behaviour and thought including those taught by the neo-religion of communism.

K. K. SINHA

A Seychelles Diary by Pat Sharpe. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay pp. 63. Price Rs. 3-4.

This remarkably good book, printed on good paper with quite a number of original head and tail pieces, gives in twenty-four short chapters an account of a month's holiday spent in the Seychelles, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean not too far from Bombay. None of the events narrated is unusual or uncommon and yet they are described so charmingly that the reader finds each and every one of them more than interesting. Beauty spots, we are sure, would attract a much larger number of visitors if only we had more guide books of this type.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Swadhinata. Written in Bengali by Jogesh Chandrà Bagal. Published by Bharati Publishers, 209, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author is well known in the Bengali literary world and his connection with the advancement of Bengali literature has been recognised by the Sahitya Parishad.

The book presents cuttings from *Amrità Bazar Patrika* for the years 1868 and 1869. It is to be remembered that at that time it was published from a village of the same name in Jessore and that its language was Bengali. It not only gives interesting accounts of those old times but presents in a lucid manner the history of our independence movement which really begins from the Sepoy Mutiny.. Considered as such its value is unique. We recommend this book to all who are interested in the freedom struggle of our country.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Mahatma And The World by Krishnalal Sridharani, published by Thacker and Co., Bombay, price Rs. 3 is another loving tribute to India's greatest political leader. Mr. Sridharani traces an outline of Gandhi's contribution to politics from his impressions of student life in England, through his African sojourn and many imprisonments in India, up to World War II. Gandhi's views on education, industrialization, art, religion, and even birth-control are also set forth and the narrative ends with artistic finish in the parable of the Seven Sinners. The style is clear and lucid and the book makes delightful reading.

That the author is a gifted journalist is evident from his presentation of facts. Little touches of humour peep out everywhere. For example, in the middle of an important political conference at Sevagram, one of the inmates, Professor Bhansali, "rushed in agitated . . ." All business is abandoned. "I remember to have lied once, five years ago" says the Professor to the Mahatma. "I must go through some fiery penance in atonement. Will you please give me permission to hang myself down our well, head over heels for five hours?"

While paying homage to Gandhiji's greatness, the writer shows balance in admitting that he is not God and in testifying to the British sense of fair-play. Justice Broomsfield as he sentenced Gandhi in that world famous trial of March 18th, 1922 added "with typical British charm and probity. If the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

The book will be enjoyed at home and abroad.

Y. Mathias

Ourselves

CONVOCATION FOR 1949

The University Convocation for the conferment of degrees to which candidates were to be admitted in 1949 was held in the Senate Hall on the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th January last. During the first three days the Vice-Chancellor with suitable exhortations to the candidates handed over to them their Diplomas for their success in the first degree examinations as B.A., B.Sc, B.Com. M.B.B.S. and B.E. On the 12th the Convocation was opened and presided over by His Excellency the Chancellor who delivered a suitable address in this capacity. The Vice-Chancellor gave a full account of the activities of the University during the period which had elapsed since the previous Convocation and referred to the part which the University graduates were to play not only for the glory of their *Alma Mater* but for the stability and well-being of their country. His Excellency Mr Aney, Governor of Bihar, had been invited to deliver the Convocation address. The presence of this old veteran of India's fight for freedom added dignity to the function which was well attended by candidates for degrees and medals, by fellows and teachers of the University, by teachers of the affiliated colleges and by distinguished guests who had been specially invited to be present on the occasion. Mr Aney's speech which will be printed in this journal along with the addresses of the Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellor was a timely warning against our boys and girls cutting adrift from the moorings of old traditions in the country. On this last day of the Convocation only post-graduate degrees including D.Phil and D.Litt dgrees were conferred upon successful candidates.

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SANTINIKETAN TO BECOME A UNIVERSITY

We welcome the proposal that the Visvabharati at Santiniketan should be given a University charter in the near future and formed into a University by itself particularly for the promotion of softer arts like literature, philosophy and music. Originally a school of a special type, its founder, the late Rabindranath Tagore, developed it into what he called the Visvabharati in 1921 in order that it might flourish as an independent culture centre where scholars from different parts of the world might meet and inculcate in the students the traditions and cultures of ancient and modern times. As the institution had not financial resources sufficient for developing on proper lines the requisite faculties and as on that account it could not be treated as a fullfledged University by itself, its general department became affiliated to the Calcutta University and candidates appearing from the Visvabharati in different examinations were admitted to the degrees of this University. Since the death of the Poet attempts have been made from time to time for securing a University status for the institution which occupied his mind during the last phase of his great career. It is understood that the Government of India has now agreed to bring in a bill in the Parliament for the conferment of a University charter upon the Visvabharati. We repeat that we welcome this move which will certainly result in further accelerating the development of Indian culture.

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ENGINEERING EDUCATION UNDER A SEPARATE AUTHORITY ?

On some previous occasions we had opportunity of referring to this subject which has now become so controversial. When the engineering establishment at Roorkie was formed into a University by itself, we had occasion to comment that while this development was in keeping with the traditions of such American institutions as the famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it was in variance with the ideal of a University which has been before us for centuries. Recently the University Commission presided over by Professor Radhakrisnan also emphasised that engineering faculty should work side by side with the other faculties within the bosom of one University. Isolated from other facutlies it was unlikely to develop on proper lines. Mr Naliniranjan Sarker, West Bengal's Finance Minister, had, however, something different to say while presiding over the meeting of the Council of Technical Education in Calcutta. His thesis was that in the past engineering education could be properly controlled by an all purposes University only because the number of faculties was small and the scope of engineering education was limited. At the present time, however, the number of faculties had increased considerably and it was not feasible for a general university to pay due attention to engineering studies. Secondly, the scope of engineering education had now been considerably enlarged. Various branches required special emphasis and if justice was to be done to them, all their studies should be grouped together under an engineering university or some such authority. Other distinguished educationists do not seem to see eye to eye with Mr. Sarker in this regard. Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee in his address at the Old Students' Reunion at the Sibpore Engineering College pointed out that divorced from other branches of study and research, engineering education might not be as fruitful as otherwise it was likely to be. Those trained in engineering subjects under the control and supervision of an authority which had nothing to do with the imparting of education in basic arts and sciences might develop a limited outlook and a narrow vision. This might not ultimately augur well for the development of the country. Professor C. V. Raman who delivered recently the Convocation address at Jadavpur was also of the same point of view.

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MEDICAL EDUCATION

The Calcutta Medical College observed its 116th Foundation Day on the 28th of the last month. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee presided over the function held in this connection. The college was set up in 1835 with only fifty students on its roll. From this humble beginning it has grown to its present size. At the time the college was first established, the country was sunk in medievalism and all that it implied. To dissect a dead body, which was an essential of training in surgery, was regarded as a sacrilege. It was no wonder on this account that when a student, Madhusudhan Gupta, volunteered to brave social ostracism and drove the surgeon's knife into a dead human body, booming of guns on the ramparts of Fort William declared the event to the amazed citizens of Calcutta. Today, after one hundred and sixteen years, all this may appear strange to the descendants of those men in this city of millions. But a century ago it was really an epoch-making event for a man of high caste to touch the dead body of an unknown man.

Since those days of the humble beginning of western medical education in this country, it has taken rapid strides and the practitioners of western medicine are spread over the whole country. It is true that their number is not yet adequate to cover every hamlet. But there is no gainsaying the fact that even in the villages, not to speak of the towns, old indigenous system of curing patients has given place to the western system. Doubt has naturally arisen in the mind of many as to whether this exclusion from the pride of place of the old system as developed by such great names as Charaka was all for the good of our people. Dr. Mookerjee in his address dwelt on this question and expressed strongly the view that all that was best in the Indian system might possibly be gradually assimilated to the system of modern treatment. He pointed out that it was true that for several centuries past the Kaviraji system had remained static but if the same emphasis was put on its development as was duly put on the inculcation of western principles of medicine it was certain that good results would follow. On this account it was his conviction that the authorities of Medical Colleges in India should make arrangements for the teaching of the Indian system side by side with the teaching of modern medical science.

Dr. Mookerjee also emphasised the need of steady and persistent work by medical graduates of Indian Universities in the field of research. During the last hundred years and more since the foundation of the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 great Indian physicians and surgeons have come into prominence in the country. Their professional skill has been on a par with such skill of the best practitioners in Western countries. But in widening knowledge, in finding out new medicines, in searching out new system of treatment, contributions of our graduates have been far too small. This gap has now to be filled. Better arrangements for research have now to be made and trained men have to be harnessed to it in greater number.

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TAGORE LAW LECTURES

Professor Elemer Balogh delivered in the Darbhanga Hall Tagore Law Lectures for 1944 on "The Adaptation of Law to Economic Conditions." On the first day the Vice-Chancellor presided and introduced the Professor to the audience.

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DR. NORMAN COUSINS AT THE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Norman Cousins, the well known American journalist, spoke on Democracy in the Darbhnaga Hall on the 29th January last.

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SARAT CHANDRA LECTURES

Mr. Mohitlal Majumdar delivered a course of five lectures on the Novels of Bankim Chandra as the Saratchandra Chatterjee Memorial Lecturer for 1949 in the Darbhanga Hall early in January last. The Vice-Chancellor presided. The lectures were well attended and attracted attention of scholars and members of the lay public.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. R. 4.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Sub-section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Government of West Bengal have been pleased to sanction the Regulations relating to the Certificate in Languages and the Diploma in Languages and the insertion of two new Chapters XL-G and XL-H after Chapter XL-F of the Regulations.

These Regulations will be given effect to from the Examinations of 1952. The Regulation referred to run as follows :—

CHAPTER XL-G

CERTIFICATE IN LANGUAGES.

(1) An examination for the Certificate in Languages shall be held annually in Calcutta and in such other places as shall from time to time be appointed by the Syndicate, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

(2) Any Graduate in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering may be admitted to this examination provided that after graduation he has completed a regular course of study in the subjects for the examination for one academical year in the University or in any Institution recognised by the University for the purpose.

(3) Every candidate sent up for the examination shall produce a certificate (*a*) of good conduct, (*b*) of diligent study. (*c*) of having satisfactorily passed the periodical examinations of the Institution and other tests, and (*d*) of probability of passing the examination. Every candidate shall send in his application with a certificate in the prescribed form to the Registrar at least six weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

(4) A fee of Rs. 40 shall be forwarded by each candidate with his application. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for the examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate who fails to pass or appear at the examination may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of a like fee of Rs. 40 on each occasion.

If a student, after completion of the regular course of study for the examination does not register himself as a candidate for or does not present himself at or fails to pass the examination immediately succeeding such completion he may appear at any of the two following examinations on payment of the prescribed fee only. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study as required under Section 2 above.

(5) Every candidate shall be examined in one of the following languages :—

(1) French (2) Spanish (3) Portuguese (4) Italian (5) German (6) Russian (7) Persian (8) Pashtoo (9) Arabic (Modern with special reference to Iraqui and Syrian Dialects) (10) Tibetan (Modern) (11) Burmese (12) Chinese (Standard National Speech-kuo-yu) (13) Japanese (14) Indonesian (Malay) (15) Any one of the following Modern Indian Languages (open only to those whose mother tongue is not any of the Indian Languages) :—

(1) Bengali, (2) Hindi and (3) Urdu.

The above list may be modified by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts from time to time.

(6) The examination shall be written and oral. Candidates will be required to pass both in the written and oral examinations.

(7) The course of study shall be as follows :—

I. Written examination :—

Two papers of 100 marks each	200 marks
(a) Paper I	100 ,,
(i) Translation into English from prescribed as well as unseen texts	50 ,,
(ii) Translation from English	50 ,,
(b) Paper II will consist of the following :—	100 marks
(i) Questions on grammar (a study of the characters in the case of Chinese and Japanese)	60
(ii) Composition-letter writing, paraphrase, summary, easy &c	
(iii) Phonetics	40
(iv) General History and Culture of people	

II. Oral Examination :—

One paper	100 marks.

(i) Dictation in the language in its original script.
(ii) Reading aloud from newspapers
(iii) Describing a picture in the language
(iv) Translation at sight from English.
(v) Translation at sight into English
(vi) Simple Conversation.

The Syndicate shall have power to add to or modify the list on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and the Board of Higher Studies in Modern Languages which will be organised within five years after the regular institution of the course.

Books shall be prescribed or recommended by the Executive Committee concerned on the recommendation by the Executive Committee concerned on the recommendation of the relevant Committee or Board of Higher Studies.

(8) In order to pass the examination in the third class a candidate must obtain at least 45 per cent. of total marks in both written and oral examinations. Candidates obtaining 60 per cent. of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the Second Class and those obtaining 75 per cent. of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the First Class and the rest will be placed in the Third Class.

(9) As soon as possibly after the examination, the Post-Graduate Executive Committee in Arts shall publish a list of the candidates who have passed, arranged in classes indicated above, each in order of merit. Each succesful candidate shall be given a certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix A.

CHAPTER XL-H

DIPLOMA IN LANGUAGES

(1) An examination for the Diploma in Languages shall be held annually in Calcutta and in such other places as shall from time to time be appointed by the Syndicate, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

(2) Any Graduate in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering may be Admitted to this examination provided he has after passing the Certificate Examination in languages completed a regular course of study in the subjects for the examination for one academical year in the University or in any Institution recognised by the University for the purpose.

(3) Every candidate sent up for the examination shall produce a certificate (a) of good conduct (b) of diligent study (c) of having satisfactorily passad the periodical examination of the Institute and other tests and (d) of probability of passing the examination. Every candidate shall send in his application with a certificate prescribed form to the Registrar at least six weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

(4) A fee of Rs. 60 shall be forwarded by each candidate with his application. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for the examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate who fails to pass or to appear at the examination may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of a like fee of Rs. 60 on each occasion.

If a student after completion of the regular course of study for the examination does not register himself as a candidate for or does not present himself at or fails to pass the examination immediately succeeding such completion, he may appear at any of the two following examinations on payment of the prescribed fee only. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study as required under Section 2 above.

(5) Every candidate shall be examined in one of the following languages :—

(1) French (2) Spanish (3) Portugese (4) Italian (5) German (6) Russian (7) Persian (8) Pashtoo (9) Arabic (Modern with special reference to Iraqi and Syrian Dialects.) (10) Tibetan (Modern) (11) Burmese (12) Chinese (Standard National Speech—kuoyu.) (13) Japanese (14) Indonesian (Malay) (15) Any one of the following Modern Indian Languages (open only to those whose mother tongue is not any of the Indian Languages : (1) Bengali (2) Hindi and (3) Urdu).

The above list may be modified by the Syndicate on the recommedation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, from time to time.

(6) The examination shall be written and Oral. Candidates will be required to pass both in the written and in the Oral examinations.

(7) The course of study shall be as follows :—

I.	Written 3 papers of 100 marks each	300 marks
(*a*)	Paper I	100 ,,
(*i*)	Questions on the prescribed text books	70
(*ii*)	Questions on Grammar (Study of Characters will be considered as part of Grammar in the case of Chinese and Japanese)	30
(*b*)	Paper II will include	100 marks
(*i*)	Translation from unseen in the language into English	
(*ii*)	Translation from English	
(*iii*)	Free Composition (Essay etc.)	
(*c*)	Paper III	100 ,,
(*i*)	History of Civilisation of the people concerned	70
(*ii*)	Phonetics (including Chinese and Japanese, a study of the history of the script.)	30
II.	Oral Examination will include among other tests, the following :-	200 marks.

(*i*) Dictation in the original script.

(*ii*) Dictation in Phonetic script.

(*iii*) Reading and explanation of an unseen passage.

(*iv*) Translation at sight from English.

(*v*) Translation at sight from the language.

(*vi*) General Conversation (books to be recommended for this part of the oral test).

The Syndicate shall have power to add to or modify the list on recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and the Board of Higher Studies in Modern Languages which will be organised within a period of five years after the regular institution of the course.

Books shall be prescribed or recommended by the Executive Cammittee concerned on the recommendation of the relevant committee or Boards of higher Studies.

(8) In order to pass the examinations in the third class a candidate must obtain at least 45 per cent. of the total marks in both written and oral examinations. Candidates obtaining 60 percent. of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed on the second class and those obtaining 75 per cent. on the total marks in the aggregate in the First Class and the rest will be placed in the third class.

(9) As soon as possible after the examination the Executive Committee concerned shall publish a list of successful candidates arranged in classes as indicated above each in order of merit. Each successful candidate shall be given a Diploma in the form prescribed in Appendix 'A'.

Senate House,
The 16th December, 1950,

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.)

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. C/3620/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21, of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904). the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1950-51, the Presidency College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Geography to the B.A. and B.Sc. Pass and Honours Standards, with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subject from 1952 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 2nd January, 1951.

S. C. GHOSH
Registror (Offg.)

Notification No. C/3622/Affl.

It is notified for general information that the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the Session 1950-51, the St. Xaviers College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Malayalam to the B.Com. Standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1952 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.)

Notice

The attention of the undersigned has been drawn to a misprint in respect of the name of a successful candidate for the B.A. Examination, 1949, published in the Calcutta Gazette, Part I B, March 16, 1950.

On page 24 of the said Gazette,

" 35..................................
Bandyopadhyay, Tapankumar, Presidency College
......................................"
should read as
" 35..................................
Bandyopadhyay, Tapaskumar, Presidency College
......................................"

D. P. DUTT,
Addl. Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

AGRA UNIVERSITY

Copy of Executive Council Resolution No. 118 of Oct. 31, 1950.

* 118. The Registrar reported the receipt of letter No. XXXVIIC (1) 6743 dated August 31, 1950, from the Principal, Agra College, Agra, informing that he had expelled Rameshchandra Sharma, a student of IIIrd year Arts of his college w. e. f. August 31, 1950 as the candidate was found guilty of attempting to obtain a false Transfer Certificate by offering a bribe to one of the college clerks.

Resolved—That the action taken by the Principal, Agra College, be confirmed.

The following candidate who took recourse to unfair means at the Law Part I examination held in September, 1950 is penalised as noted against his name.

Roll No.	Name	Institution	Penalties imposed
120	Sri Amalkrishna Ray, S/o Sri Binay K. Ray, Sahebzadabazar, Cuttack-2.	M- S. Law College, Cuttack.	Result for Sept.. 1950 exam. is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Law Part I 1st Exam. of 1952.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

CIRCULAR No. 48.

Patna, the 1950.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, Principals of all Colleges, Inspectors and Inspectresses of Schools, Registrars of all Indian Universities, Secretary of Public Service Commission, Delhi and Secretary, Joint Public Service Commission, Ranchi.

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University examination for the period noted against their names as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the Annual and the Supplementary, Intermediate (Arts, Science and Commerce) and Bachelor (Arts, Science, Commerce, Law, Medicine and Engineering) Examinations of 1950.

Serial No.	Centre	No. and Examination.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's Name	Father's Name	Period of Punishment
1	Bhagalpur	I.A. 7	...	T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.	Anirudh Prasad Singh	Rajeshwar Prasad Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination for *whole life.*
2	Patna	I.A. 107	3760 of 49	B. N. College, Patna.	Damodar Prasad Singh	Kapildeo Narain Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1955.
3	Arrah	I.A. 531	1330 of 48	H. D. Jain College, Arrah.	Sengupta, Ekabrata	Sureshchandra Sengupta	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
4	Do.	I.Com. 212	2221 of 45	Do.	Rammurti Ram	Bhagwat Ram	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
5	Bhagalpur	I.Sc. 79	4883 of 48	T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.	Maheshwar Prasad Singh	Phudi Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
6	Do.	I.Sc. 197	5062 of 48	Do.	Ganga Prasad Sahu	Jagannath Ram	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
7	Do.	B.A. 77	832 of 1944	Do.	Nand Kishore Prasad Sinha.	Baldeo Sahai	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
8	Do.	B.A. Hons. 59	1579 of 45	Do.	Madan Mohan Prasad Verma.	Sarjue Prasad Verma	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.

Serial No.	Centre	No. and Examination.	Registration No.	College	Candidate's Name	Father's Name	Period of Punishment
9	Bhagalpur	B.Sc. 43	3073 of 44	T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur	Siyabar Sharan Shrivastav	Bajrang Sahai	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
10	Do.	I.Com. 169	3174 of 45	Bhagalpur Marwari College.	Baidyanath Neogi	Basantakumar Neogi	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
11	Do.	I.A. 368	4764 of 48	T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.	Dasrath Prasad Sah	Jamuna Sah	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
12	Begusarai	I.A. 37	4663 of 49	G. D. College, Begusarai.	Jaideo Jha	Uchit Lal Jha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
13	Do.	I.A. 150	237 of 49	Do.	Dip Narain Mandal	Ras Behari Lal Mandal	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
14	Do.	I.A. 173	321 of 48	Do.	Madan Prasad Verma	Kuseshwar Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
15	Do.	I.A. 179	841 of 49	Do.	Mohan Lal Mehta	Sunder Lal Mehta	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
16	Nalanda	I.A. 46	1090 of 45	Nalanda College, Bihar.	Jageshwar Prasad Singh	Gaya Prasad Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
17	Do.	I.A. 62	2477 of 44	Do.	Kapildeo Narain	Baijnath Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
18	Chapra	I.Sc. 100	3889 of 48	Rajendra College, Chapra	Bhagirath Prasad Rai	Shobasit Rai	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).
19	Do.	I.Com. 66	4911 of 49	Do.	Rajendra Kumar	Basudeo Sahay	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).

20	Darbhanga	I.A. 376	2749 of 49	C. M. College, Darbhanga	Radhe Shyam Misra	Kunj Narain Misra	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).
21	Gaya	I.A. 292	2059 of 48	Gaya College	Rajendra Kumar Singha	Kuar Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).
22	Khagaria	I.A. 73	1802 of 49	Koshi College, Khagaria	Umeshwar Pd. Singh	Baidyanath Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).
23	Monghyr	I.A. 380	4571 of 49	R. D. & D. J. College, Monghyr	Sadanand Pd. Singh	Brahmadeo Narayan Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the University Examination of 1952. (Annual).
24	Do.	B.A. 92	1543 of 45	Do.	Abdul Hafiz	Abdul Rashid	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
25	Madhubani	I.A. 52	1233 of 49	R. K. College, Madhubani	Rambhejhaon Gope	Palat Gope	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
26	Do.	I.Com. 26	1272 of 49	Do.	S. M. Idris " Dilkash"	M. Reyasat Hussain	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
27	Muzaffarpur	I.A. 218	1606 of 49	Langat Singh College, Muzaffarpur	Ramawatar Sinha	Bishnudeo Pd. Sinha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
28	Do.	I.A. 325	4554 of 47	Do.	Ramvilas Prasad	Ram Bhagan Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
29	Do.	I.Sc. 47	1445 of 49	Do.	Rajdeo Tewari	Rama Tewari	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
30	Do.	B.A. 30	...	Do.	Gaya Prasad Khanna	Shiva Prasad Khanna	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.

Serial No.	Centre	No. and Examination	Registration No.	College	Candidate's name	Father's name	Period of Punishment
31	Muzaffarpur	B.A. 48	1427 of 46	Langat Singh College Muzaffarpur	Mohammad Islam	Mohammad Ali	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
32	Do.	I.Com. 48	2523 of 49	Ram Dayalu Singh, College, Muzaffarpur	Kapileshwar Prasad Singh	Hardeo Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
33	Patna	I.A. 269	4134 of 49	B. N. College, Patna	Ram Nandan Sharma	Jangi Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
34	Do	B.A. Hons. 45	1265 of 47	Do	Gupteshwar Prasad Singh	Rameshwar Prasad Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
35	Do	B.A. 451	2012 of 44	Patna College	Ramesh Prosad Bhagat	Raghubans Prasad Bhagat	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952
36	Do	I.A. 466	2661 of 45	B. N. College, Patna	Brajbehari Shrivastav	Devaki Nandan Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
37	Ranchi	I.A. 189	901 of 49	Ranchi College	Muneshwar Lal Vishwakarma	Behari Lal Vishwakarma	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
38	Do	B.A. 31	158 of 45	Do	Dhirendranath Chaudhary	Rajkishore Chaudhary	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
39	Dc	B.A. 86	...	Do	Harinarayan Biswas	Upendra Chandra Biswas	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
40	Do	B.A. 42	1429 of 46	Do	Lal Krishna Sahay	Ram Rachheya Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
41	Do	B.A. 98	568 of 44	Do	Gaji Lal Mahto	Dhuma Mahto	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.

42	Siwan	I.A. 47	621 of 49	D.A.V. College, Siwan	Birendra Kumar Sinha	Lakshmi Chandra Sinha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
43	Patna	B.Sc. (Eng.) Part I. 6	834 of 42	Engineering College	Bukhshi Murli Manhear Prasad	Bukshi Bhagwat Sahay	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, for a period of two years.
44	Khagaria	I.A. 100	3268 of 48	Koshi College, Khagaria	Shyam Sunder Mahto	Chattoo Mahto	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1951.
45	Darbhanga	Intermediate M.B.B.S. 35	2203 of 42	Darbhanga Medical College	Binda Prasad Sinha	Shiva Shankar Pd. Sinha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the March Examination of 1951.
46	Do.	,, 40	1828 of 43	Do.	Shambhu Nath Sinha	Bishundeo Narain	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the March Examination of 1951.
47	Do.	,, 41	852 of 45	Do.	Birendra Prasad	Jaigovind Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the March Examination of 1951.
48	Do.	,, 63	5494 of 48	Do.	Indrajit Bahadur Sinha	Radha Prasad Sinha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the March Examination of 1951.

SUPPLEMENTARY (INTERMEDIATE AND BACHELOR) EXAMINATIONS, 1950

49	Gaya	I.A. 71	1938 of 49	Gaya College	Suresh Prasad Sinha	Gajadhar Lal	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1953.
50	Arrah	B.A. 30	1753 of 47	H.D. Jain College, Arrah	Kumar Jagdish Prasad	Deonarayan Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
51	Begusarai	B.A. 25	353 of 48	G.D. College, Begusarai	Rajendra Singh	Lekha Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.

Serial No.	Centre	No. and Examination	Registration No.	College	Candidate's name	Father's name	Period of Punishment
52	Begusari	B.A. 43	3535 of 44	G. D. College Begusari	Rampadarath Roy	Janak Roy	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
53	Monghyr	I.A. 60	4340 of 49	R.D. & D.J. College, Monghyr	Bhubneshwar Prasad	Kalicharan Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
54	Nalanda	I.A. 101	3721 of 48	Nalanda College	Nand Kishore Pd. Singh	Gopal Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
55	Patna	I.A. 361	3939 of 49	B.N. College, Patna	Tuuu Prasad	Nathuni Dhobi	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
56	Do.	B.A. 26	48 of 48	Do.	Gorakhnath Tripathy	Kamala Kant Tripathy	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
57	Do	B.A. 37	5009 of 49	Do.	Pashpati Nath	Narain Prasad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
58	Ranchi	I.A. 75	1081 of 48	Ranchi College	Govind Ram Saboo	Nand Lal Saboo	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examiation of 1952.
59	Chapra	I.Sc. 8	608 of 50	Rajendra College, Chapra	Dharamdeo Singh	Rajnath Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
60	Do.	I.Sc. 9	5137 of 49	Do.	Dineshwar Chaudhary	Siya Saran Chaudhary	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the Annual Examinatio of 1952.
61	Darbhanga	Law Part I No. 6	2072-43	Darbhanga C.M. College	Kumud Nath Jha	Kedar Nath Jha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the July Examination of 1951.

62	Darbhanga	Law Part I No. 7	2482-41	Darbhanga C M. College	Lakshmi Narayan Jha	Shree krishna Jha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the July Examination of 1951.
63	Do.	Do. No. 9	3697-44	Do.	Ragha Bendra Jha	Damodar Jha	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, prior to the July Examination of 1951.
64	Do.	Intermediate M.B.B.S. Dar. No. 14	510 of 1949	Darbhanga Medical College	Shohrai Afaque	Sk. Yar Mohammad	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination, for a period of two years.

S.S.P. 20/11/50.

S. Y. HUSSAIN,
Assistant Registrar.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1951

THE METHOD OF PHILOSOPHY

Dr. J. V. Bhattacharyya
Lecturer, Calcutta University

The problem of method is the pivot of philosophical speculation. In discussing it we take our stand upon the empirical method since it satisfies the demand of philosophical speculation to a great extent from the commonsense point of view. We stand close to our experience and believe in the evidence given by our experience. We should also at the same time proceed very cautiously in the act of our belief. We shall examine the evidence of our experience thoroughly before accepting it as true. When we shall examine it we shall keep ourselves in close touch with experience but shall not allow free speculation to invalidate the evidence of our experience. A man relying upon his common sense has his limitations. His system is earth-bound. He cannot give free scope to his pure imagination to construct a system without paying proper attention to the empirical data of knowledge. In our procedure we shall not behave like the scientists who do not take into consideration the implications of the empirical data. We should be attentive to facts but try at the same time to make out the true significance of the implications of these facts like a philosopher. We should be possessed of the sight of a scientist but of the mind of a philosopher.

If our empirical knowledge has only relative truth as the Mādhyamikas suppose, if the objects of empirical knowledge have no intrinsic character of their own and if it is proved that our experience does not point to real objects then all our arguments based upon experience will be in vain since they will be discredited from another point of view in no time. Therefore the validity of this method should be examined critically. The Mādhyamikas indulge in negative criticisms. They examine every so-called fact of experience and point out that it involves self-contradiction. All current philosophical concepts are self-discrepant and are therefore unreal. Even cognition itself is not immune from self-contradiction. Thus every item of this universe is enveloped by the dark cloud of self-contradiction into which the weak light of experience cannot penetrate. Without entering into the details of the Mādhyamika criticism it can be safely asserted that they admit the efficacy of the empirical method and that on the strength of its validity they disprove the reality of all objects. If the truth of the negative criticims based upon experience is not provisionally accepted then the criticism itself loses all its force and cannot produce the desired effect. The truth of the negating argument at least should be accepted. They may contend that they accept its truth provisionally but not ultimately. Such a contention is not tenable. If the truth of a perticular inference is contradicted by another particular inference then the validity of the system of inference as a whole is not questioned thereby but rather pre-supposed. The criticism of the Mādhyamikas is self-refuting since refutation itself pre-supposes a true criterion by which a piece of knowledge should be judged. If they fail to postulate such a standard then their criticism is not at all convincing.

The second type of criticism comes from the Vijñānavādins. They hold that experience does not involve reference to objects beyond the act of cognition. The objects of our dream are not something other than our experiencing them. Ideas are not other than the objects revealed by them. These ideas are projected outside and externalised by the imaginative process. The splitting up of each act of cognition into three parts, *viz.*, the subject (knower), the act of cognition itself (knowledge) and the object (known) is fictitious but the subject and the object are only two aspects of cognition. Then they strengthen the above hypothesis by means of a second hypothesis that all cognition is self-conscious. The third point of their epistemology is that the content of a cognition is identical with the cognition itself since they are always apprehended together (sadopalambhaniyamāt). They also hold that an object is identical with the act of its awareness since it lives only in a private world.

This contention of the subjectivists is not tenable as the reason in their syllogism which proves the identity between an act of awareness and its object is uncertain since the relation of concomitance which holds between major and minor terms is not unquestionably established. This reason does not belong to the minor term of the syllogism Each act of awareness is extrospective. The sensum is distinct from the act of awareness which apprehends it. If the object were identical with the act of awareness then the act of cognition would have been expressed in the form 'I am this object'. An object, being the condition of an act of cognition, cannot be simultaneous with the act itself since a cause and an effect are held by no body to be simultaneous. They cannot occupy the same space since an act is internal but objects are generally external. A jar is not a 'within' but a 'without'. The Yogācāras may content that the so-called external object is merely experienced as external since it is an externalised experience. But the concept of externality being a mere fiction the explanation of the Yogācāras is not tenable. They hold that an object appears to be external. But if externality is not real then the appearance of externality has no meaning since appearance presupposes reality and is explained only with reference to it. A real object only appears to be something else. The last argument is also based upon malobservation. Moreover this subjectivist theory leads on to the conclusion of solipsism. There is no escape out of the circle of experience of an individual. It is an adamantine circle which cannot be broken through.

The Advaitins of the Śaṃkarite school call in question the certitude of our empirical knowledge. They hold that the Reality behind the world of appearances is transcendental to the narrow circle of empirical knowledge. This empirical knowledge points to objects which are only relatively true since the objects of our ordinary experience are self-descrepant. But all acts of consciousness are true since consciousness involves no self-contradiction. Consciousness is one and eternal. It is self-evident. It is the very presupposition of all objects of our experience. They rely upon the texts of the Vedas for their philosophical speculation. The Vedas are really the records of mystic experience. This is the final stage of human experience. In the language of an ordinary thinker the initial stage of experience is contradicted by the final stage of experience. The final stage, being the results of mature thinking is more trustworthy than the initial stage of experience. The reliance upon the Vedas signifies our absolute confidence in the last stage of our experience.

Thus the Advaitins are not open to the charge of dogmatism. Let us now see the genesis of this final stage. Does it spring up in our mind in an inexplicable manner ? Or, is its appearance due to our mental efforts in a direction contrary to that of ordinary thinking ? The Advaitins admit that the negative criticisms which disprove the reality of all objects of our experience pave the way for its appearance. They are, in a significant sense, the conditions of mystic experience. These negative criticisms are in most cases syllogistic arguments. If the truth of a particular inference is contradicted by another inference then the validity of inferential knowledge is presupposed. Even if an inference invalidates the truth of inferential knowledge in general the validity of inference is admitted thereby. Therefore the Vedānta Sūtra 'Tarkāpratisṭhānāt' should be carefully interpreted. It does not mean that no inference is a means of valid knowledge but the inference which is the means of valid knowledge should be carefully made out. An Advaitin means to signify that the formal validity of an inference alone does not ensure its material validity. He is thus compelled to admit the validity of inference. In that case, the final stage of experience does not necessarily contradict the truth of its prior stage. The truth of an act of knowledge should be ascertained on its own merits but not owing to its particular place in the mental history of a finite mind. Similarly, it can be proved that the truth of perception as a class cannot be negatived since an inferense presupposes it as its basis and the truth of the former depends upon that of the latter. Therefore the contention of the Advaitins is not logically tenable.

The Materialists hold that experience is the only source of knowledge. The term 'experience' denotes only sensuous experience. They hold that human experience suffers from limitations intrinsic in its nature. We can perceive only disconnected particulars. No synthetic unity behind the particular instances is sensed by us. The so-called generalisation is merely an enumeration of facts. We cannot take a leap from the known to the unknown. Our inferential knowledge carries no sense of certitude. It is only a probable reasoning. Therefore there is no warrant for the supersensuous objects which constitute the metaphysical back-ground of the sensible world. The materialists say with all emphasis at their command that the method of empiricism does not help us to assert the existence of supersensuous realities. In other words, the goal of this method is naturalistic positivism.

The Naiyāyikas, the Prābhākaras, the Bhaṭṭas and others join issue with the materialists. They hold that the method of empiricism is conducive to the true knowledge of ultimate realities which lie behind the world of perceptible objects. According to them all ultimate realities are not necessarily beyond the ken of direct knowledge. The universals are directly perceived by us. They have also proved that the universals are not our mental constructions, but are objectively real. They do not live in our brain as the idealists suppose but have real objective existence. If we do not postulate their objective existence then we cannot explain our common ideas since a general idea is not a chemical compound of several images of point-instants. Vacaspati and Udayana have proved their objective existence conclusively. B. Russell in his 'The Problems of Philosophy' has re-established the objective being of the universals. His defence of universals lends a mighty support to the Nyaya-Vaisesika theory of universals. B. Russell is inspired by the Platonic 'theory of ideas'. A common nature or essence which a number of particulars participates in, is called an idea or form. He points out that this idea does not exist in minds though it may be apprehended by minds. But he does not believe in the mystical developments that ideas exist in heaven and cast a pale reflection of reality on the world of sense etc. He asserts firmly that the basis of this theory is in logic. He holds also that a universal is opposed to the particular things which are given in sensation. He draws a distinction between a particular and a universal thus:—"We speak of whatever is given in sensation, or is of the same nature as things given in sensation, as a particular; by opposition to this, a universal will be anything which may be shared by many particulars, and has those characteristics which, as we saw, distinguish justice and whiteness from just acts and white things" (p. 145.). Berkeley and Hume deny objective existence to universals. They hold that they are mere abstract ideas. "When we want to think of whiteness, they said, we form an image of some particular white thing, and reason concerning this particular, taking care not to deduce anything concerning it which we cannot see to be equally true of any other white thing." We have recourse to a similar mental process in geometry since we draw a particular triangle and reason about it in a manner as to show that it is a universal. But can we avoid universals at all? Let us take the example of the universal of whiteness for our consideration. Let us select a particular white object. Can it serve as a model for all white objects? Are all objects which bear a close resemblance to this particular white object white? If all objects have the same resemblance then the resemblance itself must be accepted to be a universal since it is shared by many particulars. The hypothesis of different resemblances does not help us to refute a universal since it should be admitted that 'these resemblances resemble each other.' Thus the admission of resemblance as a universal will be ultimately enforced on us. Therefore we cannot avoid universals.

Russell holds that a universal does not exist at any particular time. 'It is neither in space nor in time, neither material nor mental; yet it is something.' The universals subsist. They have being. They are timeless and hence do not exist. The world of universals, therefore, may also be described as the world of being.

Russell discusses another point of great importance whether a universal is an idea. He says that if the word 'idea' denotes the object of an act of thought then a universal is an idea. But it is not an idea in the sense that it is an act of thought. Let us now discuss whether a universal is mental. If it is held to be mental then the quality of universality will be taken away from it. As a particular person is different from another person so the thought of a person is different from that of another. A man cannot have the same thought twice in his life. An act of thought of mine at this time is different from my act of thought at another time. If whiteness were an act of thought as opposed to the object of it then it could neither be the thinking process of two different persons nor that of the same person twice in his life. Many different acts of thought may point to the same object but the object is always different from the acts of thought that cognise it.

Russell also holds that some universals are also known by acquaintance. He says, "......we are acquainted with such universals as white, red, black, sweet, sour, loud, hard, etc., *i.e.* with qualities which are exemplified in sense-data. When we see a white patch, we are acquainted, in the first instance, with the particular patch; but by seeing many white patches, we easily learn to abstract the whiteness which they all have in common, and in learning to do this we are learning to be acquainted with whiteness......Universals of this sort may be called "sensible qualities" (pp. 158-59). He also holds that relations between universals, as between particulars, are immediately known by us.

The Naiyāyikas hold a similar view. But they differ from Russell in an important point, *viz.*, that a universal is sensed by us directly without the intervention of the process of abstraction. If it is a sensible quality then it should be grasped by our senses along with the particular which participates in it. The Bhaṭṭas, the Viśiṣṭādvaitins and others hold that the continuity or the universality of a universal is grasped by means of the process of abstraction. But they all agree with the Naiyāyikas on the point that a universal is directly sensed by us. The Naiyāyikas hold that a universal is always a predicate in a judgment of perception.

We are now far away from our original point. Let us return to the same. If universals and relations between universals are sensible then it is not difficult for the Naiyāyikas to prove the certitude of an inferential knowledge. The Prābhākars in spite of their best attempts at the justifications of their method cannot solve this doubt. The older Naiyāyikas hold that a large number of instances (bhuyodarśana) afford a sound basis of induction. This view does not explain why a number of instances affords a basis for induction. Gangesa and his followers suggest an explanation of a number of instances. But they hold that the number of instances does not offer a sound basis of induction. Gangesa asserts that the mere number of instances does not solve the doubt (evam bhuyodarśanamapi samśāyakam). The use of the *reductio ad absurdum* (tarka) to strengthen an induction does not promote the cause of induction since it involves a regressus *ad infinitum* as it presupposes induction for its own validity (tarakastu anavasthagrasta eva). Dr. B. Keith's objection to the Vaisesika view of invariable concomitance that it is obvious, however, that the question is not yet solved, for the validity of our indirect proof in the ultimate issue rested upon concomitance, in this case a negative one, so that the real character of concomitance is as far from solution as ever' is due to his ignorance of the position of modern logic. Gangesa is fully alive to this problem. He holds that the definite knowledge of the absence of a discrepancy actual and possible and the perception of the concomitance of two terms lead to true induction. But can a person be sure of the absence of such a discrepancy? The experience of a large number of suitable instances is now required for the certain knowledge of the absence of a discrepancy. All possible doubts which press one to suspect that this concomitance is variable should be satisfactorily solved. If they are solved then and only then the true induction which carries a sense of certainty is possible. We should shake off all our prejudice and emotional interest and proceed dispassionately in our search after truth. The hypothesis of the *reductio ad* *absurdum* is not a condition of induction. It removes all our doubts about the certainty of this inference. In order to solve unreasonable doubts, *i.e.*, doubts which have no sound basis but are prompted by our pure imagination—an imagination divorced from facts—a tarka is the most useful weapon. But the philosophic doubt about the validity of an inference may be solved thus. To question the validity of an inference one should take the help of an inference. Now, we question whether this inference itself is valid. If it is valid then the validity of an inference is unquestionable, If it is invalid then it is not strong enough to shake the certainty of an inference. Another problem of inference is to be solved by Gangeśa and his followers. The problem is this if we see that the relation of concomitance holds between two particulars then can we arrive at the conclusion that this relation holds between all particulars of the two classes to which the above two terms belong? The import of this objection is that the perception of the relation is the condition of inferential knowledge and this relation varies with the particulars. and the past and the future particulars being imperceptible, relation itself is imperceptible. If this relation is imperceptible then there is no possibility of an inference, its invariable condition, *viz.*, the perception of concomitance being absent. The old Naiyāyikas have tried to solve this problem with the help of a transcendental contact. But if such a contact solves the problem then induction becomes a deduction. Raghunātha Siromani and his followers realise the weight of this objection and make an attempt at its solution. He holds that this relation holds between two universals. Therefore the problem of the perception of this relation is solved. The only problem of inference is that one is to ascertain the invariable nature of this concomitance. If the problem of inference is solved then the empirical method can be adopted by a philosopher to carry on his speculation regarding the nature of ultimate reality. This is why the neo-logicians have attached so much importance to the problem of inference. Mathurānātha Tarkavāgiśa makes an improvement upon the concept of induction of Gangesa and holds that the contact of the sense-organ with the relation of concomitance holding between two universals, accompanied by the absence of the definite knowledge of the contrary instance which proves a discrepancy, generates the perception of the above concomitance as an invariable one (vyābhicārajñānavirahasahakṛtam sahacāradarśanam vyāptigrāhakam, T.C. p. 210. Sahacāradarśanapadasya dṛsyate anena iti vyutpatyā sahacārendriyasannikarṣaparatvāt, taddhetutvābhidhānam ca vyāptipratyakṣābhiprāyeṇa. Vyāptigrahopāyarahasya, p. 214). Mathurānātha alludes to other views on this point. But all Naiyāyikas agree on the point that vyāptijñāna or generalisation is a judgment of perception. Thus they prove that an inference is based upon perception.

Now, let us compare and contrast the inductive method of the neo-logicians with that of the logicians of Europe. In England the inductive method owes its popularity to J. S. Mill. He used to apply his four canons of induction to a given example in order to ascertain whether the two terms of the example in question were causally connected. He assumed the law of causation since he regarded the law of causation as proved by mere enumeration of instances. Does mere number of instances guarantee the validity of the law of causation? Moreover, if he assumes the validity of the law of causation then does he not reduce induction to deduction? The problem of induction remain unsolved. The view of J. S. Mill may be compared with that of the old Naiyāyikas. The old Naiyāyikas assume the validity of their induction by means of transcendental perception (sāmānyalakṣaṇasannikarṣajanyapratyakṣa). In a sense they claim omniscience in a humble way. They have advanced reasoning in favour of this transcendental perception. The possibility of such transcendental perception has been precluded by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in his commentary on Sāmānyalakṣaṇa. They also reduce induction to deduction. But they have offered a basis for induction which is superior to the assumption of law of causation since they have tried to eliminate all doubts about the validity of induction. On the other hand, Mill has failed to prove the validity of his basic law of causation.

Mr. Keynes takes up this problem earnestly. He finds out the value of a large number of instances. The quality *A* is associated with the quality *B*. Other qualities have also been found in the above instance to be associated with *A* and *B*. We are to select such instances as will show that they have only two qualities in common, *viz.* *A* and *B*. If we examine a large number of instances and notice the same common qualities in them then we come to the conclusion that *A* is always associated with *B*. The sole value of many instances consists in this that the positive analogy is diminished to the utmost possible extent and that such a diminution imparts strength to an induction.

Keynes's conclusion on pure induction is recorded in the following paragraph. "We have shown that if each of the instances necessarily follows from the generalisation, then each additional instance increases the probability of the generalisation, so long as the new instance could not have been predicted with certainty from a knowledge of the former instances . . . The common notion, that each successive verification of a doubtful principle strengthens it, is formally proved, therefore without any appeal to conceptions of law or of causality. But we have not proved that this probability approaches certainty as a limit, or even that our conclusion becomes more likely than not, as the number of verifications or instances is indefinitely increased." (*Treatise on Probability*, p. 234).

B. Russell points out that an induction according to Keynes, will approach certainty as a limit if two conditions are fulfilled: (1) If the generalisation is false, the probability of its being true in a new instance when it has been found to be true in a certain number of instances, however great that number may be, falls short of certainty by a finite amount. (2) There is a finite *a priori* probability in favour of our generalisation.

Mr. Keynes offers a basis for estimating the finite *a priori* probability. It is a postulate called the "principle of limitation of variety." Jean Nicod has rightly pointed out that it is not quite sufficiently stringent.

B. Russell reviews the whole situation and remarks "What we can say, in a general way is that the principle does not refute itself, but, on the contrary, leads to results which confirm it. To this extent, the trend of modern science may be regarded as increasing the plausibility of the principle." (An Outline of Philosophy, p. 285).

Mr. Keynes's theory of probability is rigidly *a priori* but is not an a *posteriori* generalisation. Russell subjects it to the criticism that Mr. Keynes leaves an uncomfortable gap between probability and fact, so that it is far from clear why a rational man will act upon a a probability."

R. Nisbet supposes that the frequency theory will constitute the better foundation of probability. But Russell examining the arguments for and against the frequency theory pronounces his judgment on this theory that this theory is infected with such difficulties as stand in the way of its acceptance.

But such a decision makes the use of the inductive method precarious. Russell arrives at a conclusion which gives validity to the inferences by induction. He concludes "And on either view the principle of limitation of variety will be equally necessary to give validity to the inferences by induction and analogy upon which science and daily life depend." (*Ibid.*, p. 286).

Let us now compare and contrast the views of Gaṅgeśa and his followers with those of the western logicians of recent times. The western logicians arrive at the conclusion that the conclusion of an inference by induction does not reach certainty but only a high degree of probability. Our empirical demand is met by the sense of such an assurance. The validity of the principle of limitation of variety cannot be proved since it presupposes the validity of induction. Therefore the objections of the Cārvākas are not met by this theory of induction. Gaṅgeśa and his followers discard the value of enumeration of instances. According to them it is not the number but the requisite quality of instances which counts. They are eager to reap the harvest but not to take the trouble of cultivation. Their interest is not practical but theoretical. They demonstrate that an inference by induction reaches the point of speculative certainty. They lay down such conditions as fulfil this result. But they do not discuss the scientific aspect of this problem. Therefore they do not lay stress upon the value of the number of instances. They intend to establish the absence of a discrepancy (negative instances) in the invariable concomitance in question. But they are not blind to facts. They examine instances in order to ascertain this absence. They are satisfied when this absence is ascertained. But they do not describe the process of this ascertainment. Thus they care to neglect the value of innumerable instances. Mr. Keynes recognises the value of a number of instances since he has not merely logical but also scientific interest. But from the stand-point of logic let us decide what is the true condition of an induction. Is it the number of instances or the absence of a discrepancy? The study of a number of well-chosen instances leads to the definite knowledge of the absence of discrepancy in question. The knowledge of this absence is the requisite condition of an induction but not the experience of a number of instances. Therefore the hypothesis of Gaṅgeśa and his followers is more tenable from the logical point of view. If this condition is fulfilled then the conclusion of an inference by induction is certain. Their argument for the certainty of the inferential knowledge inspires an unconditional admiration for them. But they have left a big gap in their system. They have not paid proper attention to the problem. How can we acquire the definite knowledge of the absence of discrepancy in question? It is more of a scientific nature than of a logical one. Gaṅgeśa's work should be supplemented by the more practical logic of the West. Mr. Keynes's method or a better method should supplement the practical aspect of the problem. Gaṅgeśa, in spite of his short-comings, has offered a better basis for the validity of the inductive method. He has solved the philosophic doubt which hinders the cause of empiricism as the method of philosophy and thus gives a fresh impetus to empiricism in the construction of a system of philosophy from the common sense point of view.

A. H. Murray in his 'The Philosophy of Ward' has raised important questions with regard to the problem whether empiricism is suitable as a method for philosophic procedure. The general question 'what is the relation between matter and mind in this universe' arises in our mind. The Naiyāyikas solve this problem. They hold that mind is an instrument by which the secrets of non-mind can be grasped. The same answer has also been given by James Ward. But a fresh problem crops up at this point. Mr. Murray describes it as the chicken-and-egg problem. He puts the problem thus, 'While one demands a metaphysical justification for the method, one cannot but employ the method in seeking for the metaphysical justification, and the very employment of the method presupposes the metaphysical justification' (p. 87). What is the source of this method? Murray suggests that this method originates from the natural positivism which is adopted spontaneously in the course of practical life towards the external environment. Ward's answer to this problem is that philosophy must begin in the middle and work backwards. We are in need of both eggs and chicken and both of them are supplied to us. Our problem is to choose the right kind of egg for the desired chicken. The metaphysics of the empiricists will justify their use of empiricism as a philosophic method. This problem takes another shape in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Philosophy. The empiricists of these schools subscribe to the accordance theory of truth. According to it the objective constituents of a judgment constitute the criterion of the truth of a judgment. They also hold that no object is self-luminous. It presupposes true knowledge. Thus they argue in a vicious circle. True knowledge presupposes the existence of real objects. The existence of real objects presupposes true knowledge. Udayana has solved this problem. The solution of this problem may be put in modern language thus :—Valid knowledge is the ratio cognoscendi of the existence of real objects but the existence of real objects is the ratio essendi of valid knowledge.' In the order of existence the objects are first but in the order of knowledge valid knowledge precedes and the existence of objects follows from it.

Now, Gaṅgeśa raises another important question regarding the awareness of the validity of validity itself whether the validity in question is self-luminous or not. Does a piece of valid knowledge carry a sense of truth along with it? Or, is it ascertained to be true by means of something other than itself? None of these two views satisfies a critical mind. If the validity in question is not ascertained then the existence of real objects cannot be proved. Let us now discuss this problem and see whether a satisfactory answer to this problem is available. If we hold that the validity of a valid judgment is not revealed whenever it either illuminates its object or is introspected by us then a regressus ad infinitum is the inevitable logical conclusion. In that case the validity in question will never be ascertained by us. Therefore let us start with the first hypothesis that a valid judgment asserts its own truth for our discussion. We shall only discuss the general feature of the problem. This problem involves some bearing upon the nature of consciousness. According to the Bhattas consciousness is neither self-luminous nor introspected by an after-cognition. It is only inferred. According to the Prabhakaras, the Advaitins of the Samkara school and others an act of awareness is self-luminous (svaprakaśa). Validity in question (pramātva) is the characteristic feature of valid knowledge. The former is a property of the latter. Now, if an act of consciousness is only inferred then validity, being a property of an imperceptible object, cannot be revealed by a judgment of perception. Similarly, no true knowledge should reveal its own property whenever it comes into being. If an act of consciousness is held to be self-luminous then it intends to convey that the act of consciousness does not depend upon another act of consciousness for its illumination. The import of this view is that it reveals itself. Even if we accept this view for the sake of argument then it has been neither assumed nor proved that it reveals all its properties along with its own illumination. But if both of them hold that the property of an act of consciousness is revealed along with the appearance of the act of consciousness then they should hold for the sake of consistency that validity and invalidity are revealed alike since both of them (validity and invalidity) stand on the same level, being properties of consciousness. But no body will accept such an absurd conclusion. It will be unfair on their part to hold that a true judgment communicates its own truth and does not depend upon another judgment for the expression of its truth since a false judgment has not the power of the self-expression of its falsehood. If they had such powers then this problem would not arise at all. Moreover a doubt is entertained as to the validity of a judgment. But such a doubt about the truth of a judgment cannot be explained by those who hold that a true judgment is expressive of its own truth. Now, let us examine the second hypothesis that the truth of a judgment is not self-determined. A, question arises in our mind whether a person moves towards the object of a judgment the truth of which has not been ascertained. If he does not move without ascertaining the truth of his knowledge then the movement of a person can never occur if the second hypothesis is accepted since such a hypothesis involves a regressus ad infinitum. Gangesa meets this objection. He answers that a person moves towards an object whenever he possesses the definite knowledge of the object in question provided his knowledge is not clouded by the suspicion of the invalidity of the determinate knowledge of the object in question. (Jhaṭiti pravrttistu ... aprāmānyā-śamkāśūnyāt vyavasāyādeva, na pramānya jñānam pravarttakam—T.C. pp. 285-86.). The objection of a regressus ad infinitum may be answered thus. The truth of a judgment is ascertained by means of verification. If this knowledge leads to successful movement or coheres with another true knowledge then it is ascertained to be true. When our movement becomes successful, we do not entertain a doubt as to the truth of the awareness of the success of our movement. Psychology bears witness to this mental attitude which is explained by natural positivism. This is the sum and substance of Gangesa's defence of parataḥ prāmānyāvāda (carama-jnānaprāmānyasya . . . prāmānyasamśayā-navaśyambhāvāt). This view of Gangesa may be compared with that of H. H. Price. H. H. Price discusses the problem of perception. He makes mention of perceptual acceptance and perceptual assurance. His perceptual acceptance is that mental attitude which Reid describes as belief. J. C. Wilson gives a different meaning of belief and calls this state of mind as 'being under an impression.' Price says that this mental state is always provisional and liable to correction. He prefers the term 'acceptance' to other terms. It denotes 'taking for granted'—a mental state as described by G. E. Moore. He says that this is not a positive state of mind but is 'absence of disbelief'. The positive term 'acceptance' denotes the negative state of the mind, *viz.*, absence of disbelief. It is an automatic suspension of disbelief. This is the primary form of perceptual consciousness. But this provisionality is not present to the mind of the conscious experient himself. Thus, according to Price, when we sense a sense-datum we do not attend to a difference between the sense-datum and the surface but do never assert their identity. H. H. Price concludes that we all are endowed with the power of taking for granted which may be well called the Primitive Credulity. We begin by taking for granted what is confirmed by us afterwards and is asserted by us to exist. He says, "This power of perceptual acceptance is surely one of Nature's most ingenious and delicate devices".

Perceptual acceptance is an unquestioning and undoubting state of the mind. It is neither inference nor belief nor intuitive apprehension of material objects. It is merely confrontation with sense-datum. Now, doubts arise in our mind as to the nature of sense-datum. Is this sense-datum a surface or its part which belongs to the material objects around us ? Is it something chaotic which does not belong to the ordered universe? Is it a member of a family of sense-data present and obtainable ? Is it merely psychic in character ? Various doubts of this sort arise in the mind of the percipient. We try to solve these doubts and dispose of them. After this unsettled state of mind we arrive at a settled state of mind. Our conviction follows from previous suspense of judgment. This settled state of mind is called perceptual assurance. According to Price, it is 'above the level of doubting and questioning whereas perceptual acceptance is below such level.

To be Continued.

THE FIRST BEGINNINGS OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN BENGALI MIDDLE CLASS

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The education policy in India has a chequered history, lacking in consistency and uniformity, full of self-contradictions and dictated by pure political motive.

The genesis of the orientalist and anglicist controversy, which emerges in the thirties of the 19th century in clear relief, may be traced to the last quarter of the 18 century. When Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781, he was simply fulfilling a historic task and laying down a policy for his successors. Hastings was a traditionalist and the foundation of the Calcutta Madrassa was nothing but the reflection of a wellchosen policy he was following in the larger spheres of politics, economics and revenue. To him was opposed the Whig revolutionary Sir Phillip Frances, who was out for innovations and experiments. It is to the credit of Sir Phillip to have first advocated the introduction of English language into India. But the hopes of Sir Phillip remained buried till the famous minute of Lord Macaulay in 1835 settled once for all the controversy that was raging since the days of Hastings and Frances. The spirit of Frances won the day. But in between Frances and Macaulay, stands another figure, that of Sir Charles Trevelyan. He loved originality and made experiments to romanise the Indian alphabet. His famous minute of 1832, which had hitherto received hardly any attention suspended the costly, useless scheme of translating European books into Arabic and Persian under the superintendence of Dr. Tytler and may rightly be regarded as the true precursor of Macaulay's famous minute of 7th March, 1835.

The triumph of the Anglicists over the Orientalists was not an accident. The soical composition which Hastings found in the 18th century had changed radically in the 19th century. The old middle class had decayed and passed away into the abyss of history and a new middle class, colonial bourgeoisie, had grown up out of the compact of the old society and the new conditions of exploitation created by imperialism. "Till the end of the 18th century, a superior knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic was sure to be rewarded by a good place. The reputation of many members of the Govt. and of nearly all the Secretaries had been founded on that basis. The literary circle of Calcutta was almost exclusively composed of orientalists." But their days were over. The new middle class having no roots in the past old society, aspired for a new culture—a culture that will bring them abreast with the world bourgeoisie. They wanted to be the servitors of the new masters who had brought them into being and at the same time thrive and expand. The foundation of the Hindu College in Calcutta and the English School at Benaras pointed out the shape of things to come. The famous letter of Raja Ram Mohan Ray to Lord Amherst, which in the opinion of Bishop Heber "for its good English, good sense and forcible arguments is a real curiosity, as coming from an asiatic," focuses the new trend in Indian thought.

The Government too felt the necessity of introducing English education which would expand the bureaucratic and industrial imperialism of the British over the rest of India? "Many circumstances indicate that the time has arrived for taking up the question of Indian national instruction in a way in which it has never yet been taken up......The mind of India has taken a new spring......the people want instruction. The Government wants educated servants to fill the responsible situations which have opened to the natives. Everything concurs to prove that this important subject ought no longer be regarded only as a movement for the leisure hours of benevolent persons. It must now be taken up as a great public question, with that seriousness and resolution to make to necessary sacrifices which the interests at stake require." (Sir Charles Trevelyan).

It is interesting to note that while around Calcutta and Hooghly, the new middle class was seized with enthusiasm and passion for English education, in Northern India, the early craze for English language began to languish and not without reason. The then strata of English educated intelligentsia could very soon discover that the already narrow avenues of employment were shrinking up, leaving them in the air, (A treatise on popular education in India by a gentleman in the Civil Service, 1841).

The symptoms which were so early manifest in Northern India were not slow to appear in Bengal, when the middle class was indeed a social factor, within 13 years of the foundation of the Calcutta University, the Government felt that their education policy needed a change. The political necessity which had demanded expansion of English

Education and dictated their policy from 1835 to 1870 was over. In the new conditions created by the transfer of power from Company to Crown and the consequent direct exploitation of India's resources by the entire capitalist class of England, the shrinkage of the world market due to rise of competitors, and the American Civil war, British imperialism in India had to find out new balance of forces. A reorientation of the Education policy and its tightening up became necessary.

The Bengali Middle class, as the colonical bourgeoisie were bound to be, had never a healthy, fullfledged growth. It had a truncated development, "an expansion in width." Only a blow-up of the old feudalism, the growth of trade and industry and attainment of politcal power could have ensured the Bengali middle class a stable social basis. The Bengali middle class could never turn into *haute* bourgeosie. Whatever aspirations, it might have entertained in the inception were soon dashed to the ground. It was a parasitical class, thriving on the sufferance and benevolence of the masters. The frustration of the Bengali middle class will be evident from one significant instance that the grand-son of Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore had to turn to Indian Civil Service and the Tagore family were forced to close down all industrial and commercial ventures and become a purely landed aristocracy. The Bengali middle class had to seek economic salvation in the Government and merchant houses. Hence the problem of an evergrowing educated middle class in the existing social and economic set up could not but be a matter of deep concern to the Government.

The astute masters wanted to gloss over this retrograde policy of withdrawing Government aid from English education under a very subtle plea of devoting Government resources for expansion of vernacular education. How hypocritical were these sudden qualms of conscience will be evident from the subsequent policy of the Government when the responsibility for primary education was shifted to the weak shoulders of the newly created District Boards.

The Government report for 1870 says, "He finds himself in keenest competition for intellectual employment—for there are thousands like himself—as the market though ample, has been overstocked and all the while Industrial Education has been neglected and there are millions for whom no kind of instruction has been provided by the Government at all." Lord Lytton in his speech at the Convocation of 1877, said, "The be-all and end-all of our educated class is Government employment. There is the educated native plaintively telling us that because we have provided him with a University education and because he has fully and successfully availed himself of that provision, therefore, we are bound, at least in his opinion, to provide him also with an official employment." Sir Richard Temple also wrote, "It is melancholy to see men who once appeared to receive honours in the University Convocation, now applying for some lowly paid appointment, almost begging from office to office, from department to department, or struggling for the practice of a petty practitioner, and after all this, returning baffled and disappointed to a poverty-stricken home."

The above three quotations will give us the measure of concern of our masters over the problem of educated unemployment. But the problem was still more serious. Rev. James Johnston in "Our Educational Policy in India" published in 1880 remarks, "The present system is raising up a number of discontented and disloyal subjects." In an article in the Fortnightly Review, we find the following passage :—"They look back on the mental toil they have endured and are chagrined in discovering that in too many instances, it leads to nothing." Herein we can find the *raison d'être* behind the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton's. Lord Lytton's government saw red light in the educated unemployed middle class and found it necessary to gag their voice, so that their discontent might not spread far and wide and in alliance with other exploited classes of the society start a conflagration, as they had done 20 years before in the agitation against Indigo planters.

Moreover, the consolidation of British rule in Northern India had brought into being in those regions a nascent middle class from the Muslim Community. By 1870, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan had pledged Muslim loyalty to British imperialism and the hitherto anti-Muslim policy of the Government was at last found to be unjust. "About 1870, the British began to change favourites. Instead of repressing the Muslims any further, continuing to exclude them from the growing professional classes, in fear of their power to revolt, now they began to encourage the Muslims to enter those classes, offering them positions and privileges in return for loyalty, in fear of the nascent Hindu power to revolt. The previous policy had by then achieved its object, and was no longer useful." (Cartwell Smith ; Modern Islam in India). The Bengali middle class, predominantly Hindu in Social composition, had fallen from the grace of their masters. "Divide at Impera" had found out a new ally. Let us now measure the volume of educated unemployment in Bengal.

A small pamphlet, "High Education and the present position of the graduates in Arts and Law of the Calcutta University" written by Krishna Chandra Roy and published in 1882, gives a statistical account of educated unemployment in Bengal.

"The University commenced operations with about 50 schools for the Entrance Examination and 13 affiliated institutions for B.A. examination, all in Bengal. At the time of the last Entrance Examination (of 1881), there were 323 schools, which sent up candidates for the Entrance Examination, of which 200 were in Bengal, 50 in the N. W. P., 20 in the Punjab, and the rest in the other provinces. The number of affiliated Institutions in Arts in 1881 was 62 ; 41 of these were up to B.A. standard and 21 up to F.A. standard, 13 of these were also affiliated in Law. In Medicine, there is only one the Medical College in Calcutta. In Engineering there are two, the Thompson College at Roorki and the Shibpur College. There are thus (62 Arts—1 Medical—2 Engineering) 65 Colleges affiliated to the University, 25 of which are in Bengal."

From 1857 to 1881, 20,503 men passed the Entrance Examination from Calcutta University which had a jurisdiction extending from British Burma to the Punjab. During the same period, 4,724 passed the Intermediate Examination, 1712 passed the B.A. Examination, 423 passed the M.A. and the Honours Examination, 885 passed the B.L. Examination.

Of these 1712 graduates, 528 were in Government service, 187 in private service, 547 in business (legal) and otherwise engaged, 88 students pursuing higher studies, 42 dead and for the rest 320, no information was available.

To the Government, the educated middle class though a statistical minority, was really the dominant force in the society. They constituted a problem and menance to the security of the State So the Government felt that they must reverse their educational policy pursued for the last 5 decades under a skilful excuse of spreading mass education. The same forces which sounded the death knell of Victorian liberalism at home, also brought about the close of a chapter in the Educational policy of England in India.

SHYLOCK AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD OF VENICE

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The money-lender is never a popular character. We may need his assistance, we may even court him in times of need; but we do not love him. No wonder, then, that the Christians of Venice do not love Shylock. But they do not stop at that. On the Rialto, and in the presence of the congregated merchants, Antonio calls him 'misbeliever, cut-throat dog.' He spits 'upon his Jewish gaberdine' and he feels proud of it. For even when he goes to borrow money—it may be for his friend, yet the fact remains that he goes to borrow and, therefore, needs his help—yes, even when he goes to borrow money, he tells him straight:

> I am as like to call thee so again,
> To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too.
>
> Act I Sc III.

And Antonio is the best of the lot. He is, in the estimation of Bassanio, who may be safely regarded as reflecting the sentiments of the Christian brotherhood,

> the kindest man,
> The best-condition'd and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies; and one in whom
> The ancient Roman honour more appears
> Than any that draws breath in Italy.
>
> Act III Sc II.

Well, we are tempted to ask, is spitting on a fellowman (one who has as yet done you no harm) a sign of courtesy and kindness? With the decline of Rome, has the conception of Roman honour come to this?

The truth is that to Bassanio, and for that matter, to the entire Christian community, Shylock does not count. He does not count not because, he is a money-lender but because he is a Jew, a 'misbeliever', as Antonio so pharisaically brands him. The conflict in The Merchant of Venice is not so much between a generous merchant who lends money gratis and a cruel money-lender who charges interest as between a Christian and a Jew.

Antonio is noble and generous and it speaks of the goodness of his heart that he lends money gratis. But he is a bit of an idealist,[1] who unknowingly deceives himself when he says that he does not understand how 'barren metal' may breed. For, as a merchant, he makes metal breed in a sense. He may call it 'venture', but then this money-lending business of Shylock is also a venture, involving, as it does, some amount of risk. Thus if the merchant's profit is well-earned again, so is Shylock's interest. And there is nothing in the play to suggest that he charges unusually heavy interest.[2] Not that he has not the will to charge heavily. The will is there; but he simply cannot, for, as he complains, the generous merchant brings down the rate of interest at Venice. Such complaint is, of course, unreasonable and unjustifiable. Yet it is but common human weakness to grumble where interest suffers, and in this one is not usually guided by reason.

It is a sin to a miser, as the Jew certainly is, and it does not go to his credit that even his daughter (and she is his only child) has to admit: 'Our house is hell.' (Act II Sc III). But to be a miser is perhaps no worse sin than to be a prodigal, who, obviously without family liabilities, lives on borrowed money and drags a selfless friend into the mire and even spends a portion of the money got by pawning the friend in giving sumptuous feast to his boon companions.

What, in fact, are these christian friends of Antonio? Antonio's generosity to them is too well-known. He lends money gratis on such extensive scale that it reacts on the purse of the Jew considerably.[3] Yet what is the kind of treatment that he receives in return? How is Bassanio, presumably the best of them and certainly one who receives most. Bassanio needs money. Antonio has no 'present sum.' Yet he would not disappoint such a friend. He bids him go and enquire where money is and he would borrow on his behalf. Bassanio goes to Shylock. But why of all people to Shylock, whose relation with Antonio cannot possibly be unknown to him? The answer seems plain enough. The christian friends cannot charge interest; decency forbids that, for which of them has not received help from Antonio sometime or other? And they would not part with their money for nothing; they are too worldly-wise for such folly. Shylock is, therefore, perhaps the only refuge.[1] I feel sure I do no wrong to these Christians of Venice when I make this observation, for their subsequent conduct confirms me in my views. Any way, too much centred in self as Bassanio is, he involves his friend in a delicate situation. He cannot back out; he cannot stoop to a mere Jew. Therefore, with his characteristic attitude towards Shylock, he throws a challenge:

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[1] It may sound strange enough; yet, though a prosperous merchant, Antonio is an unworldly idealist. For no practical would stake his all in adventure, much less in adventure on the sea in those days of piracy. But he is lucky. The fact that, his trials over, he gets back three of his argosies proves it so.

[2] The mere fact that Antonio calls him 'cut-throat dog' does not signify much, for to Antonio anything taken as interest is bad enough.

[3] Shylock makes his loss on this count amount to 'half a million'. (Act III Sc I). Even if we make allowance for exaggeration, it must have been a big figure.

> If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
> As to thy friends.........
>
> .. ..
>
> But lend it rather to thine enemy;
> Who, if he breaks thou mayst with better face
> Exact the penalty.
>
> Act I Sc. III

Shylock accepts the challenge and offers to advance the money (three thousand ducats) on the most revolting terms. Of the Jew I shall speak later. But what about Bassanio? How could he choose to accept the money on such conditions? In all fairness to Bassanio it must be admitted that he does not foresee the danger and he believes that, as Antonio assures him, his friend will be able to pay off the debt much earlier than the stipulated time. But all the same the terms are humiliating. Bassanio, therefore, should not have stopped with a mere feeble remonstrance. He should have told Antonio straight out that he would have nothing to do with money brought at such price. Any gentleman would have done as much. But strangely enough, Bassanio not only accepts the money but is jubilant like anything and dismisses all thoughts of the ugly transaction till, too late, he receives the dismal news of his friend's arrest [2]

If such is Bassanio, others fare no batter. When the bond is forfeit, Antonio is seen pursuing the Jew 'with bootless prayers' and, for the time being, the whilom 'cut-throat dog' becomes 'good Shylock'! It is therefore, improbable that while yet there was time, he did not knock at the door of the so-called friends. In fact, Shakespeare seems to hint as much. For when the news has spread that some of Antonio's argosies are lost and he 'cannot choose but break', he is represented as sending for Salaino and Salarnio (Act III. Sc I) This cannot possibly be for any other reason than to discuss this new and unexpected turn of events and to think out any possible means of escape. Yet not one of these friends comes forward to help him. Shylock may hate him for, as Antonio says, he

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[1] Antonio tells Bassanio that he would also enquire. Is it not then, likely that he too has sounded some friends?

[2] There are critics who make much of Bassanio's quick return even on the wedding day on receipt of the friend's letter. I confess their words do not touch me, for to have done less would have been beastly.

> 'oft deliver'd from his forfeitures
> Many that have at times made moan'

to him, but there is not much to choose between the much-maligned 'accursed Jew' and these 'many' whom Antonio delivered and to whom probably he now makes moon. If the Jew attempts on the life of Antonio for grievances which to him are real enough, they make no attempt to save him from his clutches while yet they may, even though they have every reason to be grateful to him.

Such, then, are the Christians to whom the jew is not only a 'misbeliever' but the devil in human form[1]. Now let us study the position of Shylock. Here he is, plying what to him is an honest trade. The christians themselves recognise his usefulness in that they seek him in their hours of need. Yet there is not one who does not slander him behind his back. And those who feel sure that they would never need his help (and Antonio is one such) do not hesitate to abuse him openly in filthy terms.[2] Sylock, in his turn, has to bear all ignominies 'with a patient shrug', for he belongs to a weak minority community of aliens. Yet he is not without the average man's instinct for retaliation. And whatever he may say about 'sufferance' being the badge of his tribe, his religion plainly teaches him: 'Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth'. It is, therefore, natural that he would brood and brood, till at last desire for vengeance becomes a passion with him. This fact must be remembered in estimating the character of Shylock and in pronouncing any final judgment on him.

When, the first time in life, Shylock gets the upper hand, he indulges in well-worded taunts.. Good. Antonio deserves such taunts. And if afterwards he had charged an abnormally heavy interest, or better still, had flatly refused Antonio, his conduct would have been perfectly justified. But he does nothing of the kind. He is bent upon more terrible revenge. And, therefore, when he finds that Antonio is still his old self, even when he comes to borrow, he suddenly changes his tactics and under a veil of friendliness, proposes to advance the amount free of interest, if only (the sting is in the tail!) he would sign a bond (mind, 'in a merry sport'!) that unless he pays back by a certain date, he would lose a pound of flesh to be cut off by the Jew from any part of the body he pleases to choose. The disguise is thin, the devil's cloven hoof is even now too prominent. And if Antonio falls into the trap, he does so not because he is deceived in the Jew, but because he feels too sure that he would be able to elude his grasp.

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[1] Pointing to Shylock Salanio remarks : "Here he (*i.e.*, the devil) comes in the likeness of a jew" (Act III. Sc I) And Salanio may be taken as a type.

[2] Antonio's dealings towards the jew have already been referred to. And if such be he attitude of one who, by commoneconsent is the best specimen of christianity among them tthe attitude of the others may well be conjectured.

But how could the idea of such a bond, so revoltingly monstrous strike the imagination of Shylock? It almostdefies explanation. And whatever the explanation, it must at once be admitted that it betrays a morbid state of mind. Yet it is no less true that it is the systematic unchristian-like treatment of the Christian folk that has made him the devil that he is. The chief deterrants to evil deeds are: an active conscience and the fear of public censure. The first Shylock has not; as regards the second, Antonio and the Christian brotherhood have long relieved him off all thoughts that way.[1]

And now comes fresh provocation, so grave as over-night to turn a man mad; Shylock's daughter elopes with her Christian lover. The poor Jew, rightly guesses that it is the result of a well-laid conspiracy. In fact, the Christian folk have not the decency to hide there jubilation in the presence of the mortified father and one of them tells him bluntly that he 'knew the tailor that made the wings she flew withal'. And the strange thing is that these people know fully well that Antonio is in trouble and that it is not unlikely that he will not be able to redeem the pledge[2]. Their attitude is thus donbly reprehensible and it betrays a callousness regarding the fortunes of Antonio which is unpardonable—in their exultation at the discomfiture of the Jew they forget that at least it is not politic to exasperate him at this stage. No wonder, this new turn of events adds keenness to Shylock's passion for vengeance and as, inspite of his best efforts, he cannot get hold of the culprits, Antonio has to bear the brunt of his rage.

In his mad fury when his family is wrecked, Shylock laments for the ducats and jewelleries that the ungrateful daughter has stolen as much as for the daughter herself. Nay, apparently it seems that the jewels are more precious to him, for this is how he laments: "I would my daughter were dead at my foot and the jewels in her ears" (Act III. Sc. 1) yet though such expressions of grief are an index of the storm that is raging in him, they do him wrong who take his words literally and argue that greedy of wealth as he is, his ducats and jewelleries are *really* more to him than his lost daughter. Let us try to visualise the situation. Here he is, hated by the Christians, whom, from their conduct towards him, he has learnt to look upon as his enemies and the enemies of his tribe. One of them, his worst enemy has thrown the gauntlet and he has accepted the challenge. And now his own daughter deserts to the enemies' camp and, as a result, fresh insults are heaped upon him. No wonder, in impotent rage he loses balance and utters words the full import of which he does not understand. But the love for the daughter may be clouded; it never passes away. For even during the trial of Antonio when Shylock's heart is burning with vengeance, which seems almost within his grasp, he does not forget his ungrateful daughter. When, in the extreme of grief, Bassanio remarks that he would gladly lose his life and his wife, dear to him as life itself, if thereby he could save his friend, and Gratiano (in his eagerness not to be outdone by Bassanio) glibly echoes the same sentiment, Shylock's thoughts fly to his lost daughter and he says to himself melancholily:

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[1] Shylock plainly tells Antonio when he is under arrest: "Since I am a dog, beware of my fangs". Act III. Sc. III.

[2] Salarino seems to hint at the possibility when, in reply to Shylock's ominous warning, he observes: "why, I am sure, if he forfeit, thou will not take his flesh: what's that good for?" Act III. Sc. 1

> These be Christian husbands! I have a daughter,—
> Would any of the stock of Barrabas
> Had been her husband rather than a Christian!
>
> Act IV, Sc. I

Mark, the Jew does not think of the ignominy she has brought on him; he rather thinks of the misery which, as he thinks, she has brought on herself in marrying a Christian. In fact, however, diabolical the movements of Shylock, we are never made entirely to forget that he is a man with much of the feelings and sentiments of the average man. For instance, his passionate outbursts before Tubal as the latter tells him the story of Antonio's disaster and that of the reckless squandering of his ducats and jewelleries by his daughter, are outrageously friendish; yet the man in him suddenly leaps up, the well of tenderness that is hidden from view gushes out as, on learning how the daughter has given away his ring for a monkey, he laments: "Thou torturest me, Tubal: it was my turquoise; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor: I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys" (Act III, Sc. 1).

Shakespeare, who is above all parochial limitations, surveys humanity from a lofty height; and it is on the lips of the much-hated Jew that he puts the searching question : ‘ Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?’ In speaking of oppressed Israel, Shylock in these lines voices forth the sentiment of all oppressed nations on earth. And the conclusion that he arrives at from such premises : ‘If you wrong us, shall we not revenge? if we are like you in the rest, we shall resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? revenge: if a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I shall execute ; and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.” (Act II, Sc. 1)—well, it may not be particularly happy, certainly it is not divine ; but at least it is human. But the way that Shylock takes for bettering the instruction is diabolical. He, therefore, alienates our sympathy.

Yet even where he appears at his worst, it is again this much-maligned Jew (again mark the catholicity of Shakespeare !) who puts his finger on the plague-spot of the Christian society of the day, though he does so to justify his own case :

> You have among you many a purchased slave,
> Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
> You use in abject and in slavish parts,
> Because you bought them : shall I say to you,
> Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?
> Why sweat they under burdens? let their beds
> Be made soft as yours and let their palates
> Be season'd with such viands? You will answer
> The slaves are ours : so do I answer you :
> The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,
> Is dearly bought, 'tis mine, and I shall have it.
>
> Act IV, Sc. 1.

Shylock's argument is no argument, for two wrongs do not make one right. But the charge is unanswerable, and the Duke, whom Shylock addresses, evades the issue, for it is not particularly happy to be cornered like this. The truth is that however glibly these people might talk of Christian charity and divine mercy, they always fail at the crucial moment. Gratiano, who is a blunt sort of man is the most likely fellow to express in words what the average Christian feels but has the decency not to blurt out. See how he behaves at the discomfiture of the Jew (Act IV, Sc. 2), when Portia questions Antonio what mercy he might render the fallen foe, Gratiano unceremoniously interrupts:

A halter gratis; nothing else, for God's sake.

And finally, when the Jew's life is pardoned on condition that he 'presently becomes a Christian,' this is his ungenerous comment :

In christening shalt thou have two godfathers ;
Had I been judge, thou shouldst have had ten more
To bring thee to the gallows, not the font.

Well, the man who thinks and speaks like this had little moral justification to grumble if the Jew whetted his knife when he felt himself triumphant.[1]

But leaving aside the lesser men, let us again turn to Antonio. When this fine gentleman has his adversary entirely at his mercy, what mercy does *he* show him? It is to turn the Jew into a Christian under threat of death. And—this is still more significant—even Portia, who waxed so eloquent in her sermon on mercy, has not a word to say in protest. Commenting on Portia's attitude Quiller Couch observes : 'It is all very well for Portia to strike an attitude and tell the court and the world that

The quality of mercy is not strain'd
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven......

But these high-professing words are words and no more to us, who find that, when it comes to her turn and the court's turn, Shylock gets but mercy of being allowed......to turn Christian'[2] I am not however inclined to be too hard on Portia, no, not even on Antonio in this particular matter. For such was the religious bigotry of the age that Antonio might think that, far from being cruel to the Jew, he was really doing him a service (thus returning good for evil) in converting him and showing him the way to salvation ; and Portia must have highly appreciated this generous(?) move on the part of her husband's dearest friend. This seems the more likely from the fact that Portia is not otherwise ungenerous to the Jew. For even when she holds the trump card in her hand, she makes the offer of thrice three thousand ducats, if Shylock would let her tear the bond. Yes, neither Portia nor Antonio feels that the Jew is wronged in any way. Yet the fact remains that he is grievously wronged and even Portia has no consideration for his feelings. Poor fool, he poses to be a champion of oppressed Israel and ends by joining the enemy's camp.

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[1] It may be said that Gratiano's excesses are a reaction against the inhumanity of the 'wolfish' Jew-Right. But this is moving in a vicious circle; for did not the Jew himself act under provocation? Moreover—and this is the point in question—what, then, is the much-vaunted difference between the Christian and the Jew.

[2] Quiller—Couch : Shakespeare's Workmanship, P. 102.

So the curtain falls on the drama of the conflict between the Christian and the Jew. Christianity triumphs and all thoughts of the poor sufferer are drowned amidst peals of laughter of the merry folk (Shylock's daughter is of the party !) at Belmont. Alas !

ART-CRITIC'S PROBLEMS

DR. SUDHIR NANDI

We have taken art in the sense of fine art and unlike the ancient thinkers, we have deliberately looked upon it as something different from craft and similar other things. To determine the nature of art is in itself a colossal task. Fantastic suggestions have been made by many eminent thinkers of different times and countries and art has already been defined in a thousand different ways. Some contend that the uncertainty about the function of art and the determination of its character is due to its confusion with various other forms of activity of kindred nature. The Greek tendency to identify art with craft is an instance in point. Such confusion, according to Prof. Collingwood, has landed us in fallacies of 'precarious margins.'[1] Poetry, as a species of art, has been defined by estimable authorities as 'imitation of human life,' 'glimpse of the divine,' 'wine of the devil,' 'expression of emotion,' 'sublime expression of truth,' 'aspiration toward beauty,' 'communication of pleasure,' 'speaking pictures,' 'apparent pictures of unapparent realities.' That is not the end of the story. It has also been defined as 'reality,' 'make-believe,' 'concrete or abstract metaphor,' 'metre,' 'madness,' 'wisdom,' 'sanity,' 'trance'—there is almost no way left in which poetry remains yet to be defined. And the notion of art, as we find it to-day, is totally different from what it was in the old days. With the process of mental evolution, human conceptions are fast changing. Ideas and values also change. Sri Aurobindo notes this change with the evolution of human cycle. He writes[2] with special reference to poetry : "To us poetry is a revel of intellect and fancy, imagination a plaything and caterer for our amusement, our entertainer, the nautch girl of the mind. But to the man of old the poet was a seer, a revealer of hidden truths, imagination no dancing courtesan but a priestess in God's house commissioned not to spin fictions but to image difficult and hidden truths." Thus there is a definite change of outlook in us and to-day we do not look upon poetry and other forms of art so seriously as our forefathers used to do. The amusement theory of art is the widely known view of to-day. The office of the seer of hidden truths has been denied to the poet by many critics. Sometimes they uphold their views with apparent justice and logical consistency. It is really difficult to make out, at the first instance, who is in the right—the modern or the ancient critic. That is why a critical enquiry into the nature and function of art is neither superfluous nor redundant even to-day.

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[1] *Vide* 'The Principles of Art.'

[2] See 'Human Cycle,' p. 7.

Plato's suggestion that poetry is esoteric and unique cannot be readily accepted in view of such confusion and divergence of opinion in regard to the nature of poetry and art. The irrationality as well as the uniqueness of poetry so boldly attributed to it by Plato will scarcely bear examination ; in fact no less an authority than Kant will have poetry defined as containing an essential element of rationality in it. In the nature of art, Kant tells us, there always is an element of intellectualism. As against the view of Kant; we find such an eminent thinker as Sri Aurobindo totally denying rationality and intellectualism in the ordinary sense, in all true art. He writes: "The creation of beauty in poetry and art does not fall within the sovereignty or even within the sphere of the reason. The intellect is not the poet, the artist, the creator within us ; creation comes by a supra-rational influx of light and power which must work always, if it is to do its best, by vision and inspiration. It may use the intellect for certain of its operations but in proportion as it subjects itself to the intellect, it loses in power and force of vision and diminishes the splendour and truth of the beauty it creates. Both Plato and Sri Aurobindo agree that the source of poetry is supra-rational. But their findings are altogether different. Genius, the true creator, writes Sri Aurobindo, is always supra-rational in its nature and its instrumentation even when it seems to be doing the work of the reason ; it is most itself, most exalted in its work, most sustained in the power, depth, height and beauty of its achievement when it is least touched by, least mixed with any control of the mere intellectuality and least often drops from its heights of vision and inspiration into reliance upon the always mechanical process of intellectual construction. Art-creation which accepts the canons of the reason and works within the limits laid down by it, may be great, beautiful and powerful ; for genius can preserve its power even when it labours in shackles and refuses to put forth all its resources ; but when it proceeds by means of the intellect, it constructs, but does not create. It may construct well and with a good and faultless workmanship, but its success is formal and not of the spirit, a success of technique and not the embodiment of the imperishable truth of beauty seized in its inner reality, its divine delight, its appeal to a supreme source of ecstacy, 'Ananda.' Another suggestion that poetry is something so general as to be almost co-terminous with experience itself is also baffling. It overlooks the fact that poetry is the expression of the unique experience of the poet. It is not unique as experience for the poet's experience might have been shared by many in the past. It is unique because the poet expresses in his own unique way. There it is uncommon and peculiar. There it bids farewell to the experiences of the common herd of men. It is unique in its expression. However the nature of poetry defies analysis in either direction, whether we regard it as rare and esoteric like divinity or general and common as experience itself. What is true of poetry is also true of art in general. Plato's theory of poetry as originating mysteriously from an 'impulse of the divinity within' does not encourage any discussion or analysis. If we hold with Plato that the poetic activity is an 'unconscious activity,' we mean thereby not merely that the poetic activity is mysterious in its nature, but also that the consciousness of any activity as poetic is incompatible with the poetic character of such acts.[1] Such a position, we are sure, will not be acceptable to any poet worth the name. Poetic activity may be inspired but certainly not unconscious, as alleged by Plato. Introspection is possible only through retrospection but the peculiar character of the poetic activity according to such a position, makes any introspective assessment of its function totally impracticable. Therefore, we cannot even reach it, *past facto* retrospectively or inferentially through comparing the experiences of different individuals since reports of such experiences can never be available. Art, in Plato's view, eloudes our grasp and we can never know it. Its very character baffles any easy characterisation. Tagore too holds a similar view. He writes[2]: 'art is māyā—it has no other explanation but that it seems to be what it is. It never tries to conceal its evasiveness, it mocks even its own definition and plays the game of hide-and-seek through its constant flight in changes." Tagore's characterisation of art as māyā reminds us of Irving Babbitt's characterisation of art as 'illusion for the sake of illusion, a mere Nepenthe of the spirit, a means not of becoming reconciled to reality but of escaping from it."[3] Thus we find that from Plato down to Tagore, artists and art critics stand baffled when they attempt at an explanation of the nature of art. For Plato, poetry originates from an impulse of the divinity within and such an impulse is always indefinable. It is inherently irrational or sub-rational and that is why Plato is so trenchant in his criticism of art. Tagore goes the way Plato has gone, when he tells us that it has no other explanation but that it seems to be what it is. 'This seeming reality' if we may call it so, is the theme of art and the aesthetic approach to life and reality is a class by itself.

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[1] See 'Poetry, Monads and Society' by H. Kabir.
[2] 'Contemporary Indian Philosophy,' p. 38.
[3] The New Laokoon, p. 85.

Apart from the divergence of views on the nature of art, a number of other difficulties stand in the way. It is a pertinent question whether all forms of art—poetry, painting, architecture, sculpture and music can be subsumed under one head and they all can be judged with the same criterion. It is also doubtful whether a single theory will cover the whole field of art and not only poetry or painting exclusively. The theory of art is moreover, not only the theory of beauty. The two cannot be equated. Art has to deal with the sublime and the ludicrous. Sublime, like the beautiful, does not arise from the conformity between content and activity. Like the ludicrous it does neither express the failure of expression. The sense of the sublime arises only when we fail to comprehand the grandeur and magnificence in nature. The categories of human thought cannot adequately conform to the bigness of the content concerned. Sublimity is the failure of comprehension and expression on the part of the creator as well as of the appreciator. Sublimity is not expressed; it is only hinted at. Successful expression gives us the sense of the beautiful, the sense of the harmony between the form and the content. This question of harmony does not arise at all in the case of the sublime. Ludicrous or comic is the expression of the failure of expression. The failure is well expressed and that is what gives rise to the sense of the comic. From a study of the nature of the comic, of the sublime and of the beautiful, it is quite difficult to ascertain at the outset whether a single theory of art will cover all these diverse problems of the field of aesthetics.

A critic of art will have to devote his time on yet another problem and that is to adjudicate upon the respective claims of reason (thought) and feeling in matters of artistic creation. There are diverse views, as usual, on this point. There are eminent scholars and thinkers who look upon the aesthetic world as supra-rational or sub-rational and deny the competency of reason to survey this field. Plato considered art to be irrational and this lack of rational element in art led Plato to denounce it altogether. Sri Aurobindo, like Plato denied rationality to art. But he did not denounce the value of art on that score. He considered the realm of art to be beyond the spell of reason. The intuitive intelligence of man, when it has been sufficiently trained and developed, can take up always the work of the intellect and do it with a power and light and insight greater and surer than the power and the light of the intellectual judgment in its widest scope. This intuitive intelligence of Sri Aurobindo comprehends within itself the contemplativeness of the rational faculty as well as the immediacy of feeling. There is an intuitive discrimination, he tells us, which is more keen and precise in its sight than the reasoning intelligence. This is one side of the problem. Kant again admits an element of intellectualism in art, Croce, on the other hand, declared art to be below the thought level. But it is in no way inferior to thought in dignity. Logic comes after art and art is devoid of any reality-consciousness. This discrimination between reality and unreality is a thing of the logical plane. In the realm of art, it is yet to emerge. Art is concerned with feeling. The immediacy of feeling, according to Benedetto Croce, constitutes the soul of art. There are people who take a middle course and allow both feeling and thought to take their respective seats in the realm of art. Rabindranath subscribes to such a view. This thought-feeling tug of war cannot be easily brushed aside. Like the other problems, this also stands out as a baffling question and the critics of to-day will have to take note of them.

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

A Study in Status

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The British Commonwealth, like the British Constitution, has evolved as a system largely on improvisation, Compromise and Convention induced by the compelling needs and dynamic politics of an expanding world. The Statute of Westminster, 1931, was the first systematic, though limited, attempt at defining some of the fundamental incidents of the system in the formal language of a Constitutional enactment. But the Constitutional jacket which the Statute provided was far from being a complete cover for a body which still remained in the process of physiological evolution. Text books on the British Constitution speak of the gap between theory and practice which characterises the British system of government. Herein, one may say, lies the clue to the entire political system of the British people—their capacity for compromise. They have a natural genius—almost uncanny in its instinctiveness—for knowing when a change is due; and they have developed the graceful habit of yielding to the inevitable far on the right side of the margin. This is a sustaining virtue because this, more than anything else, keeps Britain with her apparently ageold, outmoded and decaying political system a going concern in an otherwise erratic and uncertain world.

The Statute of Westminster, 1931, did not provide a complete conspectus of what was known as Dominion Status at that time. It was just the formal enunciation of some very fundamental incidents of that status which, till then, had rested more on Convention and Custom than on formal legal recognition. A general analysis of the Act reveals that it made a distinction between Dominion Status and Dominion Functions. Equality of status was provided for, but as regards functions, a distinction was made as between the members of the Commonwealth. In fact the great author of the Formula of Dominion equality—Lord Balfour—clearly envisaged such a distinction. The Committee on inter-Imperial Relations of the Imperial Conference, 1926, had added a rider to the formula on Dominion equality. "The principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status," it was stated, "do not universally extend to functions." The

Conference of experts which worked out the details of the formula on inter-Imperial relationship met in 1929 and apparently ignored that part of the recommendations of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which had suggested discriminating limitations on Dominion Functions, and a more or less uniform pattern was prescribed for all. The Imperial Conference of 1930 gave its seal of approval to the final blueprint for the Constitutional structure of the Commonwealth and the outcome was the Statute of Westminster, 1931. But a close survey of the contents of the Statute shows that, the Preamble notwithstanding, the Constitutional arrangement clearly introduced distinctions as between members of the Commonwealth. Leaving aside for the moment the issue of equality of status as between the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth which, as per Preamble, the Statute was purported to establish on a formal and legal basis, even legal and Constitutional equality as between the other members of the Commonwealth was not fully established. Status, one must recognise, is not merely a question of one's position in an imaginary order of unembodied relationship which may be enunciated in the abstraction of formal law; it is very much real and concrete and has to be defined in terms of functional relationship. Status, in fact, is (to use a chemical term) the precipitation of functions. Thus any practical evaluation of status must take full account of its functional contents.

Dominion status, which means the status of the Component members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, has got three relational aspects, *viz.*, internal, inter-imperial and inter-national. It is not necessary here to explore all these aspects to find out the presence and extent of functional inequality as between the units. Investigation in one field, *viz.*, that of internal sovereignty, will show whether the Statute of Westminster, 1931, formally recognised equality as between all members of the Commonwealth. Constituent power is, on any reckoning, a fundamental feature of internal sovereignty. And any limitation upon the local exercise of that power, operated from outside by an outside agency, is a clear curtailment of internal sovereignty. Canada, which was *par excellence* 'The Dominion,' and which was long viewed as the prototype of Dominionhood, was denied by the Statute independent exercise of this vital constituent power. To say that the exclusion as provided for by the Statute had the consent and acquiescence of that Dominion does not alter the fact of exclusion. Writing about this Prof. Keith observed: "As regards substantive law, therefore, the only real

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limitations as to alteration of the constitution are those affecting Canada, and they are self-imposed by the inability of provinces and federation, despite many efforts, to reach agreement as to the power of change. Other Dominions have unfettered power to act locally." [1]

It is thus clear that the Statute of Westminster, 1931, did not set up or recognise any absolute system of functional equality of status. The Preamble of the Statute started with an enunciation of (equality of) status which, however, remained largely proleptic in legal form, because formula and form remained disparate over substantial areas. This in fact has been one of the most striking features of what is elliptically called Dominion status. Dominion status, in fact, had never been in the course of its long evolution one single pattern of functional status, and even the Statute of Westminster, which purported to give a formal shape to that status on a uniform scale, failed to secure formal equality. That is why British Indian politicians in demanding Dominion Status, while is was still the fashion to do so, mentioned the particular pattern of Dominionhood which they had in view.

India and Pakistan were admitted to full membership of the (British) Commonwealth by the Indian Independence Act, 1947. That Act, it may be noted, definitely marked an advance on the earlier Act—the Statute of Wesminster, 1931, at least from a strictly legal point of view. India and Pakistan were admitted to the country of the Commonwealth on terms which, in law, left very little room for ambiquity or obscurity. There was complete transfer of sovereignty to the new Dominions and full Constituent power was expressly conferred on them. And not only that but even the power of amending or repealing the Act itself, *i.e.*, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, was formally conferred on them. Sec. 6, Sub-Sec. 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, expressly provided as follows: "No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the laws of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any Order, Rule or Regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion includes the power to repeal or amend any such Act, Order, Rule or Regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion." In this regard, *viz.*, in respect of the full and unfettered power of the Dominions to repeal or amend the provisions of even the basic constituent Act, *i.e.*, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, in so far as these formed a part of the law of the Dominions concerned, the constitutional position was definitely more clear than in the case of the Statute of Westminister, 1931. A comparative reference to Sec. 2 of the Statute of Westminster will make the point clear. Sec. 2 includes the following: "No law and no provision of any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England or to the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any Order, Rule, or Regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Parliament of a Dominion shall include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, Order, Rule, or Regulation in so far as the same is part of the law of the Dominion." Both Sec. 2 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, and Sec. 6, Sub-Sec. 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, purport to confer plenary legislative powers on Dominion Parliaments as appropriate to their respective contexts. Voidance by repugnancy is expressly excluded. But there is one significant distinction between the two Acts in this regard. Sec. 6, Sub-Sec. 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, gives an enumeration of Imperial laws repugnancy to which would not cause the voidance of Dominion legislation and which the Dominions (India and Pakistan) would have the power to amend or repeal; and in that list there is a clear mention of "this . . . . Act of Parliament"—meaning the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Sec. 2 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, similarly gives an enumeration of Imperial laws; but there is no specific mention of 'this Act'—meaning the Statute of Westminster, 1931. Does the reference in that Section to "existing . . . . Act of Parliament" cover the Statute of Westminster itself? Competent critics have debated the question and the legal position is by no means above controversy. Prof. Keith, for example, has contended that amendment or repeal of the Statute of Westminster itself did not come within the ambit of Dominion legislative competence. "It will be noted," observed Keith, "that the rule laid down applies only to any Act existing when the Statute was passed or enacted in future; it does not apply to the Statute itself, which cannot be varied by Dominion legislation, since this would destroy the safeguards for the Canadian and Australian Constitutions." [1]

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[1] Keith—The Dominions as Sovereign States, p. 83.

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[1] Keith—The Dominions as Sovereign States, p. 75.

Closely related to the above quetsion there is another issue of equal constitutional importance. What are the legal implications of the power of amendment and repeal as conferred on the Dominions by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, in terms of the right of secession? In other words, is it possible for any of the new Dominions created by the Act to 'legally' secede from the Commonwealth as under the terms of that Act? The issue is intriguing and is further complicated by the introduction of purely political considerations. Writing on this point in respect of the Dominions as under the Statute of Westminster, 1931, Prof. Keith rather inclined to the view that 'legal secession' was hardly admissible. Since then, however, much concrete has happened and Ireland has left the Commonwealth fold without, apparently at least, any hitch. But still, one may say, the constitutional issue remains open. All that Ireland's action demonstrates is that an event towards which she had long been working has been consummated. But has the legal question been settled on a reasonable and permanent basis? On this point there is room for doubt. Ireland's action has been mainly, if not wholly, political. And national sentiment in that country has played a large part in it. In the prevailing political climate in that country there is hardly any chance of local judicial findings against the legality of Irish action. There thus remains only one other forum of judicial assessment, *viz.*, that in the United Kingdom. But the English people are shrewd judges of time and habit. If there is a trump card up their sleeve, they won't show it before its time. Meanwhile, to be sure, the fiction of Imperial supremacy is not surrendered. Supremacy is allowed to lie in abeyance, almost in a state of suspended animation, by what amounts to a kind of permissive action on the part of Parliament.

Reverting to the question of secession as in the context of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, one notices in many quarters an attitude of almost axiomatic assurance on this point. There is much glib talk of this right having been conceded to India even as early as the days of the ill-fated Cripps Mission of 1942. The authors of the Cabinet Mission Plan had clearly envisaged it. Thus, it is believed, the Indian Independence Act (1947) must be construed to have made ample allowance for it. But this may reasonably be held to be mere wishful thinking. A law is not all spirit. Forms have a vital significance in it. That is why drafting is not regarded as a mere formality. Meaning has to be read into law on the basis of, among other things, its formal wording. Viewed in that light, Sec. 6, Sub-Sec. 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, which confers on the new Dominions plenary, and apparently unfettered, legislative competence, is deeply significant. According to the old conception of Commonwealth relationship secession, it may be noted, could become a reality in one of two ways, *i.e.*, (*a*) either by the continuance of Dominion allegiance to an imaginary divisible crown—functioning for the particular Dominion seeking secession in total isolation from the Crown of the rest of the Commonwealth, (*b*) or by the unilateral and outright elimination of Dominion allegiance to one indivisible Crown.

The Doctrine of divisibility of the Crown has been debated by eminent people—both politicians and jurists. Division of the Crown, however, it may be noted, is different from separation of the Crown. The Doctrine of Division says that the same person 'X' may be, separately, king of each of the Dominions, in a purely institutional and functional role, for the purposes of the particular Dominions concerned. Separation of the Crown, on the other hand, would mean that different persons—'X,' 'Y,' 'Z,' etc.,—could respectively be kings of different Dominions, in the same institutional and functional role, for the purposes of the particular Dominions concerned. Separation, however, is not possible under the Statute of Westminster, 1931, because the Statute solemnly records the following fact : "It is meet and proper to set out by way of Preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the succession to the throne or the royal style and titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." The express reference in the statute to the "law touching the succession to the throne" clearly and in legal terms brings out one very important aspect of the Crown—the personal aspect—which is often ignored in discussions on the subject. The Crown has been very much institutionalised in relation to the government of the United Kingdom as also of the Dominions. But there has not been, in law, a total abstraction. The king still remains a person—subject to the natural law of physiological reproduction; and the reference in the above Preamble to the "law touching the succession to the throne" is a clear legal recognition of this personal factor. Viewed in that light, the possibility of total separation is ruled out.

Now, coming to the question of division of the Crown, is it admissible under the terms of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, or under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947? In discussions on this point competent critics point to two recent instances of legal action in connection with King Edward VIII's abdication episode, and say that the actions of S. Africa and of the Irish Free State created a legal situation in which for about a couple of days, in a legal sense, the Crown stood divided and the British Commonwealth was dismembered. Abdication became effective in S. Africa on December 10, 1936, the date of the signature of the Instrument of Abdication by King Edward VIII. Thus George VI's succession as king for the purposes of the government of S. Africa was also effective from that date. In Ireland, on the other hand, the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, 1936, recognised the change of throne with effect from December 12, 1936. But for the rest of the Commonwealth the change had effect as from December 11, 1936.[3] But if one may venture to say so, the episode cited is rather an instance of ' Separation ' than of ' Division ' of the Crown. As for the legal aspect, one need not stake any view. Thus, formally, there is hardly any practical instance of a legal situation in which division of the Crown had ever become a fact. An approach to the problem on an academic plane, however, shows the absurdity and grotesqueness of the proposition, if not its actual illegality. The whole doctrine of divisibility, it appears, has developed on the basis of an imperfect appreciation—whether by accident or by deliberate design—of the personal and physiological aspect of the Crown. So long as the Crown, in physiological composition, remains one and indivisible, the possibility of institutional and functional division alone cannot be regarded as a wholly sound basis for the doctrine of divisibility.

Any exploration of the scope of legal secession in adherence to the doctrine of divisibility of the Crown is rather inappropriate in the particular context of India. Sentiment, political antecedents, etc., all combine against such a possibility. Secession in the case of India can be conceived only in terms of an outright termination of the institution itself (*i.e.*, the Crown). The issue therefore has to be posed in the following terms: Is it possible for India, legally, under the terms of the basic Constituent Act, *viz.*, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, to terminate the Crown for the purposes of the Government of India, by her unilateral action? Secession, it is evident, would automatically follow from such action, because termination of the Crown—the common bond of inter-Imperial relationship—would separate India from the rest of the Commonwealth. To this, critics may object, saying that India by her new constitution has eliminated all traces of the Crown from the body politic but still she retains her membership of the Commonwealth. Now this has been made possible by the substitution of a new, suitable formula on inter-Imperial relationship—especially to accommodate India—which replaces the older one of common allegiance to the Crown. More will be said on this point below. Reverting to the issue formulated above, one scans in vain the various provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, for authority to terminate the Crown. Sec. 6, Sub-Sec. 2 of the Act, which may be invoked and stretched as the 'enabling' article, has one flaw. It contemplates action by an entity which, by express mention, is a Dominion. Under this Section authority is conferred to repeal or amend even 'this...........Act,' meaning the Indian Independence Act, 1947, but that only "in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion." Thus it may reasonably be held that the law (the Indian Independence Act, 1947), in the form in which it is couched, confers full legislative authority—including constituent power—on the Dominions subject to one very clearly implied limitation, *viz.*, the continuance of the Constitutional Status of Dominionhood as under that Act on the part of the new Dominions. Such Constitutional Status of Dominionhood would necessarily involve the retention of the Crown as a part of the institutional framework of the Dominions.

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[3] *Cf.* Keith—The Dominions as Sovereign States, pp. 105-110.

The whole issue, it appears, has lost all practical significance because, in the first place, India has accomplished the fact of effacement of the Crown from her own constitution, secondly, the fact of effacement has not been in any way controverted in any responsible quarters in the Commonwealth, and thirdly, the evolving of an agreed formula on inter-Imperial relationship has enabled India to continue her membership of the Commonwealth as a Sovereign Independent Republic. But here the question is one of the constitutionality and legality of action (strictly interpreted,) not of its practicality. The constitutional and legal aspect of the issue still remains open, though the practical side is closed. Did the formula evolved at the London Conference of Prime Ministers of the U. K. and the Dominions in April, 1949, create any new legal situation (in the formal sense of the term) which basically altered the position as under the Indian Independence Act, 1947? One is inclined to say 'no.' There is no way of knowing now what judicial reaction might have been to the action under review. The possibility of judicial determination of the issue in India is legally closed, because judges here are now pledged to unswerving allegiance to the Republican constitution of India and are not thus competent to dig into its foundations. Similarly, on political grounds, British Courts also would not re-open it.

There remains one more question to settle. What is the present status of India as under the new Constitution? It is not necessary to dwell on the internal aspect of India's new status; the elimination of all traces of the Crown from the Constitution of India has created a situation of absolute and unfettered internal sovereignty. Thus the inquiry may be confined to the other two aspects of status—one external or international, the other inter-Imperial. To begin with the external aspect, is India a full-fledged State as known to International law ? In support of an affirmative answer to the above, the following points may be listed : (*a*) India remains a member of the U.N.O.; (*b*) She has unfettered authority in treating with foreign states in all matters of diplomacy, commerce, etc.; (*c*) Her internal sovereignty is unquestioned. But as against this, it may be contended that her status in the eye of international law is a contingent status—related to her internationally recognised association with the Commonwealth. On transition from her status as under the Indian Independence Act, 1947, to the new republican status as under the new Constitution, India was accorded recognition by foreign states. The U.S.A., it appears from press versions, extended recognition in terms which recorded a clear mention of India's continued association with the Commonwealth. Thus, it may be argued that the recognition of India as a Republic in association with the Commonwealth is a distinctive, and therefore limited, recognition of India's status as a Sovereign, Independent Republic. The point, it is true, in the present political context, is of purely academic interest. Still, it is there, and may be usefully noted. And, as will appear from the discussion below, the legal side cannot be altogether ignored.

Coming to the inter-Imperial aspect of the new status of India, one naturally inquires whether the effacement of the Crown from the constitution of India has finally terminated the last vestige of imperial supremacy. From the point of view of the Indian constitution, of course, that result has been achieved. But in assessing the full import of that constitutional achievement one must look beyond the political frontiers of India and make a careful note of reactions of constitutional significance in the Uinted Kingdom. The British Parliament had provided for the transference of sovereignty to the Dominion of India (and also Pakistan) by means of a carefully drafted legal instrument—the Indian Independence Act, 1947. But strictly interpreted, that Act could not 'finally and irrevocably' transfer sovereignty, because an Act of Parliament is not final and irrevocable. Thus, legally at least, by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, British Parliament merely agreed to suspend the exercise of sovereignty in regard to the Government of India, and transferred such exercise to Indian hands. But the final custody of sovereignty, or to put it in another way, the ultimate power of reviving sovereignty, obviously remained undisturbed with Parliament. There was nothing in law to prevent Parliament, if it should ever feel so inclined, from staging a comeback. It may be argued, however, that in India there has not only been a legal termination of Imperial Supremacy but also a physical liquidation of the same. The instruments through which Parliament could operate its sovereignty—the British army and administrative personnel—have also been withdrawn from the Indian scene. Thus any restoration, to be real, must be legal as well as physical. Here however, one is sure, even the keenest advocates of Imperial restoration would evidently boggle. For a restoration, even partial, against stubborn Indian opposition would be a very much costly affair in blood and sweat. But the legal loophole is there. In any case, the knowledge that the fiction of imperial supremacy still may have a legal basis is rather disturbing. Further, interest is added to this point by the way in which the British Parliament met the legal situation which arose as the result of India's intention to declare herself a republic. On November 30, 1949, Mr. Noel-Baker, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, presented to the House of Commons a Bill which was officially described as a Bill "to make provision as to the operation of the law in relation to India, and persons and things in any way belonging to or connected with India, in view of India's becoming a republic while remaining a member of the Commonwealth." The Bill was rushed through all stages in Parliament and was finally placed on the Statute Book before Parliament rose for the Christmas recess. The official title of the Act says: "This Act may be cited as the India (Consequential Provision) Act, 1949." Reference may be made to Clauses 1, 2 and 3 of the Act. Clause 1 provides: "On and after the date of India's becoming a republic all existing law, that is to say, all law which, whether being a rule of law or a provision of an Act of Parliament, or of any other enactment or instrument whatsoever, is in force on that date, or has been passed or made before that date and comes into force thereafter, shall, until

In 1947 act

provision is made to the contrary by the authority having power to alter that law and, subject to the provisions of Sub-Section 3 of this Section, have the same operation in relation to India, and to persons and things in any way belonging to or connected with India, as it would have had if India had not become a Republic." Clause 2 says: "This Act extends to law of, or of any part of, the United Kingdom, a Colony, a protectorate or a United Kingdom trust territory, and also, but so far only as concerns law which cannot be amended by a law of the legislature thereof, to law of Southern Rhodesia or of any part thereof. . . . . . "

Clause 3 stipulates: "His Majesty may, by Order-in-Council, make provision for such modification of any existing law to which this Act extends as may appear to him to be necessary or expedient in view of India's becoming a republic while remaining a member of the Commonwealth. . . . An Order-in-Council under this Section-(A) may be made either before or after India becomes a republic, and may be revoked or varied by a subsequent Order-in-Council; and—(B) shall be subject to annulment in pursuance of a resolution of either House of Parliament."

The Press report (P.T.I.—Reuter. London, November 30) which circulated the news about the Bill, gave the following information, evidently inspired, on the legislation: "It was implied that this would be done in the agreement reached by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers here last April by which India, while becoming a republic, will remain a member of the Commonwealth. Authoritative quarters to-night indicated that the general effect of the Bill is to provide that all laws shall continue to apply to India as if India had continued to be part of the King's Dominions. This provision is subject to such amendments as the King may from time to time provide by Order-in-Council. The justification for this course is that while the new situation will come into force in India on January 26 with the new Republican Constitution, legislation over a wide field will subsequently be necessary in India. The Bill was described by a high Parliamentary authority as primarily a holding Bill to ensure that the position of Indians in Britain should not be changed by the
2 declaration of the Indian Republic. These Indians will continue to enjoy the same position, rights and privileges in Britain as they do now, he said."

Now, what are the legal and constitutional implications of the above piece of legislation—The India (Consequential Provision) Act, 1949? A close analysis reveals the following points:—

(*a*) The Act provides for the recognition of the new republican status of India, but expressly, " while remaining a member of the Commonwealth." And, by implication, the law is permissive of " India's becoming a republic while remaining a member of the Commonwealth." The Act, by deliberate design, anticipates the event of " India's becoming a republic;" and the rather strange silence of the Act on the very important point of the Constitutional Authority by whose action the situation of " India's becoming a republic " would be created, could not have been just an accident, an inadvertent error of drafting. In India's new Constitution there is no such status as " India's becoming a republic while remaining a member of the Commonwealth." In strict law, it is an entirely new status which the Act either created, or what virtually amounts to the same, permitted.

(*b*) The Act is not only anticipatory and permissive of the action of India in the matter of status—but is also definitely in the nature of what is technically styled as a holding Act. It anticipates India's action in the way of repeal, amendment, etc., of various laws of imperial emanation, including even the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and forestalls such action by clearly providing for their continuance as part of the law of the United Kingdom and her Colonies, dependencies, etc., subject only to adjustment, amendment and annulment by an Act of Parliament, or an Order-in-Council made by His Majesty, or action by any body duly authorised in that behalf. A high Parliamentary authority, according to the Press report quoted above, spoke of the Bill as a holding Bill. It was certainly a holding Bill, but what was held and kept alive was an invaluable thing in British eyes—the fiction of irrevocable Parliamentary Sovereignty. Thus the doctrine of imperial supremacy, so far as India is concerned, is not, in a legal sense, dead. Rather, one is constrained to say, there has been a formal revival, and the fiction has acquired a solid legal basis in the system of law of the United Kingdom and her colonies, dependencies, etc.

The British people have quaint ways which, to foreign observers, often appear in comic relief. The British Parliament, for example, when meeting for its first session after a General Election, goes through the pantomime of a dummy legislation. The dummy Bill is styled as ' A Bill for the Better Prevention of Clandestine Outlawries.' The pantomime, which to outsiders appears as the height of midsummer madness, does not proceed beyond the First ' Act '—the stage of First Reading. But still, the British people and their very wise

Parliamentarians keep up the practice, which, in fact, is highly symbolic. The dummy Bill is, symbolically, a kind of pilot measure by which Parliament, after every renewal, tests its own independent legislative supremacy. The need for such testing has long passed. But the fiction continues, and has a deeper significance than many suspect. In matters of fundamental faith ritual has a place, because pure faith unsupported by it very often fails to sustain itself. Parliament's recent action in connection with India's transition to a republican status, one feels tempted to say, was in line with the age-old tradition of British political practice. It was just a ritual practice—gone through by the votaries of that strange god—Parliamentary Sovereignty—may be just to keep their faith alive.

Round the World

The Past, Present and Future of the Saar.

After the first World War the peacemakers at Versailles could not make any permanent decision as to what to do with the Saarland. Accordingly it was handed over to the League of Nations to be managed by it through a Commission of its own. The arrangement was that after fifteen years of this League rule a plebiscite would be taken and the Saarlanders would be called upon to decide thereby whether they would return to Germany. In 1935 this plebiscite was actually held and by an overwhelming majority the Saarlanders decided in favour of getting back to their fatherland. It is true that Hitler was then in power in Germany. The Nazis under him had not only revived German prestige but whetted the ambition of the Germans as a superior race. In view of this race fever it was but inevitable that the Saarlanders would take only one decision, namely that of return to Germany. But even if the Nazis were not then in power and race propaganda had not taken place, it is unlikely that the people of the Saarland would have decided otherwise. They are Germans, speak the German language, and cherish German traditions. No other interest would consequently have deterred them from going back to the German fold.

For ten years the Saarland remained an integral part of Germany. Then came the great debacle and defeat of 1945. The question again arose as to how the Saarland would be governed and what political affiliations it would have. The French Government and people were bent upon exploiting the resources of this province in their own interest. This they could do only by keeping the Saarland separated from Germany. They took shelter behind the argument that as the economies of Lorraine and the Saarland were complementary it was essential that the two should remain under one authority. The steel industry of the Saar could not function without iron ore from Lorraine. Secondly, France provided a natural market for the coal produced in the Saar mines and thirdly the food deficit of the Saarland could be met only by supply from France. The conclusion was, therefore, irresistible that Saar should not remain an integral part of Germany but should be either incoporated in France or should be governed by a separate authority over which France must have sufficient control. Actually in 1947 with the approval of Britain and the U.S.A. the Saarland was separated from Germany, economically unified with France and placed under the administration of a French High Commissioner who was to preside over an elected committee.

Under this arrangement it is true the Saarlanders are now economically better off than Germans in occupied zones. It is also true that they have not been required under this arrangement to face the problem of the refugees from East Prussia and other places. But all the same you scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar. The people of the Saar remain today as proud of their German race and their German language as ever. They want nothing better than to get back into the German fold. So, though not immediately, certainly in the near future France will be faced with the problem of German irredentism in the Saarland.

Western New Guinea.

Talks on the future of Western New Guinea broke down at the Hague. It should be remembered that this territory was claimed by Indonesia as its own. But when the Dutch handed over control over the Indonesian islands to Soekarno and his colleagues, it was decided to postpone final decision on the future of New Guinea for one year at the end of which the Dutch and Indonesian representatives would meet, discuss the problem and solve it by amicable means. This meeting, held at the Hague, has, however, now failed to produce any amicable settlement. The delegates of the Dutch Government pointed out that the people of New Guinea were different in race, religion and customs from those of Indonesia proper. They further pointed out that many of the tribal representatives of this territory had protested openly against its projected transfer to Indonesian control. By such transfer, they thought, their development on their own lines would be arrested and their culture would suffer. The Indonesian representatives had, however, good ground to observe that these so-called tribal representatives were those who had been set up by the Dutch authorities to depose as instructed. They were not speaking either their own mind or on behalf of their tribes. They were only the gramophones of the Dutch officials. Here in India we should remember how decade after decade the British Government refused to part with their imperialist control on the ostensible ground that the withdrawal of the British would adversely affect the interests of the masses. At the same time it was writ large on British History in this country that nothing was done to advance the interests of these masses. They remained illiterate, uneducated and poverty-stricken throughout the long period of Indo-British connection. In Western New Guinea also while practically nothing has been so far done by the Dutch to minister to the welfare of the tribal peoples, they now take the plea that their withdrawal would amount to the betrayal of tribal interests. Hypocrisy does not seem to have any limits in the conduct of international relations. The fact is that the Dutch are unwilling to give up this last stronghold of their imperial authority. In this unwillingness again they are supported very keenly, but unwisely by the Australian people and Government. The Australians very shortsightedly seem to be determined to maintain their continent as a whiteman's country. They would not allow any Asian immigration into its vast and uninhabited territory. The withdrawal of the Dutch from Western New Guinea and the installation of the Indonesians there would on this account become very uncanny to them. So they are doing their best to prop up this Dutch imperialism which otherwise might have collapsed. This attitude, however, may untimately cost Australia dear. It may succeed only in ranging all Asian peoples against them.

Some Doctorate Dissertations in Political Science in Preparation in the Universities of U.S.A.

1. The Effect of Humanism on Political Thinking in America after the Civil War.
2. The Philosophy of Woodrow Wilson.
3. The Socio-Political Technique of Non-violent Action as developed by M. K. Gandhi.
4. The Political Ideas of Charles A. Beard.
5. Police Against State.
6. The Theory and Practice of Functional Representation with particular reference to the United States.
7. Distinction of the Just and Unjust War from Grotius to the Present.
8. An Examination of the Psychological Assumptions of Anti-Democratic Theorists.
9. The Speculative and Practical Life in Aristotle, as Related to the Problem of Church and State.
10. The Role of Values in Political Enquiry—A Methodological Analysis.
11. Leadership in America: A Study of Identification and Acceptance among Specialised Groups.
12. John Stuart Mill's Essay on Liberty and its Critics.
13. The Purpose of the State in Greek Political Theory.
14. History of the Democratic Idea in America.
15. Pluralism in Contemporary American Political Thought.
16. Political Ideas of American Business.
17. An Analysis of the Political Philosophy of John Dewey.
18. Graham Wallas's Method of Political Enquiry.
19. Pragmatism and Democracy: A Study of the Logical and Historical Relations between Philosophical Pragmatism and Democratic Politics.
20. Prescription or Progress: A Great Debate in the 18th Century English Political Theory.
21. The Clarification of the Concept of Sovereignty in France in the 16th Century.
22. The Function of Education in American Political Theories.
23. Compulsory Voting: Its Theory, Practice, Problems.
24. Political History of Article twentyfive of the Judiciary Act of 1789.
25. Political Boss and Twentieth Century "Jeffersonian."
26. Interest Groups and Public Housing.
27. Advice and Consent: A study of Congressional-Executive Liaison in Foreign Policy.
28. Southern Solidarity in National Politics.
29. Politics of National Farmers Union.

30. Federal Regulation of Radio and Television Broadcasting.
31. Congressional Organisation and Policy Formulation—with special reference to House Committee on Rules.
32. A Study of the Special Legislative Session, with particular reference to the United States and the 48 States.
33. Employment of Civilians by the Department of the Army: Factors in Determining whether Military or Civilian Personnel should be assigned to particular activities or jobs.
34. Structure of the Executive Branch in relation to Current Foreign Affairs Functions.
35. The Presidency and the Crisis: Powers of the Office from Pearl Harbour to V-J Day.
36. A Study of National Party Chairmen.
37. Justice Brandies and Administrative Law.
38. The Constitutional Problems of National Control of Elections in U.S.A.
39. The Politics of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin in Progressive Era (1900-17).
40. Negro Civil Rights and the Supreme Court.
41. Municipal Licensing.
42. County Government in New Jersey.
43. State Regulation of Discrimination in Employment.
44. Civic Reform Movment in Cincinnati.
45. Municipal Budgetary Administration in the District of Columbia.
46. The New York State Public Service Commission.
47. The Second Class Township in Pennsylvania.
48. City-State Fiscal Relations in Michigan, 1937-47.
49. The Council of State Governments.
50. The Administrative History of War-time Rationing.
51. The Administrative Budget of UNRRA.
52. Administrative Problems in a National Health Programme.
53. Administration of Federal Grants-in-Aid to Iowa.
54. The Budgetary Administration of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.
55. Management of Social Science Research in the Federal Government.
56. The Administration of Federal Loans and Grants to Local Governments.
57. The Administration of Virginia State Highways.
58. Departmental Personnel Offices in Federal Government.
59. The Trial Examiner in Federal Regulatory Agencies.
60. Wartime Control over Food Prices.
61. Some Aspects of the Public Administration of Natural Science Research.
62. The Administration of the Federal Housing Programme.
63. The British Commonwealth in South-East Asia.
64. The Political Parties and the Fourth French Republic.
65. Ministerial Responsibility under the New Constitution of Japan.
66. Civil Service in Great Britain in Wartime.

67. Government and the Press in Great Britain since World War II.
68. Freedom of the Press in Germany, 1918-1933.
69. The Inspection of the British Local Authorities by the Central Govt.
70. Third Parties in Canadian National Politics.
71. Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia.
72. The Commissariats of the Soviet Union.
73. The Swedish Co-operatives and Politics.
74. Soviet Theory and Practice in the Nationality Question.
75. An Analysis of the British Conservative Party.
76. Left-Wing Movement in Post-War Italy.
77. The World Health Organisation.
78. The United Nations and the Individual.
79. International Law and the Second World War.
80. United States Representation and Participation in International Conferences.
81. The Benelux Union.
82. The Foreign Economic Policy of Modern India.
83. British Opinion Concerning United States Foreign Policy since 1945.
84. The House of Representatives in Foreign Affairs.
85. The United Nations and Non-Self-Governing Territories.
86. Pacific Settlement of Disputes under United Nations.
87. Canadian-American Relations 1939-45.
88. Franco-British Relations in South-East Asia 1863-1904.
89. Anglo-Russian Power Politics in Iran 1900-1925.
90. United Nations Settlement of Armed Conflict: Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir.
91. The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations.
92. The Small Powers and the General Assembly in Political and Security Matters.
93. The International Administration of the Turkish Straits.
94. A Commentary on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
95. Irish-American Influence on American Foreign Policy.
96. The Influence of Immigrant Groups on U.S. Foreign Policy.
97. The Foreign Policy of India since Independence.
98. Francis Lieber and the International Law of Land Warfare.
99. German-Japanese Relations in Inter-War Years.
100. British Concepts of Internationalism in the 19th Century.

Reviews and Notices of Books

A Study of Indian Economics—By Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 679. Price Rs. 12/-

This is the 6th edition of a popular text book by a former Minto Professor of Economics of the Calcutta University. First Published in 1911 the book has now been rewritten, enlarged and brought up-to-date. It consists of two parts. The thirteen chapters comprising the 1st part are mainly of an analytical and descriptive character. The second part which includes the remaining twentyone chapters has been devoted to reasoned and scientific discussion on the many economic problems of the country. We may refer particulary to discussions on Land Systems, the Food Problem, Rural Indebtedness, Irrigation, Industrial Organisation and Finance, Banking and Currency Problems, Fiscal Policy and Economic Planning. Banking and Currency Problems have been elaborately treated in four chapters. Land Systems have also been discussed in some detail. The question of land nationalisation has engrossed the attention of the public for a considerable time. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the author has provided in this book a detailed, though compact, discussion of the problem.

The book should not only be a very helpful guide to students of Economics in our colleges but should be of immense assistance to the general reader who would like to have some appreciation of our economic problems.

The printing and general get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

N. C. Roy

Indian Industrial Labour—by P. N. Rastogi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 7/8.

This rapid review of the problems of industrial labour is excellent. But it falls far short of being a manual for professionals as also of being a 'text book'—which the author claims it is while providing a summary of developments in the fields of industrial labour-employer relations, of social insurance, of housing, of profit-sharing schemes, of labour legislation, etc., the writer has also provided a running commentary on the various issues cropping up.

Discussing the profit-sharing scheme, the author has recommended a formula of profit-sharing on the basis of production per capita. This is an extremely important constructive suggestion on the subject and needs close scrutiny. This, together with the suggestion of Professor

Radhakamal Mukerjee in the matter of payment of part of the profits in the form of *bonus-shares* to the workers, cashable for such specific purposes as housing, would be a real contribution to the growth of improved industrial relationship.

From a study of the history of the Indian working class it is evident that present-day industrial relationship is not contributing materially towards stable harmony and peace. The alternative suggested by the working class movement is socialism, *i.e.*, nationalisation of the means of production. In such nationalised sectors even today the relations are far from being satisfactory. Thus there is no plausibility in the argument that socialism would be a proper solvent of these problems *ab initio*. The various labour legislations, labour welfare schemes, etc., are pragmatic efforts for solving the problems in parts. But they do not conceive or start from a new pattern of industrial relationship. Mr. Rastogi's book does not help us much in this fundamental direction. The 'employer-employee' or 'State-worker' relationships do not seem to answer the objectives of industrial harmony. A new and qualitatively different relationship has to be substituted. And in such a relationship the consummer for whom industry comes into existence must find an important place. Only by such a mutation, both in the realm of ideas as well as in economic practice, can a real step towards peace and harmony be taken.

The book contains a useful bibliography.

K. K. Sinha

Song of India—By Frank Clune. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 12/8.

Mr. Clune, an Australian correspondent of the *Daily Mirror*, came to India in 1943, when Lord Wavell was our Governor-General and Australia-born Mr. R. G. Casey Governor of Bengal. He was accorded Complete freedom to travel where he liked and the book is the result of the experience gathered in this way.

As a foreigner he sees the country through foreign eyes and it seems he was more interested in external things like scenery and the physical grandeur of the country than in its history or in contemporary events which were then shaping the destinies of India.

From a study of the book it appears that he travelled extensively in Southern India towards the Bombay side and his views on Bombay and Calcutta are only of temporary importance. He also gives us some pen-pictures, the more important of which are those of Viceroy Wavell, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. and Mrs. Casey and Lord Mountbaten.

J. N. Mitra

Incidents of Gandhiji's Life—Edited by Chandrashanker Shukla. Published by Vora & Co., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Price Rs. 10/8.

This very interesting book contains fifty-four contributions from many well-known people of our country such as the late Sarojini Naidu, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Bhagwan Das, Jairamdas Doulatram, J. B. Kripalini, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, J. C. Kumarappa, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and others and also some well-known foreigners like Fenner Brockway, Richard B. Gregg, Rufus M. Jones, etc.

Each contributor throws special light on particular aspects of the colourful life of Mahatmaji. Rajkumari paints him as a teacher, Kumarappa draws lessons from his life, Dr. Rajendra Prasad speaks of his reminiscenses of Champaran days and so on. We thank the publisher and the compiler for this collection which we feel sure will be considered as a valuable addition to Gandhian literature.

H. C. Mookerjee

Ourselves

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY BILL

Early in this month the Calcutta University Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly and after a short discussion of the general principles it was referred to a Select Committee. The University which is immediately affected by its provisions had consequently to make up its mind as to what attitude it should adopt towards the proposed measure.

The legislative enactment under which the University is now administered was adopted in 1904 during the reactionary regime of Lord Curzon. The chief University authority under this enactment is the Senate and eighty percent of the members of this body are there by nomination. Otherwise also some of the arrangements made by the Act of 1904 have become out of date and out of tune with changing times and needs of the country. In view of these facts the University had not only no objection to the substitution of a new enactment for the old one but would actually welcome it. It should, however, see to it that the proposed measure would not only help in conserving what had already been achieved by the University inspite of its many handicaps but would meet the growing educational needs of the province.

Accordingly the Syndicate of the University appointed a Sub-Committee with the Vice-Chancellor as its Chairman to go through the Bill section by section and suggest amendments. Time, however, was short and consequently the Government was approached for its extension, so that the Bill might be studied more thoroughly and amendments suggested more comprehensively. But the Government had fixed a time-table of its own and it could not find it possible to change it. The Sub-Committee had on this account to make hurry with its study of the Bill. It suggested a number of amendments in many important particulars. Adopted by the Syndicate they were placed before a special meeting of the Senate on the 19th March. For four hours this body discussed the amendments and approved of them. Four members of the Syndicate who had also been members of the Syndicate Sub-Committee which had suggested the amendments then appeared before the Select Committee of the Assembly on three occasions (on the 20th, 22nd and 27th March), and did their best to impress upon this Committee the necessity of accepting the amendments in the interests of better and more efficient educational administration.

While the Syndicate and the Senate had to devote its due attention to the provisions of the Bill, the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts had also to take special interest in them. These provisions affect very vitally the future of Post-Graduate studies as developed during the last forty years in this province. In view of this it was only in the fitness of things that the Bill would be taken up for consideration by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. It heard from its President his own reactions to the different chapters of the Bill and then it constituted a Sub-Committee with the President as Chairman to go into the detailed provisions of the Bill and suggest amendments. The President was also authorised, in view of the shortness of time, to place the amendments as prepared by the Sub-Committee direct before the Council, which would meet on the 16th March to consider the Bill. The Council actually adopted after considerable discussion these amendments with slight modifications and the President placed them before the Select Committee. It should be stated here that for the most part the amendments suggested by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts were on all fours with those suggested by the Senate. Only here and there there were discrepancies between the two sets.

The Bill as introduced in the Assebmly provides for a new organisation for the University. Under it Post-Graduate studies may not remain centralised as now. They may be dispersed in different constituent colleges as well. Even those departments which will remain directly in the hands of the University will be under a system of management different from the present one. The Senate which shall be the supreme authority of the University will be a larger body than now and will be differently constituted. The Syndicate also will be given a new constitution. The Vice-Chancellor who has since the inception of the University been appointed for two years at a time and worked in an honorary capacity will be appointed for a four-year term and will be a salaried functionary of the University. The Faculties will continue as now. As for the Boards, there are at present two sets of them—(*i*) Boards of Higher Studies and (*ii*) Boards of Studies. The Bill provides for one set. In addition to these old paraphernalia the Bill also includes provisions for the constitution of a new body, *e.g.*, the Academic Council which will consist of about fifty-five members, most, if not all of them, will be members of the Senate.

The Bill, if passed into an Act, will provide only the bare structure of the University. Its working will depend mostly on statutes which will be adopted by the Senate, ordinances which will be issued by the Syndicate and regulations which will be framed by the Academic Council.

THE LATE SATYENDRANATH BHADRA

Satyendranath Bhadra has died in Calcutta at the age of eighty. His death has made the educational world considerably poorer. A distinguished teacher of English Literature in the Dacca College and later Principal of the Jagannath College, he filled an important place in the field of higher education in old undivided Bengal. For sometime he was also the Treasurer of the Dacca University. The last years of his long and fruitful life were darkened by the implications of the partition of Bengal and he fell an easy prey to an illness that has now proved fatal. We offer our condolences to his sons and other members of his family.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTIFICATION No. R. 5

In modification of the previous orders on the subject, it is hereby notified for general information that the Regulations relating to the Certificate Course in Languages will be given effect to from the examination of 1951 (instead of from the examination of 1952, as previously decided).

Senate House,
The 15th February, 1951.

S. C. Ghosh.
(Offg.) Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

NOTIFICATION No. R. 4.

It is hereby notified for general information that, under Sub-Section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904), the Government of West Bengal have been pleased to sanction the Regulations relating to the Certificate in Languages and the Diploma in Languages and the insertion of two new Chapters XL-G and XL-H after Chapter XL-F of the Regulations.

These Regulations will be given effect to from the Examinations of 1952. The Regulations referred to run as follows :—

CHAPTER XL-G

CERTIFICATE IN LANGUAGES.

(1) An examination for the Certificate in Languages shall be held annually in Calcutta and in such other places as shall from time to time be appointed by the Syndicate, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

(2) Any Graduate in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering may be admitted to this examination provided that after graduation he has completed a regular course of study in the subjects for the examination for one academical year in the university or in any Institution recognised by the University for the purpose.

(3) Every candidate sent up for the examination shall produce a certificate (*a*) of good conduct, (*b*) of diligent study, (*c*) of having satisfactorily passed the periodical examinations of the Institution and other tests, and (*d*) of probability of passing the examination. Every candidate shall send in his application with a certificate in the prescribed form to the Registrar at least six weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

(4) A fee of Rs. 40 shall be forwarded by each candidate with his application. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for the examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate who fails to pass or to appear at the examination may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of a like fee of Rs. 40 on each occasion.

If a student, after completion of the regular course of study for the examination, does not register himself as a candidate for or does not present himself at or fails to pass the examination immediately succeeding such completion he may appear at any of the two following examinations on payment of the prescribed fee only. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study as required under Section 2 above.

(5) Every candidate shall be examined in one of the following languages :—

(1) French, (2) Spanish, (3) Portuguese, (4) Italian, (5) German, (6) Russian, (7) Persian, (8) Pashtoo, (9) Arabic (Modern, with special reference to Iraqui and Syrian Dialect, (10) Tibetan (Modern), (11) Burmese, (12) Chinese (Standard National Speech-kuo-yu), (13) Japanese. (14) Indonesian (Malay), (15) any one of the following modern Indian Languages (open only to those whose mother tongue is not any of the Indian Languages) :—

(1) Bengali, (2) Hindi and (3) Urdu.

The above list may be modified by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts from time to time.

(6) The examination shall be Written and Oral. Candidates will be required to pass both in the Written and Oral examinations.

(7) The course of study shall be as follows :—

I. Written Examination :—

	Two papers of 100 marks each	200 marks
(*a*)	Paper I	100 ,,
(*i*)	Translation into English from prescribed as well as unseen texts	50 ,,
(*ii*)	Translation from English	50 ,,
(*b*)	Paper II will consist of the following :—	100 marks.
(*i*)	Questions on grammar (a study of the characters in the case of Chinese and Japanese	60 ,,
(*ii*)	Composition—letter writing, paraphrase, summary, essay &c.	
(*iii*)	Phenetics	
(*iv*)	General History and Culture of People	40 ,,

II. Oral Examination :—

	One paper	100 marks.
(*i*)	Dictation in the language in its originals script.	
(*ii*)	Reading aloud from newspapers	
(*iii*)	Describing a picture in the language	
(*iv*)	Translation at sight from English.	
(*v*)	Translation at sight into English	
(*vi*)	Simple conversation.	

The Syndicate shall have power to add to or modify the list on the recommendation of the Ex. Com. of the Council of P G.T. in Arts and the Board of Higher Studies in Modern Languages which will be organised within five years after the regular institution of the course.

Books shall be prescribed or recommended by the Executive Committee concerned on the recommendation of the relevant Committee or Board of Higher Studies.

(8) In order to pass the examination in the Third Class a candidate must obtain at least 45 per cent of total marks in both Written and Oral examinations. Candidates obtaining 60 per cent of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the Second Class and those obtaining 75 per cent of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the First Class and the rest will be placed in the Third Class.

(9) As soon as possible after the examination, the Post-Graduate Executive Committee in Arts shall publish a list of the candidates who have passed, arranged in classes indiceted above, each in order of merit. Each successful candidate shall be given a certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix A.

CHAPTER XL-H

DIPLOMA IN LANGUAGES

(1) An examination for the Diploma in Languages shall be held annually in Calcutta and in such other places as shall from time to time be appointed by the syndicate, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

(2) Any Graduate in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering may be admitted to this examination provided he has, after passing the Certificate Examination in Languages

completed a regular course of study in the subjects for the examination for one academical year in the University or in any Institution recognised by the University for the purpose.

(3) Every candidate sent up for the examination shall produce a certificate (*a*) of good conduct, (*b*) of diligent study, (*c*) of having satisfactorily passed the periodical examinations of the Institute and other tests, and (*d*) of probability of passing the examination. Every candidate shall send in his application with a certificate in the prescribed form to the Registrar at least six weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

(4) A fee of Rs. 60 shall be forwarded by each candidate with his application. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for the examination shall not be cantitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate who fails to pass or to appear at the examination may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of a like fee of Rs. 60 on each occasion

If a student, after completion of the regular course of study for the examination, does not register himself as a candidate for or does not present himself at or fails to pass the examination immediately succeeding such completion, he may appear at any of the two following examinations on payment of the prescribed fee only. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study as required under Section 2 above.

(5) Every candidate shall be examined in one of the following languages :—

(1) French, (2) Spanish, (3) Portuguese, (4) Italian, (5) German, (6) Russian, (7) Persian, (8) Pashtoo, (9) Arabic, (Modern. with special reference to Iraqui and Syrian Dialects), (10) Tibetan (Modern), (11) Burmese, (12) Chinese (Standard National Speach-kuayu), (13) Japanese, (14) Indonesian (Malay), (15) any one of the following Modern Indian Languages (open only to those whose mother tongue is not any of the Indian Languages :—

(1) Bengali (2) Hindi and (3) Urdu.

The above list may be modified by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts from time to time.

(6) The examination shall be Written and Oral. Candidates will be required to pass both in the Written and in the Oral examinations.

(7) The course of study shall be as follows :—

I. Written 3 papers of 100 marks each	300 marks
(*a*) Paper I	100 ,,
(*i*) Questions on the prescribed text-books	70 ,,
(*ii*) Questions on Grammar (Study of Characters will be considered as part of Grammar in the case of Chinese and Japanese.	30 ,,
(*b*) Paper II will include	100 marks
(*i*) Translation from unseen in the language into English	
(*ii*) Translation from English	
(*iii*) Free Composition (Essay, etc.)	
(*c*) Paper III	100 marks
(*i*) History of Civilisation of the People concerned	70 ,,
(*ii*) Phonetics (including of Chinese and Japanese, a study of the history of the script.)	30 ,,
II. Oral Examination will include among other tests, the following :—	200 ,,
(*i*) Dictation in the original script.	
(*ii*) Dictation in Phonetic script.	
(*iii*) Reading and explanation of an unseen passage.	
(*iv*) Translation at sight from English.	
(*v*) Translation at sight from the languege.	
(*vi*) General Conversation (books to be recommended for this part of the oral test).	

The Syndicate shall have power to add to or modify the list on recommendation of the Ex. Com. of the Council of P. G T. in Arts and the Board of Higher Studies in Modern

Languages which will be organised within a period of five years after the regular institution of the course.

Books shall be prescribed or recommeded by the Executive Committee concerned on the recommendation of the relevant committee or Boards of Higher Studies.

(8) In order to pass the Examination in the Third Class a candidate must obtain at least 45 per cent of the total marks in both Written and Oral examination. Candidates obtaing 60 per cent of the total marks in the aggregate shall be placed on the Second Class and those obtaining 75 per cent on the total marks in the aggregate in the First Class and the rest will be placed in the Third Class.

(9) As soon as possible after the examination the Executive Committee concerned shall publish a list of successful candidates arranged in classes as indicated above each in order of merit. Each successful candidate shall be given a Diploma in the form prescribed in Appendix A.

Senate House,
The 16th December, 1950.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

NOTICE

In addition to the list of candidates who were declared to have passed the Final M. B. Examination, Parts I & II (New Regulations), under the Condensed Course, held in May, 1949, and published in the Calcutta Gazette, (dated Thursday, December 1, 1949, page 431) the undermentioned candidate who had previously passed the Final M.B. Examination, Part II, having subsequently passed the Final M. B. Examination. Part I, held in May, 1949, is also declared to have passed the Final M.B. Examination :

Basu, Snehalata (Regd. No. 3933 of 1937-38), Non Collegiate Student, Calcutta Medical College.

Senate House,
The 25th January, 1951.

D. P. Dutt,
Addl. Controller of Examinations (Offg).

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

OFFICE OF THE U. K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN INDIA

BF. 1683

AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTION TO COLOMBO PLAN

50 Scholarships for India Made Available

The implementation of the Colombo Plan for the economic development of South and South-East Asia has advanced a further step with the announcement by Mr. P. C. Spender, the Australian Minister of External Affairs, of his country's contribution to the plan.

Mr. Spender announced that the Australian Government is contributing £25,000,000 under the plain for aid and mutual assistance. Payment will cover the period of operation of the plan from June next year to July-1957. In the first year Australia will pay £7,000,000. hese payments are in addition to the £(A)3,500,000 already being provided for the Colombo Aechnical Assistance Programme.

Mr. Spender also announced that the Australian Government has made available under the plain 100 scholarships and fellowships for students from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Fifty of these are for Indian students, 35 for Pakistanis and 15 for Ceylonese. A further 43 fellowships have been authorised for students from other South-East Asian countries concerned in the scheme. Twenty-five are allocated to Indonesia, eight to Thiland, seven to Burma and three to the Associated States of Indo-China.

Mr. Spender said : "The Australian Government is profoundly interested in developments in South-East Asia. It is vital from the Australian point of view to help to maintain and promote economic and political stability in this area, and to assist in preparing the way for a large-scale attack against poverty, social unrest and extremist ideologies".

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

Orders of the Executive Council, dated the 9th December, 1950. The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair-means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the Intermediate Examinations, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of the University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre.	Roll No.	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
1	Chittagong	Chitt. 1061	I.A.	Faiz Ahmed Chowdhury	(3 years) 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951 and 1952.
2	Do	Chitt. 1119	I.A.	Sisir Kumar Das	Do
3	Do	Chitt. 8377	I.A.	Phanindralal Biswas	Do
4	Do	Chitt. (Com). 1131	I.A.	Md. Imam Shariff	Do
5	Do	Chitt. ,, 4313	I.Sc.	Sukhendubikash Chowdhuri	Do
6	Do	Chitt. ,, 1175	I.A.	Ahsenullah	Do
7	Do	Chitt. 1110	I.A.	A. Z. S. Md. Mazbarul Islam	Do
8	Do	Chitt. 10223	I.Sc.	Abdulla Mohommed Bazlul Karim	Do
9	Do	Chitt. 7214	I.A.	Abu Asad Muhammad Bashir Ahmed	Do
10	Do	Chitt. 7215	I.A	Muhammad Habibullah	Do
11	Do	Chitt. F. 5	Final day Course	Abu Ahmed	Do
12	Karatia	Kar. 10076	I.Sc.	Md. Abdul Quaium	Do
13	Do	Kar. 10074	I.Sc.	Jyotirmay Bhaumik	Do
14	Do	Kar. 7713	I.A.	Mohammad Shahabuddin Miah	Do
15	Do	Kar. 5873	I. Com.	Md. Sanaullah Sarker	Do
16	Do	Kar. 7650	I.A.	Abu Mahammad Hassan	Do
17	Do	Kar. 350	I.A.	Abdus Sabur	Do
18	Do	Kar. 7676	I.A.	Md. Tofazzal Hossain Mian	Do
19	Do	Kar. 7679	I.A.	Mirza Md. Abul Kalam	Do
20	Do	Kar. 7725	I.A.	Mohanbasi Sarkar	Do
21	Do	Kar. 7713	I.A.	Mohammad Shahabuddin Miah	Do
22	Do	Kar. 10090	I.A.	Md. Abdul Monnaf Miah	Do
23	Do	Kar. 301	I.A.	Lutfur Rahman Mian	Do
24	Do	Kar. 7679	I.A.	Mirza Md. Abul Kalam	Do
25	Do	Kar. 7715	I.A.	Sarwar-i-Alam Chowdhury	Do
26	Do	Kar. 5897	I.Com.	Shah Md. Kaykobad	Do
27	Do	Kar. 302	I.A.	Mohseen Ali Khan	Do
28	Do	Kar. 7705	I.A.	Md. Kalimuddin Miah	Do
29	Do	Kar. 7724	I.A.	Md. Velayet Hossain Meah	Do
30	Barisal Centre	Bar. 2925	I.A.	Md. Rafiqul Islam	Do
31	Do	Bar. 2914	I.A.	Md. Moqbul Ahamed	Do
32	Do	Bar. 2929	I.A.	Md. Abdul Makim	Do

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
33	Do	Bar. 3059	I.A.	Md. Mozammel Haque Molla	(3 years) 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951 and 1952.
34	Do	Bar. 2972	I.A.	Abul Hashim	Do
35	Do	Bar. 2997	I.A.	Md. Tazem Ali Miah	Do
36	Do	Bar. 5211	I.Sc.	Md. Abdul Latif	Do
37	Do	Bar. 6734	I.Com.	Mohammad Sekender Ali Howlader	Do
38	Do	Bar. 9530	I.A.	Mohammad Mozahed Ali Akon	Do
39	Do	Bar. 5280	I.Sc.	Shamsuddin Ahmed	Do
40	Do	Bar. 2953	I.A.	Md. Abdur Razzaq Mia	Do
41	Do	Bar. 5161	I.Sc.	Anwar Hossain Mia	Do
42	Do	Bar. 5178	I.Sc.	Sudhirranjan Chakrabarti	Do
43	Do	Bar. 10671	I.Sc.	Md. Jamiuddin	Do
44	Do	Bar. 5284	I.Sc.	Syed Shamsul Alam	Do
45	Do	Bar. 6741	I.Com.	Ramaniranjan Mandal	Do
46	Do	Bar. 6751	I.Com.	Abul Khair Mohammed Mazibur Rahman Mian	Do
47	Do	Bar. 9619	I.A.	Md. Arshed Alam	Do
48	Do	Bar. 5157	I.Sc.	Abdul Jabbar Fakir	Do
49	Do	Bar. 5197	I.Sc.	Habibuddin Ahmed	Do
50	Do	Bar. 5201	I Sc.	Kamal Mansur Khan	Do
51	Do	Bar. 5210	I.Sc.	Md. Shah Alam Chowdhury	Do
52	Do	Bar. 5165	I.Sc.	Abul Khair Mohammad Kamaruzzaman	Do
53	Do	Bar 5250	I.Sc.	M. A. Halim Mollah	Do
54	Do	Bar 5282	I.Sc.	Sharif Alamgir Hussain	Do
55	Do	Bar. 5216	I.Sc.	Md. Abdul Matin	Do
56	Do	Bar. 5189	I.Sc.	F. M. Golam Kibria Chowdhury	Do
57	Do	Bar. 5154	I.Sc.	A. K. M. Abdul Latif Howlader	Do
58	Do	Bar. 5272	I.Sc.	Nur Mohammad Howladar	Do
59	Do	Bar. 5146	I.Sc.	A. K. Md. Nurul Islam	Do
60	Do	Bar 5244	I.Sc.	Mohammad Hasmatullah Khan	Do
61	Do	Bar. 5187	I.Sc.	Kartikchandra Datta	Do
62	Do	Bar. 2360	I.Sc.	Abdul Maleque Miah	Do
63	Do	Bar. 6762	I.Com.	Abual Alam	Do
64	Do	Bar. 9514	I.A.	A. K. Md. Shamsul Alam	Do
65	Pabna Centre	Pab 8605	I.A.	Md. Golam Mowla	Do
66	Do	Pab 8502	I.A.	Md. Idris Ali Miah	Do
67	Do	Pab. 4617	I.Sc.	Sukumar Chandra Ray	Do
68	Do	Pab 4597	I.Sc.	Md. Jobir Uddin Khan	Do
69	Do	Pab. [illegible]	I.A.	Md. Abul Khayer Khan	Do
70	Do	Pab. 8596	I.A.	Md. Abdus Sattar	Do
71	Do	Pab. 1467	I.A.	Md. Golam Mowla	Do

72	Comilla Centre	Com. 4081	I.Sc.	Md. Abraza Mia	Do
73	Do	Com. 3969	I.Sc.	A. T. M. Mashiur Rahman	Do
74	Do	Com. 7863	I.A.	A. K. M. Fazlul Karim Bhuya	Do
75	Do	Com. 599	I.A.	A. K. M. Mafizul Islam	Do
76	Do	Com. 10147	I.Sc.	A. K. M. Wali Ashraf Miyan	Do
77	Do	Com. 3927	I.Sc.	Prasantakumar Gupta	Do
78	Do	Com. 5999	I.Com.	Md. Abdul Jalil Sikdar	Do
79	Serajganj Centre	Seraj. 1612	I.A.	Md. Anwar Husain Akanda	Do
80	Do	Seraj. 7296	I.A.	Zafar Ahmad	Do
81	Do	Seraj. 1613	I.A.	Md. Kudrat Ali Khan	Do
82	Do	Seraj. 6519	I.Com.	Md. Daruzzaman Mian	Do
83	Do	Seraj. 6509	I.Com.	Md. Mozammel Huq	Do
84	Do	Seraj. 8662	I.A.	Md. Abul Husain	Do
85	Do	Seraj. 1481	I.A.	Md. Akbar Hussain Munshi	Do
86	Do	Seraj. 1527	I.A.	Md. Jalal Uddin	Do
87	Do	Seraj. 6528	I.A.	Shaikh Kobad Husain	Do
88	Madaripur Centre	Mad. 2371	I.A.	Muhammad Shahabuddin Khan	Do
89	Do	Mad. 9107	I.A.	Motahar Shaikh	Do
90	Do	Mad. 9123	I.A.	Lalitkumar Mondal	Do
91	Do	Mad. 2372	I.A.	Md. Mainuddin Ahmed	Do
92	Do	Mad. 2313	I.A.	Md. Muzaffar Hussain Sikdar	Do
93	Do	Mad. 2330	I.A.	Hedayetullah Patwary	Do
94	Do	Mad. 2325	I.A.	Shaukat Ali Khondkar	Do
95	Do	Mad. 2373	I.A.	Md. Muinuddin Ahmed	Do
96	Feni Centre	Feni 954	I.A.	Mahbubor Rahman	Do
97	Do	Feni 6263	I.Com.	A. K. Mofiz Ahmed	Do
98	Do	Feni 963	I.A.	Pujarini Das	Do
99	Do	Feni 10214	I.Sc.	Mohammed Anowarullah Khondker	Do
100	Do	Feni 6278	I.A.	Md. Abdur Rahim	Do
101	Do	Feni 6264	I.Com.	A. K. M. Nurul Islam Khan	Do
102	Do	Feni 3354	I.A.	Nafiza Begum	Do
103	Jessore Centre	Jess. 5130	I.Sc.	Mahendranath Biswas	Do
104	Do	Jess. 2772	I.A.	Md. Abdus Sattar	Do
105	Do	Jess. 2784	I.A.	Muhammad Taheruddin	Do
106	Chakhar Centre	Chak. 3124	I.A.	A. F. Md. Habibur Rahman	Do
107	Do	Chak. 9744	I.A.	A. K. M. Habibur Rahman	Do
108	Do	Chak. 3116	I.A.	A. F. M. Md. Abdur Rob Sikdar	Do
109	Do	Chak. 9730	I.A.	A. K. M. Abdur Razzaq Khan	Do
110	Do	Chak. 3134	I.A.	Md. Abul Quasem	Do
111	Do	Chak. 3146	I.A.	Abdur Razzaque Biswas	Do
112	Do	Chak. 3101	I.A.	Mansur Ahmed Mallik	Do
112-A	Madaripur Centre	Mad. 2308	I.A.	Abdul Malek Sardar	Do

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
113	Chakhar Centre	Chak. 3083	I.A.	Md. Abdur Rashid Hawladar	(3 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951 and 1952.
114	Do	Chak. 3084	I.A.	Kazi Mohammad Hossain	Do
115	Do	Chak. 9224	I.A.	Md. Nasir Uddin Khan	Do
116	Sylhet Centre	Syl. 1200	I.A.	Md. Mabaswir Ali	Do
117	Do	Syl. 4344	I.Sc.	Amalesranjan De	Do
118	Do	Syl. 1226	I.A.	A. F. Ali Md. Daulatddaher	Do
119	Do	Syl. 4363	I.Sc.	Moshabid Ali	Do
120	Do	Syl. 4381	I.Sc.	Md. Masroor Ahmed Osmani	Do
121	Do	Syl. 8424	I.A.	Mohammad Amin Ali	Do
122	Do	Syl. 1216	I.A.	Syed Ashraful Ambia	Do
123	Do	Syl. 1194	I.A.	Md. Nurun Ali	Do
124	Do	Syl. 4388	I.Sc.	Musharraf Hussain	Do
125	Do	Syl. 4408	I.Sc.	Towfique Siraj Chowdhury	Do
126	Do	Syl. 4367	I.Sc.	Md Maynul Haque	Do
127	Munshiganj Centre	Munshi. 5352	I.Sc.	Md. Jahiruddin Miah	Do
128	Do	Munshi. 3160	I.A.	Md. Mozammel Haque	Do
129	Do	Munshi. 9826	I.A.	Md. Chand Miah	Do
130	Do	Munshi. 9834	I.A.	Mir Mosarraf Hussain	Do
131	Do	Munshi. 9835	I.A.	Mohammad Hossain Miah	Do
132	Do	Munshi. 5388	I A	Dewan Md Habibur Rahman	Do
133	Do	Munshi. 5372	I.A.	Mohammad Idris Ali Mian	Do
134	Do	Munshi. 5364	I.Sc.	M. H. Kalimullah Choudhury	Do
135	Do	Munshi. 5360	I.Sc.	Md Siddique Rahman	Do
136	Do	Munshi. 5344	I.Sc.	Abdur Rahman	Do
137	Do	Munshi. 5337	I.Sc.	Gopalchandra Sinha	Do
138	Do	Munshi. 5321	I.Sc.	Abu Ahmed Ziaul Haque Bhuyan	Do
139	Daulatpur Centre	Daul. 2662	I.A.	Khandker Mohammad Lutfur Rahman	Do
140	Do	Daul. 2574	I.A.	Baidyanath Biswas	Do
141	Do	Daul. 3472	I.A.	Md. Mazibar Rahman	Do
142	Do	Daul. 9269	I A.	S. M. Abdul Jalil	Do
143	Do	Daul. 10560	I.Sc.	Md. Nuruzzaman	Do
144	Do	Daul. 10592	I Sc.	A. K. A. Samad Miah	Do
145	Do	Daul. 2596	I.A.	Md. Matior Rahman Molla	Do
146	Do	Daul. 9305	I.A.	Anukulchandra Sen	Do
147	Do	Daul. 9213	I.A.	Shaikh Md Abdus Salam Mian	Do
148	Do	Daul. 9281	I.A.	Nasir Ahamed Sikder	Do
149	Bogra Centre	Bog. 1930	I.A.	Md. Azizul Haque Mia S/O Mlvi. Afazuddin Sarkar	Do

150	Bogra Centre	Bog. 6556	I.Com.	Md. Maniruddin Shaikh	Do
151	Do	Bog. 1824	I.A	Mir Aminul Islam	Do
152	Do	Bog. 1778	I.A.	Md. Keramat Ali	Do
153	Do	Bog. 10382	I.Sc.	Md. Amjad Hossain Jourdar	Do
154	Do	Bog. 1798	I,A.	Md. Yeasin Ali	Do
155	Do	Bog. 1941	I.A.	Md. Abir Uddin	Do
156	Do	Bog. 4721	I.Sc.	Md. Monwar Hossain	Do
157	Satkhira Centre	Sat. 2498	I.A.	A. H. Din Muhammad	Do
158	Do	Sat. 2493	I.A.	S. M. Younus Ali	Do
159	Do	Sat. 2547	I.A.	Md. Ayanuddin Mondal	Do
160	Do	Sat. 9192	I.A.	Md. Year Ali	Do
161	Kushtia Centre	Kush. 10624	I.Sc.	Abu Musa Zilla Rahman	Do
162	Jamalpur Centre	Jamal. 7808	I.A.	Fazlul Hoq	Do
163	Do	Jamal. 378	I.A.	Md. Mahfuzal Hoque Talukdar	Do
164	Do	Jamal. 7488	I.A.	Md. Shamsul Haque	Do
165	Do	Jamal. 390	I.A.	Kazi Md. Nasir Uddin	Do
166	Do	Jamal. 5909	I.A.	Md. Abdul Ghani	Do
167	Do	Jamal 425	I.A.	Muhammad Abdur Rashid	Do
168	Rajshahi Centre	Raj. 10319	I.Sc.	Md. Najibar Rahman	Do
169	Do	Raj. 4514	I.Sc.	Md. Habibur Rahman Ansary	Do
170	Do	Raj. 8550	I.A.	Md. Mokbul Hossain	Do
171	Chaumohani Centre	Chau. 1011	I.A.	Mohammed Ullah	Do
172	Do	Chau. 6347	I.Com.	Lutfur Rahman	Do
173	Dinajpur Centre	Dinaj. 2029	I.A.	Abdul Malek	Do
174	Brahman Baria ,,	Brahm. 6213	I.Com.	Shak Saber Ahmed	Do
175	Do	Brahm. 6155	I.Com.	Md. Fazlul Huque Choudhury	Do
176	Do	Brahm. 6175	I.Com.	Ramakanta Saha	Do
177	Mymensingh Centre	Mym. 3634	I.Sc.	Mohammed Abdul Basir	Do
178	Do	Mym. 38	I.Sc.	Jagadishchandra Debnath	Do
179	Do	Mym. 10023	I.Sc.	Mohammed Abul Kashem Bhuiyan	Do
180	Do	Mym. 9980	I.Sc.	Md. Mazibar Rahman Tarafder	Do
181	Do	Mym. 40	I.A.	Fazlul Islam Khan	Do
182	Do	Mym. 46	I.A.	Zaker Ahmed	Do
183	Do	Mym. 3742	I.Sc.	Satyendramohan De	Do
184	Do	Mym. 3669	I.Sc.	Md. Abul Hossain Patwary	Do
185	Do	Mym. 160	I.A.	Abdul Waheb Bhyia	Do
186	Do	Mym. 3600	I.Sc.	Md. Abdur Rahman	Do
187	Do	Mym. 3692	I.Sc.	Md. Elias Miah	Do
188	Do	Mym. 57	I.A.	Md. Shariat Ali	Do
189	Do	Mym. 162	I.A.	Dhirendrachandra Banik	Do
190	Do	Mym. 53	I.A.	Shamsuddin Ahmed	Do
191	Do	Mym. 3678	I.Sc.	Md. Ismail Hossain	Do
192	Do	Mym. 113	I.A.	Mafizuddin Dhali	Do

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Names of Candidates	Period of Expulsion
193	Mymensingh Centre	Mym. 111	I.A.	Mohammad Ramjan Ali	(3 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951 and 1952.
194	Do	Mym. 10046	I.Sc.	Nitaipada Pal	Do
195	Do	Mym: 9960	I.Sc.	Birendrakisor Sarkar	Do
196	Do	Mym. 7406	I.A.	Md. Abdul Hakim	Do
197	Do	Mym. 3679	I.Sc.	Md. Mokbul Hossain S/O Md. Reazuddin	Do
198	Do	Mym. 159	I.A.	Md. Akbar Ali	Do
199	Rangpur Centre	Rang. 10490	I.Sc.	Md. Amjad Hossain Biswas	Do
200	Do	Rang. 10463	I.Sc.	Md. Izzat Ali Mondal	Do
201	Do	Rang. 4920	I.Sc.	Golam Md. Mahiuddin	Do
202	Do	Rang. 4914	I.Sc.	Santosh Kumar Datta	Do
203	Do	Rang. 4907	I.Sc.	Maniruddin Ahmed	Do
204	Do	Rang. 4900	I.Sc.	Mohammed Younus	Do.
205	Do	Rang. 4895	I.Sc.	Md. Mozammel Hoque	Do
206	Do	Rang. 4858	I.Sc.	Md. Maksudal Haq Chowdhury	Do
207	Do	Rang. 4351	I.Sc.	Md. Tahmidur Rahman Chowdhury	Do
208	Do	Rang. 2230	I.A.	Md. Mamtaz Ali Sarkar	Do
209	Do	Rang. 2188	I.A.	A. K. Mannruzzaman Mian	Do
210	Do	Rang. 2155	I.A.	Ahmmed Ali Sirkar	Do
211	Dacca Centre	Dac. 5518	I.A.	Amin Uddin Sikdar	Do
212	Do	Dac. 5486	I.Sc.	Aftabuddin Ahmed	Do
213	Do	Dac. 5768	I.Sc.	Shah Bazlur Rahman	Do
214	Do	Dac. 7148	I.Com.	Mohammad Nurul Islam S/O Munshi Azimuddin Ahmed	Do
215	Do	Dac. 7143	I.Com.	Md. Abdul Maleque	Do
216	Do	Dac. 7010	I.Com.	Ghazi Abdur Rashed	Do
217	Do	Dac. 6982	I.Com.	Sudhir Kumar Chakrabarti	Do
218	Do	Dac. 7161	I.Com.	Mizanur Rahman	Do
219	Do	Dac. 10813	I.Sc.	Kazi Abu Tayeb	Do
220	Do	Dac. 10834	I.A.	Abdul Jabbar	Do
221	Do	Dac. 173	I Sc.	Dilipkumar Mitra	Do
222	Do	Dac. 10821	I Sc.	Mohammed Asiruzzaman	Do
223	Do	Dac. 10827	I Sc.	Ahmed Nawab	Do
224	Do	Dac. 9953	I Com.	Kazi Md. Shamsuzzoha	Do
225	Do	Dac. 10807	I.A.	Mohammed Rafique	Do
226	Do	Dac. 462	I A.	Md. Salaiman Miah	Do
227	Do	Dac. 455	I A.	Shaikh Muhammad Abdus Sattar	Do
228	Do	Dac. 173	I.A.	Dilipkumar Mitra	Do
229	Do	Dac. 10828	I.Sc.	Mohammed Masoodul Hasan	Do
230	Do	Dac. 10843	I.Sc.	S. M. Eqbal Ahmed	Do

Serial No.	Names of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
					(3 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examinations of 1951 and 1952.
231	Dacca Centre	Dac. 10808	I. A.	Mohammad Salahuddin	Do
232	Do	Dac. 10822	I.Sc.	Md. Masoodul Hasan	Do
233	Do	Dac. 10838	I.A.	Mohammad Abu Yunas	Do
234	Do	Dac. 90	I.A.	Md. Nurul Huq	Do
235	Do	Dac 173	I.Sc.	Dilipkumar Mitra	Do
236	Habiganj Centre	Habi. 1266	I.A	Md. Abdur Rahman Chowdhury	Do
237	Manikganj Centre	Manik. 3264	I.A.	Md. Nazir Hossain	Do
238	Do	Manik. 9891	I.A.	Azharuddin Ahmed	Do
239	Do	Manik. 9908	I.A.	Md. Mahiuddin Mian	Do
240	Do	Manik. 9866	I.A	Kazi Kaikobad	Do
241	Do	Manik. 3272	I.A	Md. Shamsuddin Ahmed	Do
242	Do	Manik. 6880	I.Com.	Mohammed Sabed Ali	Do

LIST OF CANDIDATES REPORTED TO HAVE ADOPTED UNFAIR MEANS AT THE B.A., B.Sc. AND B.Com. EXAMINATIONS, 1950.

Serial No.	Names of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
243	Chittagong Centre	Chitt. 1510	B.A.	Abdul Wadud	(3 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examinations of 1951 and 1952.
244	Do	Chitt. 201	B.A.	Md. Abu Yusuf	Do
245	Barisal Centre	Bar. 1371	B.A.	Abu Nasr Shah Mohd. Ali	Do
246	Do	Bar. 91	B.A.	Abdul Wahid Sikder	Do
247	Do	Bar. 35	B.A.	Haralal De	Do
248	Do	Bar. 87	B.A.	Hares Ahmed	Do
249	Do	Bar. 85	B.A.	Kazi Motaher Husain	Do
250	Pabna Centre	Pab. 777	B.A.	A. K. M. Fazlul Azim Mian	Do
251	Do	Pab. 2024	B A.	Md. Arshad Ali	Do
252	Do	Pab. 822	B.A.	Gaurpada Basak	Do
253	Do	Pab. 2027	B.A.	Md. Abul Moksad Khan	Do
254	Do	Pab. 800	B.A.	Sheikh Sikander Ali	Do
255	Do	Pab. 2017	B.A.	Mohd. Abdul Hamid	Do
256	Bogra Centre	Bog. 1430	B.A.	Md. Serajuddin Sarkar	Do
257	Do	Bog. 1459	B.A.	S. F. Mahmuddin Ahmed	Do
258	Do	Bog. 1463	B.A.	Abu Taib Md. Moslehuddin	Do
259	Do	Bog. 14139	B.A.	Md. Lutfur Rahman Talukdar	Da
260	Do	Bog. 1468	B A.	Md. Ismail Hossain	Do
261	Daulatpur Centre	Daul. 1659	B A.	S. Momtazuddin Ahmed	Do
262	Do	Daul. 1699	B.A.	Md. Hasan Ali	Do
263	Comilla Centre	Com. 335	B.A.	Bireswar De	Do

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion. (3 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examinations of 1951 and 1952.
264	Comilla Centrs	Com. 293	B.A.	Md. Syed Ahmed	Do
265	Do	Com. 1640	B.A.	Fazlul Haq	Do
266	Sylhet Centre	Syl. 2172	B.A.	Abdul Bari	Do
267	Rajshahi Centre	Raj. 893	B A.	Md. Wafiuddin Sardar	Do
268	Dacca Centre	Dac. 2418	B.A.	Md. Sonawar Ali	Do
269	Do	Dac. 2867	B.A.	Md. Sayeed	Do
270	Feni Centre	Feni 1773	B.A.	Nazir Ahmed	Do
271A	Barisal Centre	Bari. 30	B.A.	Narendralal Samadar	Do
272	Karatia Centre	Kar. 1867	B.A.	Md Fazlul Karim Khan	Do
272A	Bogra Centre	Bog. 142	B.A.	Mosharraf Hossain Talukder	Do
273	Rajshahi Centre	Raj 870	B.A.	M. Enamul Haq	Do
274	Munshiganj Centre	Munshi. 1905	B.A.	A. K. Md. Kadim Ali	Do
275	Habiganj Centre	Habi. 1794	B A.	Nalini Kanta Dasray	Do
276	Daulatpur Centre	Daul. 2225	B.Sc.	Sk. Abdur Rashid	Do
277	Comilla Centre	Com. 2209	B.Sc.	Sufi Abul Khair Md. Aminul Islam	Do
278	Sylhet Centre	Syl. 1214	B.Sc.	Nizamuddin Md. Abdul Qayam	Do
279	Dacca Centre	Dac. 2876	B.Sc.	Md. Nurul Haque	Do
280	Do	Dac. 2830	B.Com.	Nazir Ahmed Mian	Do
281	Do	Dac. 2804	B.Com.	Shah Badruzzaman	Do
282	Do	Dac. 2322	B.Com.	Md Shafiqur Rahman	Do
283	Do	Dac. 2611	B.A. (Hons.)	Md. Taheruddin Talukder	Do
284	Do	Dac. 31	Adib.	Abu Sayed Mohammad Abdur Rashid	Do
285	Do	Dac. 51	Adib.	Md. Sultan Ahmed Choudhury	Do

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
Ramna, Dacca,
Dated, the 12th December, 1950.
H. Khan. 12-12-50.

A. RUB CHOUDHURY,
Controller of Examinations,
University of Dacca.

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

Orders of Executive Council dated the 9th December, 1950. The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the Intermediate Examinations, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of the University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of candidates	Period of Expulsion
1	Chittagong Centre	Chitt. 1124	I.A.	Md. Shamsul Anwar	(2 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951.
2	Do	,, 8316	I A.	Md. Nurul Alam	Do
3	Do	,, 1072	I.A.	Ahamed Hossain	Do
4	Do	,, 1069	I A.	A. B. M Nasir Ullah	Do
5	Do	,, 8286	I.A.	Abdul Awal	Do
6	Do	,, 8295	I.A.	Mohd. Nurul Quader	Do
7	Do	,, 6415	I.Com.	Rashid Ahmed	Do
8	Do	,, 4212	I.Sc.	Ahmadur Rahman	Do
9	Do	,, 294	I.A.	Md. Nurul Haq, S/O Mvi. Nazir Ahmed	Do
10	Karatia Centre	Kar. 7732	I.Com.	Adhirchandra Sirkar	Do
11	Barisal Centre	Bar. 5190	I.Sc.	Fakir Matiur Rahman	Do
12	Do	,, 5299	I.Sc.	Tareque Mohd. Amiruddin Ahmed	Do
13	Do	,, 9651	I.A.	Mohd. Muzaffar Hussain	Do
14	Do	,, 6743	I.Com.	Lalitkumar Mistri	Do
15	Do	,, 5302	I.Sc.	Md. Mazharul Islam	Do
16	Do	,, 5337	I.Sc.	Md. Safiuddin	Do
17	Comilla Centre	Com. 6063	I.Com.	Md. Fakharuzzaman Molla	Do
18	Do	,, 695	I.A.	Samsuddin Ahmed	Do
19	Sirajganj Centre	Siraj. 6492	I.Com.	Abinashchandra Sarkar	Do
20	Do	,, 1525	I.A.	Md. Siddiqur Rahman Tarafdar	Do
21	Do	,, 1581	I.A.	Md. Habibur Rahman Talukdur	Do
22	Madaripur Centre	Mad. 2317	I.A	Md. Shaukat Ali Hawladar	Do
23	Feni Centre	Feni. 913	I.A.	Mansur Ahmed	Do
24	Jessore Centre	Jess 9409	I.A.	Mohd. Shaukat Ali	Do
25	Do	,, 5125	I.Sc.	Md. Abdul Khaleque Molla	Do
26	Do	,, 5135	I.Sc	Khandkar Ahmed Ali	Do
27	Do	,, 5137	I Sc.	Md. Mazrul Islam	Do
28	Do	,, 5128	I.Sc.	Bansidas Biswas	Do
29	Chakhar Centre	Chak. 3123	I.A.	Mvi. Syed Ashraf Hosain	Do
30	Sylhet Centre	Syl. 4368	I.Sc.	Mokaddas Ali	Do
31	Do	,, 6466	I.Com,	Md. Kuti Ali	Do
32	Do	,, 6452	I.A.	Sadaruzzaman Chaudhuri	Do
33	Do	,, 4373	I.Sc.	Pratulkanta Purkayestha	Do

Serial No.	Name of centre	Roll No	Examination	Names of candidates	Period of Expulsion
					(2 years), 1950 Examination to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951.
34	Munshiganj Centre	Munshi. 3159	I.A.	Md Hiru Mian	Do
35	Daulatpur Centre	Daul. 3472	I.A.	Md. Mazibar Rahman	Do
36	Do	,, 2566	I.A.	Nagendranath Bachher	Do
37	Daulatpur Centre	Daul. 2603	I.A.	Md. Abdul Ghani Khan	Do
38	Do	,, 5034	I Sc.	Mafizur Rahman	Do
39	Do	,, 9224	I.A.	Md. Naziruddin Khan	Do
40	Bogra Centre	Bog 8703	I.A.	Aminul Islam Chowdhury	Do
41	Do	,, 8828	I.A.	Md. Tazammal Haque Prodhan	Do
42	Satkhira Centre	Sat. 2510	I.A.	Shaikh Abdul Mazed	Do
43	Do	,, 2513	I.A.	Md. Shamsur Rahman	Do
44	Rajshahi Centre	Raj. 4552	I.Sc.	Mohd. Alauddin	Do
45	Do	,, 10317	I.Sc.	A. K. M Dabiruddin	Do
46	Chaumuhani Centre	Chau. 983	I.A.	Abu Daim Mohd. Ramjan Ali	Do
47	Do	,, 1019	I.A.	Mohd. Shafiqur Rahman	Do
48	Dinajpur Centre	Dinaj 2021	I.A.	Ramanikanta Ray	Do
49	Do	,, 2010	I.A.	Md. Rafiquddin Pramanik	Do
50	Do	,, 2013	I.A.	Md. Tahsin Ali Pramanik	Do
51	Do	,, 1994	I.A.	Muhammad Khalilur Rahman	Do
52	Do	,, 4773	I.Sc.	Md. Nurul Huda	Do
53	Do	,, 4774	I.Sc.	Md. Nizamuddin Biswas	Do
54	Mymensingh Centre	Mym. 7459	I.A.	Md. Sirajul Haque Bhuya	Do
55	Do	,, 3591	I.Sc.	Kshtishchandra Pal	Do
56	Rangpur Centre	Rang. 10464	I.Sc.	Md. Fazlul Haq Chowdhury	Do
57	Do	,, 10443	I.Sc.	Narendranath Barman	Do
58	Do	,, 10441	I.Sc.	Girindralal Sarkar	Do
59	Do	,, 2071	I A.	Md. Abdur Rahman	Do
60	Dacca Centre	Dac. 3476	I.A.	Syed Khayrul Barra Nasrullah	Do
61	Do	,, 5761	I.Sc.	Ashrafuddin Ahmed	Do
62	Do	,, 7194	I.A.	Sadhankumar Das	Do
63	Do	,, 7106	I.Com.	Abdul Majid Dhali	Do
64	Do	,, 226	I.A.	Mohd. Ansaruddin	Do
65	Do	,, 130	I.Sc.	Kshetramohan Adhikari	Do
66	Do	,, 155	I.Sc.	A. K. M. Mujibar Rahman	Do
67	Bagerhat Centre	Bager. 9149	I.A.	Md. Anwer Hosain Sardar	Do
68	Do	,, 5004	I.Sc.	Mohd. Baber Ali Gazi	Do
69	Kishoreganj Centre	Kish. 7561	I.A.	Md. Azizul Haque	Do
70	Manikganj Centre	Manik. 9931	I.A.	Saimuddin Ahmed	Do

Orders of the Executive Council, dated the 9th December, 1950.—The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the B.A. & B.Sc. Examinations, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examinations of this University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of Candidates	Period of Expulsion
1	Chittagong Centre	Chitt. 235	B.A.	Mohd Sulaiman S/O Md. Aminullah	(2 years), 1950 Examinations to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951.
2	Do	,, 1528	B.A.	Abu Ahsan Syed Mahmud	Do
3	Pabna Centre	Pab. 820	B.A.	Md. Sikandar Ali Miah	Do
4	Do	,, 2018	B.A.	Md. Rakibuddin Mian	Do
5	Dacca Centre	Dac. 2372	B.A.	Abdur Rahman	Do
6	Do	,, 2699	B.Sc.	Nurul Islam Khandkar	Do

Orders of the Executive Council dated the 9th December, 1950. The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the Adib Examination, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of this University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of Candidates	Period of Expulsion
1	Dacca Centre	Dac. 45	Adib	Md. Khorshed Alam	(2 years), 1950 Examinations to be cancelled and to be debarred from the Examination of 1951.
2	Do	,, 69	Adib	Mohd. Aminul Haq	Do

Orders of the Executive Council, dated the 9th December, 1950.—The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the Intermediate Examinations, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of this University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of Candidates	Period of Expulsion
1	Chittagong Centre	Chitt. 8382	I.A.	Rakhalkrishna Dhar	(One year) 1950 Examination to be cancelled
2	Do	,, 102	I.Sc.	Md. Sher Ali	Do
3	Do	,, 10228	I.Sc.	Mahiul Islam	Do
4	Do	,, 4199	I.Sc.	Md Khalequezzaman	Do
5	Serajganj Centre	Seraj. 8629	I.A.	Md. Humayun Raza Chowdhury	Do

Orders of the Executive Council, dated the 9th December, 1950.—The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the B.A. Examination, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of this University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of Candidate	Period of Expulsion
1	Habiganj Centre	Habi. 561	B.A.	Md. Abul Mubarak	(One year) 1950 Examination to be cancelled

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

Orders of the Executive Council dated the 9th December, 1950.—The undermentioned candidates having been found guilty of resorting to unfair means or other acts of cheating or indiscipline at the 1st M.B.B.S. Examination held in March, 1950, under which their names appear are debarred from appearing at any Examination of the University for the period noted against each.

Serial No.	Name of Centre	Roll No.	Examination	Name of Candidates	Action taken
1	Dacca Centre	11	M.B.B.S.	A. F. M. Sharful Alam	Cancellation of current Examination
2	Do	33	M.B.B.S.	M. A. Sattar	Debarred from two Examinations
3	Do	34	M.B.B.S.	Asdar Ali	Debarred from three Examinations
4	Do	45	M.B.B.S.	Md. Ali Asgar	Debarred from three Examinations
5	Do	61	M.B.B.S.	Md. Nurul Haque	Debarred from three Examinations

LAW FINAL EXAMINATION, 1950

1	Roll No. 17	Final Law	Bazlur Rahman	Fine Rs. 10/-

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
Ramna, Dacca,
The 19th December, 1950.

A. RUB CHOWDHURY,
Controller of Examinations,
University of Dacca.

Appendix I

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

By

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SRI S. N. BANERJEE,
Vice-Chancellor

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

This year it is my privilege to address the Convocation. It is a very great privilege. This is the first Convocation of this University under the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. This is the first Convocation of this University in the second half of this remarkable century. I feel proud to be able to extend to you—free citizens of the Indian Republic—a cordial welcome to this annual function.

The Act to establish and incorporate this University was passed in 1857. The Act was passed for the better encouragement of the then Her Britannic Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the then Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education. The first Chancellor of this University was Viscount Canning. The first Vice-Chancellor was the Hon'ble Sir James William Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal. Since then there have been great Chancellors of the University and illustrious Vice-Chancellors. Under their guidance this University became the premier University in India.

Though Bengal has been reduced in size, the University of Calcutta is still the biggest examining body in India. It has a separate department for the examinations it holds. There are three officers for this department—the Controller of Examinations, the Additional Controller of Examinations, and the Assistant Controller of Examinations. There is an office Superintendent and forty-two Assistants. No less than sixty-two kinds of examinations for candidates are held within the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta. Its jurisdiction is still wide and in spite of difficulties of transport of confidential papers and answer scripts, places so distantly situated as Sikkim, Agartala, Imphal and the Andamans, still prefer to come within the ambit of this University.

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* Delivered at the Annual Convocation on Friday the 12th January, 1951

The total number of candidates taking all the different examinations of this University was more than 80,000 in 1946. It came up to the figure of one lakh in 1947. In 1948, the total number went down to 62,000. In 1949, the number of candidates, who appeared at the different examinations was 80,345. In 1950, it was 88,881.

The examination department does a tremendous amount of work in the year. It knows no rest. There is a continuous cycle of examinations. In December and January, there are the M.B. and B.L. Examinations, the M.L., M.S., M.O., and M.D. Examinations, the D.P.H., Part I, and the Diploma Examination in Soap Technology. In February, the major examinations begin with the I.A. and I.Sc. In March, there is the Matriculation Examination. The B.A., B.Sc., B.T., M.B., B.E., B.Com. Examinations follow. In August and September, there are the Supplementary Examinations for the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc., etc. In fact examinations are actually held on 262 days in a year. Excluding the Sundays and the other essential holidays, we may say generally that there is at least one examination on every day of the year. The burden, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will see, is heavy. But the University has cheerfully borne the burden. Complications have been added to this already onerous task by the political situation created as a result of the partition of Bengal. The Calcutta University has also to make arrangements for the refugee students, who come from Pakistan.

Since the last Convocation which was held on 19th March, 1949—it is a misfortune that no Convocation could be held in 1950—we have lost several of our distinguished countrymen and it is my melancholy duty to mourn their deaths.

In Sri Aurobindo India has lost one of her greatest sons. He started the freedom movement in 1906-07. Afterwards he went into retirement and passed forty years of his life in search of truth. From time to time he sent messages to his countrymen. These messages will be recorded in letters of gold in the History of India. Rightly may he be called "The Rising Sun of India's Freedom."

In Sardarji Vallabbhai Patel we have lost a distinguished countryman, a great statesman. His genius brought over 500 states into the Union of India as an integral part of it. Rightly has he been called the "Builder of New India."

In Lt.-Col. P. Fleming Gow we have lost a renowned Gynaecologist. He served this University in the Faculty of Medicine and was a Fellow of the University from 1933-43.

In Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A., we have lost an eminent scholar. He was invited by a number of Universities in U.S.A., to deliver several courses of lectures. In his death the University has lost one of its most brilliant teachers. He was renowned for his scholarship, and in recognition of his valuable services to the Department of Economics and his scholarship in the subject, the University conferred on him the status of an Honorary Professor.

In Dr. S. S. Pillai the University has lost a very useful professor in the Department of Pure Mathematics. He was awarded a Fellowship in the University of Princeton and on his way there he died of an air crash near Cairo.

We have also lost Prof. Birbal Sahani, D.Sc., F.R.S., who was the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer of the University for the year 1937. He delivered lectures on "Himalayan Flora—Past and Present": The University records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Sri R. M. Tagore, the donor and founder of Lila Lectureship and Prize: Dr. Sivapada Bhattacharyya, who was an eminent physician of the city, and an Ordinary Fellow of the University for 10 years and served his *Alma Mater* with great devotion in various capacities: Prof. Benoykumar Sen, M.A., who was for sometime a member of the Senate and the Syndicate of this University and took keen interest in the affairs of the University: Jyotischandra Mitra, M.A., who was a Fellow of the University for some time and a member of the former Board of Accounts: Prof. Satischandra Ray, M.A., who was for some time a member of the Senate and rendered valuable services to the University as a Fellow and as a Professor of Economics: Rev. F. Westcott, who was a Metropolitan of India, Burma, and Ceylon and *ex-officio* Fellow of the University—his goodwill towards this country will always be remembered with love: Prof. Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., who had been a George V Professor of Mental and Moral Science of this University during 1935-1937: Kedarnath Banerjee, the well-known novelist of Bengal, who occupied a high place in the field of Bengali literature and was one of the recipients of the Jagattarini Gold Medal of the University: Dr. B. K. Ghosh, an eminent scholar in the field of linguistic studies, who died after an incurable ailment long patiently borne.

We mourn the deaths of all these distinguished persons. We pay our respectful homage to the memory of these eminent men. May their souls rest in peace!

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would now perform a pleasant duty on your behalf. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a brilliant *alumnus* of this University, on his being elected as the first President of the Indian Republic:

To Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, who was a George V Professor of Mental and Moral Science in this University (1921-41), on his appointment as an ambassador in U.S.S.R.:

To Sri Charuchandra Biswas, the previous Vice-Chancellor, on his appointment as a Minister in the Central Cabinet:

To Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, who has been awarded the Nobel Prize. He received the Devaprasad Sarbadhikary Gold Medal for 1947 from this University:

To Prof. P. N. Banerjee, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University, on the conferment of the Degree of Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) by the McGill University, Canada:

To Dr. Surendranath Sen, on his appointment as a Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University; he was a Fellow of this University from 1935 to 1940 and was Asutosh Professor of Modern and Medieval History from 1931 to 1944.

We offer our felicitations to Dr. Jadunath Sarkar on his attainment of the age of 80. He was one of the Vice-Chancellors of this University.

Friends, I shall now narrate shortly the various activities of our University during the period under consideration and the gifts and donations it received during that period.

ENDOWMENTS AND GIFTS

The University received with thanks the following endowments and gifts during the year under review:

The most munificent offer of the year came from the Raja of Jhargram. He has placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 in cash and land measuring 450 bighas, for furtherance of Agricultural Education in this province. The sum of Rs. 1,00,000 is to be spent for the establishment of a first grade Agricultural College at Jhargram. Of the 450 bighas of land, 50 bighas form a part of the town area where the College Building is in course of construction.

The next munificent offer came from Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, Fellow and Professor of the University. Dr. Mookerjee has already placed large sums of money at the disposal of the University. During the year under review, he offered a further sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for the creation of an endowment to be known as 'Sudhircoomar Mookerjee Third Endowment.'

Sri Durgapada Ghoshal bequeathed in his Will a sum of Rs. 16,000 to this University. The amount is to be spent for the purpose of creating ten-rupee monthly scholarships tenable for two years for I.A. and I.Sc. girl students. The scholarships are to be named 'Binodini Ghoshal Scholarships' after the name of his wife. The scholarships will go to deserving Hindu or Brahmo girl students whose mother-tongue is Bengali and who do not receive any other scholarship, on the results of the Matriculation Examination of this University. The amount has been made over to the University by Sri Bhupendranath Ghoshal, one of the Executors of the Will.

An amount of Rs. 13,780 was received from Messrs. Calcutta Chemical Works for Research work in the University Science College.

Sri Charuchandra Sanyal placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 8,000 for the award of a scholarship of the value of Rs. 10 per month tenable for two years to a Barendra Brahmin boy who has been admitted into a Medical

College and does not receive any other scholarship. The scholar is to be selected on the results of the I.Sc. Examination.

Sm. Niradamoyee Dasi in her Will directed payment of a sum of Rs. 2,000 to the University after her death. The amount has been received from the executors of the Will and would be utilized for the award of a Prize or Medal to the candidate securing highest marks at the I.A. or I.Sc. Examination from the Howrah District.

Sri D. N. Sarkar placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 2,400 in cash and shares of the face value of Rs. 14,300 for the creation of an endowment for scholarships to be called 'Biharilal Mandakini Scholarships.'

Sri Sasadhar Ganguli has placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 1,000 towards building up a fund for helping young men to settle in Agriculture.

This University has thankfully accepted a gift of a set of sixteen books on World History from Mr. Ralph E. Turner, Durfee Professor of History, Yale University.

Late Sashi Mukhi Basu, widow of Principal Khudiram Basu, has given a sum of Rs. 3,000 for the establishment of a lectureship to be called "The Hironkumar Basu Memorial Lectureship."

Sri K. C. Basu, Barrister-at-Law, has given a sum of Rs. 7,000 for the establishment of a lectureship to be called "Principal Khudiram Basu Memorial Lectureship."

Sri S. M. Basu, Attorney-at-Law, has made over to the University, a sum of Rs. 6,000 for a scholarship to be called "Srimati Kanak Basu Memorial Scholarship."

The University has already thanked the donors and once again thanks them for the gifts.

The University has also received grants from the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and other public bodies, which would be mentioned hereafter in appropriate places for which the University offers thanks to the grantors.

CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS

During the year under review the following new examinations and courses of studies were introduced :—

(1) Diploma in Town and Regional Planning.
(2) Intermediate Examination in Nursing.
(3) Bachelor's degree in Nursing.
(4) Diploma in Dietetics.

Other important changes in the Regulations are as follows :—

(*a*) Revision of the Regulations relating to the formation of Boards of Studies.

(*b*) Change of nomenclature of Law and Medical degrees.

(*c*) Introduction of Compartmental rules for admission to First and Final M.B. Examinations.

(*d*) Amendment of rules relating to the offering of Geography as an additional subject at the I.A. Examination.

(*e*) Changes in rules relating to B.Com., B.T. and B.E. Examinations.

VISITORS, SPECIAL LECTURERS, EXTENSION LECTURERS, ETC.

Dr. Edward Lindeman, Professor of Social Philosophy, Columbia University, proposed to visit India under the auspices of the world-renowned Watumull Foundation and the National Young Women's Christian Association, School of Social Works (Delhi University). The University took this opportunity of inviting him to deliver a course of lectures in this University.

The University also invited Mr. Hugh Griffiths, a past President of the Institution of Chemical Engineers, London, who came to India to visit this University.

Professor F. E. Zeuner of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, was appointed a Special University Reader, to deliver a course of lectures in this University on a honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

Prof. S. Mathai, M.A. (Oxon.), Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, delivered a lecture in this University on " English Literature in Indian Universities " as an Extension Lecturer.

Prof. R. Henkl, M.A., a Scholar, Author and Poet of outstanding distinction was invited to deliver a course of three Extension lectures on " Comparative Literature " on a honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

Professor George Morgen Stierne of Oslo University, was invited to deliver a course of lectures in this University either on " The Influence of Sanskrit on Dardic Languages " or on " The Culture of the Dardic Tribes," as an Honorary Extension Lecturer.

Professor Syed Naficy of Teheran was invited to deliver a course of 3 lectures in this University as an Extension Lecturer on a honorarium of Rs. 1,000. He was requested to speak either on Persian Literature or the Sassanian period of Iranian History or History of the Sufis.

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, President, All-India Village Industries Association and Chairman of the Agrarian Reforms Committee, an eminent economist and exponent of the Gandhian School of Economics, was invited to deliver a series of three lectures at this University on Agrarian Economics and Rural Reconstruction and the Principles of Gandhian Economics as an Extension Lecturer.

Professor Emil Brunner, M.A., Ph.D., D.Th., B.D., of the Zurich University was invited to deliver a couple of lectures in this University as an Extension Lecturer during his visit to Calcutta. Professor Brunner delivered the well-known Gifford Lectures in 1947 and 1948.

Prof. F. J. Curie, N.L., visited India last year in connection with the annual session of the Indian Science Congress Association. The University took the opportunity of inviting him to give a course of lectures for 1948-49.

SPECIAL LECTURERS

Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., was appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer on Comparative Religion for the year 1949.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen was appointed Lila Lecturer in 1949, the subject of his lectures being "Banglar Baul."

Sri Hemendraprasad Ghosh, M.A., and Sri Makhanlal Sen, M.A., well-known journalists of the province were appointed Ramananda Lecturers for the years 1947 and 1949 respectively.

Dr. Sahayram Bose, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), was appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Science for the year 1949, the subject of his lecture being "Bengal Polyporaceae."

ACTIVITIES ABROAD

Professor Stella Kramrisch of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture is now acting as Visiting professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji has also been invited by the same University as a Visiting professor. But due to the present international situation, his departure for America is being delayed. Prof. Chatterji took a leading part in the UNESCO Committee and Conference on Braille Alphabets.

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture was included in the Cultural Mission which recently visited countries in the Middle East and made cultural contacts with men and institutions in these countries.

CONFERENCES

The University invited the Indian Philosophical Congress to hold its Silver Jubilee Session in 1950 in Calcutta under the auspices of the University. This session was held in this Hall in December last. It was presided over by that eminent Philosopher Prof. Radhakrishnan.

The University also invited the Indian Political Science Congress to hold its 13th Annual Session in Calcutta in 1950 under the auspices of the University. That session again was held in this Hall and it was presided over by Dr. Sharma.

Both the sessions were inaugurated by His Excellency, our Chancellor.

COMMITTEES

The question of teaching Commerce in the affiliated colleges and in the Post-Graduate department—particularly the question whether it would be academically sound to open evening classes for Post-Graduate Studies in Commerce—had been engaging the attention of the University for some time past. His Excellency the Chancellor was pleased to appoint a Committee to consider in all its aspects the question of teaching of Commerce in the affiliated colleges and at the Post-Graduate stage, and make recommendations thereon. This Committee furnished its report in October, 1949. The Syndicate considered the matter and immediate steps were taken to implement the recommendations of the Committee, in particular the one which was concerned with the opening of Commerce classes in the evening in the Post-Graduate department.

Owing to certain allegations made in certain Bengali newspapers in this city and the comments made thereon, a Committee which is known as the "Marks Enquiry Committee" was appointed, which made its report on 26th September, 1949. The report was adopted by the Syndicate on that day.

The report has been released to the Press. The enquiry has not been fully completed, and I have requested Sri Charuchandra Biswas, Chairman, to complete the enquiry as soon as possible.

To investigate into certain allegations of abuses and malpractices in certain branches of the University administration, the Chancellor was pleased to appoint a Committee with the Late Sir B. L. Mitter as its Chairman. The Committee was requested

(1) To enquire into complaints and allegations of abuses and malpractices relating to the departments of Controller of Examinations, Accounts and Audit, and Press, which have been brought to the notice of the University Authorities, and to determine what persons then connected with the University or its affiliated institutions were involved therein.

(2) To suggest remedies to prevent the recurrence of any abuses and irregularities that might be found and to make recommendation for generally improving the administration.

This Committee has made the report in three parts relating to the (1) Press, (2) Controller's and (3) Accounts Departments. The reports have been printed at the Governor's press and have been circulated among the members of the Syndicate, and would be circulated among the members of the Senate at its next meeting. The recommendations of the Syndicate on the report will be duly placed before the Senate for it's consideration. But I may tell you, portions of the recommendations of the Committee have already been carried into effect.

UNIVERSITY FINANCE

The Budget Estimates for the year 1949-50 were passed by the Senate on the 28th May, 1949. The combined Fee and Post-Graduate Teaching Fund opened with an actual debit balance of Rs. 9,28,062 in place of a minus balance of Rs. 41,93,344, as anticipated in the Budget

Estimates for 1948-49. This was chiefly due to (*i*) improvement in the fee income in general, and (*ii*) economy in expenditure in particular. It may be noted that there was a provision of Rs. 16,89,690 under Development Head in the Budget Estimates for 1948-49 and there was a direction that no expenditure under this head would be incurred without the specific sanction of the Senate, and as such no expenditure under that head was incurred. The decrease in the debit balance is also partly due to this factor.

Regarding the question of grant by the Government of West Bengal payable to the University for the next five years, the Government of Bengal appointed the Finance Enquiry Committee which was presided over by Sri Rupendracoomar Mitter, who recommended the following grants on certain terms and conditions :—

	Rs.
(1) Annual Recurring Grant	17.64 lakhs
(2) Capital Grants to be earmarked for specific purposes	34.02 lakhs (to be paid in course of a period of 5 years).

The Government of India have sanctioned the following special grants on certain terms and conditions for the expansion and development of the Departments of Applied Physics, Radio-Physics and Electronics, and Applied Chemistry :—

CAPITAL GRANTS

	Rs.
Department of Applied Physics.	
For College Building	1,87,000
For Equipment	2,76,000
Department of Radio-Physics and Electronics.	
For College Building	3,40,000
For Equipment	2,10,000
Department of Applied Chemistry.	
For College Building	4,52,000
For Equipment	2,81,000

	Rs.
Ultimate Recurring Grants.	
Department of Applied Physics ...	50,000
Department of Radio-Physics and Electronics	49,000
Department of Applied Chemistry ...	1,20,000
Interest-free loan for construction of students' hostel	2,54,000

Out of these maximum capital grants the Government of India paid in 1949 the following amounts :—

	Rs.
Department of Applied Physics.	
For College Building	1,12,000
For Equipment	57,000
Department of Radio-Physics and Electronics.	
For College Building	2,90,000
For Equipment	76,000
Against the Ultimate Recurring Grants.	
Applied Physics	10,000
Radio-Physics and Electronics ...	12,000
Applied Chemistry	62,000
Interest-free loan for construction of students' hostel	2,00,000

During the year 1949-50 there were certain unforeseen items of expenditure for meeting the costs of the above-mentioned Committees for which no provision was or could be made in the Budget.

Owing to our financial condition it was not possible to give full effect to the recommendations of Sir Rupendracoomar Mitter Committee.

Two Secretaries were appointed, one for the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and the other for the Post-Graduate Department in Science. A new department for M.A. and M.Sc. teaching in Education was started during the year under review resulting in an additional financial liability amounting to Rs. 21,000.

I do not desire to tire your patience with further details but I may say that the University Finance certainly presents a gloomy picture.

With the creation of Eastern Pakistan many schools have gone outside the ambit of this University. The income of this University therefore has fallen low. The stationery and printing materials have gone up in value. The cost of holding examinations becomes higher and higher each year. Some of the University Buildings have to be repaired, particularly the Science College Buildings. Some rooms have to be built to provide accommodation for the Department of Physiology. All this means money.

The Syndicate has appointed a Board of Accounts to go through the accounts and suggest ways and means for stabilising the financial position of the University. With the utmost economy that we can possibly exercise, there will still be a deficit of Rs. 12.84 lakhs. The particulars as supplied to me by the Comptroller of Accounts, who is also the Secretary to the Board of Accounts, are as follows :—

INCOME (*In lakhs of rupees*)—

	Rs.	Rs.
General Fee Fund ...	31.90	
Deduct Contribution to the Post-Graduate Teaching Fund	5.70	26.20
Post-Graduate Teaching Fund ...		12.31
		38.51
Government Grant ...		15.25
Total ...		53.76 lakhs

EXPENDITURE (*In lakhs of rupees*)—

	Rs.
General Fee Fund	31.84
Post-Graduate Teaching Fund ...	25.60
Total ...	57.44 lakhs

DEFICIT

	Rs.
Income	53.76 lakhs
Expenditure	57.44 ,,
	–3.68 lakhs

Adding to this the deficit of Rs. 9.16 lakhs at the close of the year 1949-50, the total deficit comes up to Rs. 12.84 lakhs.

The figures are subject to scrutiny by the Board of Accounts.

In estimating the deficit, the Government grant of Rs. 15,25,000 has been taken into consideration. The Chairman of this Board is the eminent scientist and able Administrator, Sir J. C. Ghosh. I may say with very great satisfaction that he does not spare any pains in his efforts to put the financial condition of this University in order. Our thanks are also due to Mr. S. K. Mukherjee, the Financial Adviser to the Government of West Bengal and now a member of the Public Service Commission, for his labour as a member of this Board. Our thanks are also due to the Comptroller of Accounts, Mr. B. C. Banerjee, who previous to his retirement was an Accountant General. They are working hard for balancing the budget. We have asked the Board to suggest as to what should be done in putting the financial condition of the University in order and are awaiting their suggestions. In this matter, I may tell you, we have received very great sympathy from His Excellency the Chancellor and from our Chief Minister, who is a member of the Syndicate and a Fellow of the University. My hope is that with their sympathy and help and acting on the recommendations of the Board, we shall be able to tide over our present financial difficulties. The University must be placed on a sound financial basis.

RESEARCH WORK IN AND ADDITIONS TO THE DEPARTMENTS OF POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN ARTS AND SCIENCE

ARTS :

During the year under review, good research work has been done by University Professors and Lecturers working under the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. Neither time nor space permits me to make a detailed reference to the researches or the books and papers published. I shall touch a few of them.

The Department of Sanskrit has brought out the second volume of Vedanta Darsan. The third volume is under preparation. This work, I understand, will be completed in four volumes and is a positive contribution to the knowledge on that subject.

The Department of Philosophy has brought out a handy volume on Hindu Religion.

A member of the Department of History has completed one volume in the series called 'History of the Indian Armed Forces in the World War II.' The series is to be published by the Government of India. The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture has contributed several chapters for the second and third volumes of 'History of India.' It is to be published by the Indian History Congress.

On the important question of Devaluation, which raised so much controversy in this country, two brochures have been published by the Department of Economics. They are of considerable value in the clarification of issues involved in Devaluation.

Members of the Department of Political Science have published papers on the important questions of Commonwealth Agreement, the position of Gaon Sabhas and other subjects.

The Department of Pure Mathematics is responsible for certain original contributions which have been published by the Calcutta Mathematical Society and the Indian Mathematical Society. I understand that some of the papers have been accepted for publication by the American Mathematical Monthly and Journal of the Carnegie Institute of Science and Technology of America.

In the province of linguistics, the teachers have contributed research articles of considerable value.

The Post-Graduate Departments were established forty years ago. The needs and interests of students of this country have changed since then. New interests have sprung up. New subjects have to be taught. There is difference of opinion among people as to whether the University should make itself responsible for the conduct of commercial studies. But in India there appears to be considerable demand for University courses in Commerce. In 1949, this University opened Post-Graduate Evening Commerce classes. Before that, there existed only the day classes.

In the new and altered condition of things, our graduates feel very much interested in the study of foreign languages, which is necessary for the progress and development of larger diplomatic relations with other countries. During the year under review the University has undertaken to open certain Language classes. The beginning is small. Only French, German, Chinese and Tibetan classes have been started. It is hoped that it would be possible for us to add Russian and Hindi to the list. Journalism has also found its way in the curriculum of the University.

SCIENCE :

(a) *Radio-Physics and Electronics*

A new department of Radio-Physics and Electronics has been started. It was started last year and regular fifth-year classes began from September 7, 1949.

The foundation stone for the building of the Department was laid on April 19, 1949, by our Chief Minister. The ground floor has been completed and the first floor is nearing completion. The work of the Department is being carried on in the existing buildings.

The Government of India has sanctioned the following grants for opening the new Department and running it :—

Capital Grant for	Rs.
Building	3,40,000
Equipment	2,10,000
Recurring Grant per year	49,000 (Ultimate)

Of the promised grants the capital grant already received by us is as follows :—

	Rs.
Building	2,00,000
Equipment	62,000

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Government of India has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 84,000 for building an Ionosphere Research Station. The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization of Australia has presented to the University a complete ionosphere apparatus in recognition of the work in this subject carried out here. The Research Station is under construction at Haringhata about 40 miles from Calcutta on a portion of a plot of land presented to the University by the Government of West Bengal.

The research activities of the Department are directed mainly to ionospheric problems, laboratory production of radio valves, nuclear resonance, " Light Effect " and the lights from the night sky.

Ionospheric investigations and investigations on production of radio valves are being sponsored by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

The following grants have been received for these schemes of research during the year 1949-50 :—

		Rs.
Ionospheric Investigations Scheme	...	35,945
Investigations on Radio Valve Scheme	...	8,372

(*b*) *Statistics*

During the year under review the work of the Department of Statistics has continued as before. No development programme could be put through due to lack of funds. Two senior members of the staff have left the University and joined the University of North Carolina, U.S.A., as professors. The members of the teaching staff in the Department carried out researches on the following topics :

1. Testing of Hypothesis.
2. Systematic sampling, Topographic Variation and Sample surveys.
3. Graduation and construction of statistical tables.

A critical study of statistical investigations undertaken in India was made by certain members of the staff. They have proved to be of great value.

(*c*) *Geology*

In the Department of Geology, the teachers in addition to their duties, are engaged in independent research work as a result of which several original papers have been published. The Post-Graduate Geology Department is at present located in the Geological Laboratory, Presidency College, but the accommodation is not sufficient and the Department is suffering from want of accommodation. The Post-Graduate Department has 20 students on the roll. Two India Government research scholars are doing research work on topics of Petrology and Economic Geology.

(*d*) *Physiology*

In the Department of Physiology certain important researches have been made and results published, namely,

1. Effect of Germination, autoclaving and heat processing on the digestibility and biological value of the bean proteins of Phascolin Aureus Roxb., and Cicer Arietinum Linn.
2. Effect of processing on the biological values of proteins.
3. Effect of Triglyceride fraction of the cocoanut oil on the absorption of calcium and magnesium.

Among others the following research works are in progress:

1. Influence of light, temperature and food on Pituitary and other endocrine glands and their relation to colour changes of some Indian Teleostean fishes.
2. Abnormalities in purine metabolism in scorbutic Guinea Pigs, etc., etc.

(*e*) *Botany*

Research is being carried on in the Department of Botany on the Breeding of improved types of Banana, Vernalisation and Photoperiodism of rice, Diseases of long staple cotton in Bengal.

The research work carried on by the members of the staff and students are of varied character.

The subjects studied are mainly those having direct or indirect applications to Agriculture and Industry.

The necessary finance has been obtained from the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Bengal Mill Owners' Association, National Institute of Sciences of India, Imperial Chemical Industries, etc., etc. Fundamental research in pure science is continually opening up new possibilities for use in agriculture. The increased production of agricultural commodities is made possible by the application of new knowledge gained in laboratory and the experimental farm by groups of devoted scientific workers. The application of modern scientific and technical knowledge can bring about a great change in the agriculture of this country.

(*f*) *Zoology*

In the Department of Zoology researches have been made on the development of vertebral column. Two papers have been published on the subject. Research on white ants is being carried on. Two papers on different problems of white ants have been published.

(*g*) *Pure Chemistry*

In Pure Chemistry various researches have been carried on. Preparation of Organic reagents of analytical importance has also been studied. Valuable papers on various subjects have been published.

(*h*) *Applied Chemistry*

The Department of Applied Chemistry has received during the year under review a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs from the Government of India for the development of technological education, as also for the extension of the building and purchase of new equipments, etc. Out of the grant, nine lecturers have been appointed. The syllabus has been modified. Two new special courses in Plastic and Advanced Chemical Engineering have been opened. There have been various research works done in this Department, *e.g.*, Jute Plastics, Bio-synthesis of Vitamin C, Modification of Molasses, etc., etc.

(*i*) *Pure Physics*

Valuable researches are being carried on in this Department under the able guidance of our eminent Professor Sri Satyendranath Bose.

(j) *Applied Physics*

Research is being carried on by the Teaching staff and the research workers on the following among other subjects :—

1. Electrical Properties of Indian Mica.
2. Studies on the Physical and Electrical Properties of Indian Vegetable Oils.
3. Studies of Temperature Rise in Electrical Machinery.

(k) *Applied Mathematics*

The Department of Applied Mathematics is engaged in research work on Mathematical Theory of Elasticity, Relativity and Statistical Mechanics, etc., etc.

The grant received from the Central Government has made it possible to extend the present buildings of the Departments of Applied Physics and Applied Chemistry. The equipments for the laboratories have been increased and the staff of the departments strengthened. The Scientific Manpower Committee of the Government of India have made a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Departments of Physiology and Pure Chemistry for equipments and for training of research students, and a number of scholarships have been awarded by the Committee to our students to carry on investigations in different branches of Science in the University. In recognition of the researches of the members of the staff and the senior research workers on scientific subjects, Fellowships have been awarded by the various Universities in U.S.A.

SOCIAL WORK COURSE

In 1939, the Appointments Board first began to recommend candidates for employment as Labour Officers, a new profession in industry. The industries soon realised the usefulness of the employment of such officers and the demand for them steadily increased. In 1942, at the instance of the Indian Jute Mills' Association, the Board started a training course, now known as the Diploma Course in Social Work, with the distinct understanding that the scheme would not involve any financial liability on the part of the University. The utility of the course was at once recognised both by the Central Government and the industries which prompted the Board to prepare a scheme for the establishment of the All-India Institute of Social Welfare which will cater to the needs of the whole of India. For the establishment of this Institute an amount of Rs. 4,10,850 has already been collected. This amount comprises Rs. 2,50,000 as the capital grant of the Central Government, Rs. 1,00,000 as donation of the Indian Jute Mills Association, Rs. 50,000 from the surplus of the Social Work Course Fund and the rest from the industries. The Government of West Bengal is being approached for the gift of a suitable plot of land, where the Institute building could be located. It is heartening to note that the Diploma Course in Social Work, which was instituted in the year 1942, and for which this University is the pioneer amongst the Indian Universities, has gained unique recognition and is drawing students from every part of India and Pakistan. This course has been restricted to Labour Welfare Officers already in employment, as it has been felt that those who should undergo such type of training should have sufficient practical background and this they can only have while they are working. The system has worked quite well. Up till now 438 Labour Welfare Officers have been trained, of whom 208 were deputed by the Ministries of Labour and Railways of the Government of India. These Government Labour Welfare Officers came from 48 different places of India and Pakistan. The other 230 Labour Officers were deputed by the Industries and represented 28 different types of industries.

When the Central Government decided to get their Labour Officers trained in India, they approached Calcutta University. Since 1944 this University has been the only training centre of the Central Government and they nominate those Labour Welfare Officers, who are employed by Central undertakings, Railways and State Governments. It has been decided to increase the number of students to be admitted every year from 60 to 70. This number will be further increased, as soon as the Institute Building is constructed, and then the courses in other branches of Social Work for which a scheme is ready, will be introduced.

INSTITUTE OF JUTE TECHNOLOGY

The Institute of Jute Technology located at 35, Ballygunge Circular Road has started functioning from 2nd January, 1951. The scheme was originally formulated by the Appointments Board in 1942, and revised by Messrs. Jardine Henderson & Co., Ltd. in 1946. In 1946 an offer was made by the Indian Jute Mills Association to the University for the establishment of the Institute. At present 50 students will be trained at the Institute every year. The system of training which will be provided in this Institute is somewhat novel in character in this country. In order to be eligible for admission into the Institute a student should first be appointed as an apprentice in a jute mill which will sponsor his candidature for admission. Previous to his admission into the Institute he must spend at least 6 months in the jute mill in order to have some knowledge of the working condition and the nature of the work to be performed. After spending 6 months at the Institute, where he will receive theoretical instruction aided by practical demonstration, he will go back to the mill. The total length of instruction-cum-training will be

3 years, half of which will be spent in the mills, and half at the Institute, in periods of six months alternately. (This system has the advantage of imparting both theoretical instruction and practical grounding during the course of training.) Another feature of the scheme is that every student-apprentice will be paid a suitable allowance by the mill concerned during the period of training. His tuition fees amounting to Rs. 500 per annum, will be paid by the mill. On completion of his training, he will be given a suitable employment. The Institute will also provide facilities for carrying on research work in the methods of production and improvement of machinery. In accordance with the agreement between the Indian Jute Mills Association and the University this Institute, which will be within the orbit of this University, has been established and equipped by the Association. Its maintenance will also be the responsibility of the Association. The cost of construction of the Building and Mill Block with necessary equipments will be Rs. 20 lakhs. Besides, machinery worth more than Rs. 3 lakhs for the Mill Block will be donated by the Mills. The Association has further agreed to pay for the first 5 years a recurring grant of Rs. 2 lakhs which will be supplemented by the tuition fees from the students. The financial position will be reviewed at the end of 5 years and the amount of grant for the next 5 years to be paid by the Association will then be determined. The property of the Institute when fully equipped will by an irrevocable Trust Deed vest in the University. It is really a matter of gratification that the University has been able to enlist the support of the most important industry of the Province and the establishment of this Institute will create an opening for our young men in that industry. The Indian Jute Mills Association deserve our warmest thanks for having made this, so far the biggest, endowment to the University.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I wish I could give you a more detailed information about the progress made by the various Departments during the year under review. Neither time nor space allows it. It would not be a very great pleasure on your part to listen to the dry narration of facts. But there is one subject to which special mention must be made. It is the Institute of Nuclear Physics.

NUCLEAR PHYSICS

" Nuclear Physics " may be said to have been born with the discovery of Radium by Madame and Prof. Curie in 1898, and it began to exert considerable interest amongst scientists since Rutherford first effected artificial transmutation of elements in the laboratory in 1919. The interest became universal only after 1939. In that year Hahn discovered Fission of Uranium. But the world became conscious of the terrific character of atomic energy only after the unfortunate bombing by atom bombs of two Japanese cities about five years ago. Great scientists began to think whether it would not be possible to utilise the tremendous force that come into existence on the breaking of atoms, for the happiness of the people. Various nations on the face of the globe have directed their attention to the study of this subject. In India our Institute of Nuclear Physics is devoted to the teaching and research in Nuclear Science. It has grown out of the Research laboratory of Prof. M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., our eminent Professor of Physics. His untiring energy and devotion to the cause of the science he loves has borne fruit. The building in which the Institute is housed has been completed. It has a floor area of 30,000 sq. ft. It is located within the compound of the University College of Science and Technology at 92, Upper Circular Road. The Institute offers courses of instruction, both elementary and advanced, to students of Nuclear Physics. It has got a scheme for post-M.Sc. training, both theoretical and technical, for one year for those who wish to take up atomic energy as their life's profession. It has also planned an extensive programme of research in Nuclear Science and in Biophysics. It has received magnificent grants from the Government of India and the building has been completed within two years after the foundation stone was laid. The University of Calcutta pays to this Department Rs. 56,000 out of its Fee Fund (of which Rs. 36,000 is available to the Institute), and Rs. 30,000 out of Palit Fund.

The Institute has at present the following equipments :—

1. Cyclotron for production of artificial radioactive bodies.

2. Electron Microscope for Biophysical research.

3. Radium plant for extraction of Radon gases.

4. Sections for making various types of instruments needed in researches of nuclear energy.

Active research work is going on in this Institute. Several students have got their Doctorate degrees and some have gone abroad for further studies.

This Institute, it seems, has a glorious future before it. Those of you who are further interested in the matter, may well consult the booklet written by Prof. M. N. Saha, under the title of "Institute of Nuclear Physics, Its Programme and Budget."

DEGREES CONFERRED

The following degrees will be conferred this year :—

D.Sc. 2, D.Litt. 3, M.D. 4, M.S. 1, D.Phil. (Arts) 13, D.Phil. (Science) 31, M.A. 602, M.Sc. 167, B.A. 1,543, B.Sc. 1,131, B.Com. 1,466, B.T. 192, B.L. 272, M.B. 662, B.E. 124, D.P.H. 47, Dip.-in-Sp. Eng. 1, Librarianship 16, Applied Psychology 2, Dip.-in-M. & C.W. 2, D.G.O. 6, Dip.-in-Soap Tech. 8, M.E. (Pub. Health) 7.

AWARDS OF MEDALS AND PRIZES, ETC.

There were some arrears in respect of the award of medals on the results of the University examinations. Special arrangements were made and it has been possible to award almost all the unawarded medals for the previous years up to 1948 excepting only a few. Then again we had in our custody medals, which had been previously awarded but could not be handed over to the recipients for some reason or other. These medals, as also those recently awarded, are being forwarded to the Heads of the Institutions and persons concerned; 531 medals have already been despatched during the last two months.

DAMAGE CAUSED BY FIRE

One thing I must mention to you and it is this. On the 14th March, 1950, at about 8 p.m., a fire broke out in the room in which the Accounts and Audit Department was situated. That room and the Audit Officer's room were completely damaged. A major portion of papers was destroyed. A few ledgers and books of accounts were saved. The books salvaged were listed in a register. The matter was put into the hands of the Police for investigation. But the Police has not been able to trace the cause of fire. The damaged portion of the building has been repaired at a cost of about Rs. 55,000. We have recovered from the Insurance Company about Rs. 23,000.

I have given you briefly an account of the important topics in connection with the University. I must not prolong this address.

FRIENDS,

India is free today. India has fought a heroic battle for freedom and after years of toil, she has got it. But remember no man is free who is not master of himself and that true freedom consists in the observance of law. To be truly free, nations must believe it, and so the individuals that compose them. The character of a nation is determined by the character of the individuals. National progress is the sum total of individual progress. Great social evils are but the outgrowth of man's own perverted life. Promulgation of laws cannot cut them down. It cannot extirpate them. Any attempt that way produces the opposite result. The evils spring up again with fresh luxuriance in some other form, unless the conditions of personal life and character are radically improved. The highest patriotism and philanthropy consist in helping and stimulating men to elevate and improve themselves by their own free will and independent individual action and not in altering the laws or modifying institutions.

In order to improve the nation, individual character must be improved. Freedom has brought with it serious responsibilities and onerous duties. We, the people of India, have now our own Government. We have resolved to constitute India into a Democratic Sovereign Republic. We have solemnly pledged to secure to all its citizens Justice, social, economic, and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. Thus we have promised to all the citizens of the Union of India freedom of religion, freedom of the press and freedom of persons. On these principles we are to guide our steps in all the ages to come. It is necessary therefore that individual character should be formed. And to form character, citizens of

India must have true education. True education is that which is complete and generous. It is that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. In it lies our only political safety.

Our system of education must be different from what it was before. The present-day system of education can no more meet the needs of the country. It requires change. It has to be reoriented.

Education can broadly be divided into three stages—Primary, Secondary and University. Primary education must be made compulsory and the Government of the country must provide for it. The burden should not be on the people. A large section of people in India is unable to bear the burden. It often happens that poor people engage the children in petty occupations to earn a little money for meeting the expenses of their education. That will not do. In this matter the Government should neither be timid nor close-fisted.

Secondary education only prepares the youth for our University. We must remember that every one is not fitted to go to the University from the High School and some are unfit for advanced education. To put such young persons into the University means unnecessary expense to the parents, and is detrimental to society. For even after passing the University examination—if they pass at all—such youths do not find suitable opportunities to show their particular aptitudes. The result is disappointment and chagrin. University education is not meant for all of us. It is only for those who can benefit themselves and the country by such education.

Secondary education is a very important matter for our consideration. A heavy responsibility rests on us. At this stage we must find out suitable channels for those who are unfit for University education. We ought to divert the attention of young men and girls along those lines for which they are fit. We must guide them to take up technical subjects, according to their taste, so that such young persons instead of hunting for jobs with a petty salary may be employed in useful work for the country. Otherwise a large mass of human energy will be wasted.

Schooling in this country, as in most countries, lags behind the time, specially at the secondary level. The world is fast changing and fast developing. The present-day secondary education does not equip the child for meeting that change and development. We should not think today in terms of a particular country or a particular nation. It must be remembered that every political, economic or social change, wherever it occurs today affects the lives and fortune of people in other countries. The good or evil of one nation affects another nation. Science has annihilated all distances. We must, therefore, live today as one family. We must dedicate Education to the services of the human community as a whole. Our children should be so educated that they are protected against selfish individualism and indiscriminate sociability. The object of education must be to imprint in the minds of our boys a sense of community so that in fulness of time they reach the climax of membership in the world community. The school must equip them with wider knowledge of the nations and people who make up that community.

Today we are at the confluence of two rivers of time—one that has entered the sea, *i.e.*, the portion of the century that is past, the other that has begun. We have had remarkable experience in the past. It is my earnest hope that pondering upon the past may give guidance in days to come, and enable us to repair some of the errors of the past and govern in accordance with the needs of our students the unfolding scene of the future.

I emphasize that this is the ideal we must have. It may not be possible to realise the ideals in a decade or two, but we must have the ideals before us. Without ideals individual progress is not possible and if individual progress is not possible, the progress of the nation consisting of the individuals is impossible. It should be borne in mind that in life nothing endures except the ideals of the spirit and the memory of love and goodwill that we bear to our fellow-men. It should be our duty to set each and every child, each and every boy, each and every youth, to work on these ideals so that their character may be formed and in fulness of time they can take the responsibility of the administration of this country in their hands. It must be brought home to a child, to a boy, to a young man, that success is not achieved by mere wishing for it. You are to pay for the success. In this world it is not possible to achieve success without paying the full value for it. If the freedom achieved by us is to be preserved, it is necessary to work, and make ourselves fit for all offices—public and private.

Corruption and nepotism must go from the life of an individual, and from the life of the nation. Everyone must feel that without a pure, healthy and moral life, it is not possible to make a pure, healthy and moral nation.

Today our difficulties are very great. Bengal is reduced in size. The income of the State of West Bengal has fallen. The income of our University has fallen too. We are suffering from the result of political changes. We are also suffering from the fury of nature.

On the face of it, things seem to be dark. But there is no reason to lose heart. For if we lose heart, who will work for the betterment of this Province? Let us straighten our back. Let us raise our eyes to face circumstances with steady gaze. Let us remember that life can only be understood backwards, but it must be lived forwards. Let us study the past not so as to be absorbed by it, but in order to learn its lesson. Let us grasp the present with strong hands, in order that we may actively mould the future. Let us "live forwards." And in this fuller dignity, let us remember the noble words of our Constitution. Let us remember that it secures Justice, Equality and Liberty to all the citizens of India, without any distinction on the ground of religion or otherwise. Let us work for the common benefit of our Province and our University. Let us pray in these dark days, as Gandhiji often prayed:

> "Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom
> Lead Thou me on;
> The night is dark, and I am far from home,
> Lead Thou me on.
> Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
> The distant scene; one step enough for me."

If we live according to these ideals, if we live and work in unity for the good of each other, I have no doubt that God, Who searches our hearts, Who knows our down-sitting and up-rising, in His infinite mercy and loving kindness will give us strength to work for the benefit of our country and our University.

Appendix II

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY DR. M. S. ANEY

Governor of Behar

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE CHANCELLOR, VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, STUDENTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me thank you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the great honour you have done me in asking me to address this Convocation. I accepted your invitation not without diffidence and hesitation. I am fully aware of the unique position this premier University of Bharat occupies in the civilized world. The beneficent influence it has been steadily exercising on the thoughts of modern India, the impetus it has given to the progress of higher education in the country and the solid contribution it has made to the stock of human knowledge in the world in various fields are well known. It has had a long and unbroken line of distinguished Vice-Chancellors, who were known for their profound scholarship and missionary zeal and earnestness for the cause of learning. Among those who had addressed the convocations of this University in the past I find the names of great scholars, educationists and scientists who had enriched human knowledge and scientific thought by their literary works or scientific discoveries. I believe that the Vice-Chancellor may have thought of me because I am one of the old students of this University and happen to occupy at present an important position in the administration of a neighbouring State. I am here, in fact, to pay my humble tribute to my *Alma Mater*.

My connection with the Calcutta University began when I joined the High School at Nagpur in 1895 to prepare myself for its Entrance Examination, and it ended in 1908 when I took the B.L. degree. During the last 55 years the name of Calcutta University and the sight of the Convocation Hall have invariably aroused in my heart feelings of gratitude mingled with awe and respect. And even to-day I am under the influence of the same emotions. My feeling to-day is not very much dissimilar to the one I had when I entered this hall as an examinee to answer the question papers set by the University. And I hope that the University will be as indulgent and generous to me now as it had been before when I entered this hall as an examinee.

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* Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University on 12th January, 1951.

Ladies and Gentlemen : Before proceeding further I consider it my duty to refer to the loss the world in general and India in particular have sustained in the deaths of two of her greatest and noblest sons in the last month. The mahasamadhi of Yogi Aurobindo Ghosh has deprived the world of a great man who was looked upon as a spiritual Guru. He represented in modern India the class of great thinkers known as Rishis and Yogis who lived in the Vedic and Epic ages and of whom we read great and glowing descriptions in our sacred books. He was also the morning star of Indian Freedom. His contribution to the philosophical thought and his elucidation of divine life had earned for him the position of one of the greatest thinkers and spiritual teachers of the world. The world to-day is very much poorer by the loss of Yogi Aurobindo Ghosh.

The death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel removes from the field of action one of our greatest leaders and most devoted followers of Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian Union owes much of its compactness and solidarity to his genius and statesmanship. He had in him the highest qualities of the soldier and the statesman. His death is a national calamity, creating a void that shall not be filled soon.

Great men are also teachers of humanity. They mould the lives of innumerable men for good. They are, so to say, moving Universities. And, therefore, their loss is one which is bound to be felt keenly by every University, whose main aim is to build the character of youths and make them fit and worthy citizens of their nation and also of the world.

When I think of this University the first thing that strikes me is that the jurisdiction of this University has been now narrowed down to the limits of the State of West Bengal. When the University was first established in 1857 its jurisdiction extended over the whole of India of that time, which included Burma, excepting the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, which were provided with Universities of their own. The educational control of this University extended from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Irriwadi and from the snowy heights of Badri Kedar to the dense forests of Bastar in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh respectively. Nearly two-thirds of India was under its jurisdiction. The history of the growth of University education in India is also the story of the curtailment of the jurisdiction of Calcutta University. But this diminution of its territorial authority has in no way dimmed the lustre of its intellectual achievements. When I look at this University, with its territorial jurisdiction reduced to almost a small fraction of its ancient size, and at the same time when I envisage the increase of its prestige and reputation in the civilized world as a seat of learning, almost in inverse proportion, I am reminded of the following famous lines of Kavikulaguru Kalidas in Raghuvansh :—

पर्यायपीतस्य सुरैर्हिमांशोः कलाक्षयः श्लाघ्यतरम् हि वृद्धेः

" Disappearance of the digits of the moon eaten by the Gods is more meritorious or glorious than their increase on re-appearance."

The epigrammatic observation of another Sanskrit poet also appropriately describes the glory and grandeur of diminution and dwindling of physical resources under certain conditions :

तनिम्ना शोभन्ते विभवाश्चार्थिषु नृपाः

" Kings who have spent their wealth and

resources in charities appear more majestic in their smallness of resources."

So the decay of its territorial authority is not a matter for regret but of pride. This University can claim that it has given birth to a keen desire for higher education in the largest part of India and it has brought forth in course of time out of its own body, as it were, a number of universities, each one of which has been carrying on the work of enlightenment in its respective sphere. Consummation of a person's life is not merely to attain individual greatness but also to be the ancestor of a family that shall perpetuate its line and continue its tradition of service to God and humanity. This is what I think the sacred scriptures mean when they say "**प्रजया हि मनुष्यः पूर्णः**," "Person attains perfection in Progeny." Every lawyer knows that corporations and universities are 'persons' in Law.

This University has been exercising its influence indirectly on the whole of India during the last 90 years of its existence through the literary and patriotic activities of its distinguished sons and daughters. In the last 100 years the country was going through a great change. It was a movement for an all-sided reform and not for achieving political freedom only. Bengal has the credit of having conceived and given a vigorous start to it. It set the ball rolling. The beginnings of this awakening are to be found in the teachings of Ram Krishna Parama. Hans, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and several other distinguished Bengalees of pre-University days. On the establishment of the University in 1857 this revolution gradually increased in volume and strength. The nature of this all-sided change was partly revivalist and partly reformist. A kind of compromise between the old culture of India and the new civilization of the West was being worked out. Bengal was the first to bring the influence of a spiritual teacher like Swami Ram Krishna Parama Hans to bear on the public life of the country. It gave the first religious reformer like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Swami Vivekananda, the first graduate Sannyasi who gave up worldly ambitions, dedicated his life to the propagation of Vedantik knowledge throughout the world and founded the Math of Shri Ram Krishna Mission and the order of Sanyasis, who preach religion and serve humanity in almost every part of the world. He was the first non-official ambassador of India who carried the message of peace, love and universal brotherhood, preached in the Vedas and other holy works of the ancient Rishis, to America and Europe. The scientific discoveries of Jagadish Chandra Bose and the reasearches of Dr. P. C. Roy were among the first to win international recognition. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was one of the two first graduates of this University. He can be rightly called the father of the prose literature of most of the Indian languages. Apart from his influence over the field of fiction throughout the whole of India, he will go down to posterity as the author of *Vande Mataram*, the national song that inspired the Indians to fight for the emancipation of their Motherland. Bengal gave the first political visionaries and the first political revolutionaries as well. Most of them were at one time or other students of the University. The University produced philosophers, poets and philanthropists. The University gave great lawyers and jurists, orators and writers, educationists and propagandists, journalists and publicists. Rabindra Nath's *Gitanjali* conveyed to the whole world the message of love and peace, and the whole civilized world acclaimed him as its great poet. In painting, dancing, music and several other branches of fine arts Bengal supplied patterns which are being imitated in the rest of the country. C. R. Das's dynamic co-operation with Mahatma Gandhi turned the non-violent non-co-operation programme into a mighty and irresistible movement. After the failure of the War of Independence of 1857, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the first Indian to organize and command the Indian National Army to liberate India from the domination of the British Imperialism.

The part played by Bengal from the day of Ram Krishna Parama Hans to the day of Shri Aurobindo Ghosh constitutes one of the most thrilling and inspiring chapters in the history of India of the last 200 years. And the University which supplied so many persons of genius in so many fields has, I venture to say, more than justified its existence and usefulness and established its indisputable right to lead on Free India to its ultimate goal also.

University education in India has come very frequently under severe criticism. Three important Commissions have reviewed its results and published three voluminous reports, which are no doubt mines of useful information and also full of fruitful suggestions for reforms and improvements. The last Commission, presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan, a philosopher and educationist of great eminence, at present Indian Ambassador at Moscow, has made recommendations, some of which, when adopted, will bring about fundamental and radical changes in the structure of the existing educational system.

The chapter dealing with the problem of the rural universities in that report is perhaps the most original and interesting. The recommendations in this chapter are of far-reaching character. It will require a good deal of working out of its details patiently, and particularly of its financial implications, before the Central Government and the State Governments may think of giving effect to them. In the opinion of the Commission, the system of Basic Schools, which is being tried in Bihar and certain other States, can support on its foundations the superstructure of the rural universities recommended by them. The authors of the report think that the programme of people's colleges of Denmark will be of helpful guidance to the Indian educationists in preparing their scheme and courses of studies of their rural universities. The main object of the scheme of rural universities is most eloquently stated as follows:—

"For a continuing democracy it is essential that our programme of liberal education shall not promote the escape from the common people of the culture which that education generates, but shall inspire able students to remain common people, in and of the people, acting as their servants."

The authors of the report fully realize that the present condition of the Indian village constitutes "a stone wall." "And except as some generally effective way is found for dealing with this condition, any plans for rural higher education will, in effect, be plans for driving more people from the village and therefore for the further impoverishment of the rural life of India."

Thus it is clear that the success of rural universities will largely depend on the progress of the plan of improving the condition of Indian villages, as recommended in the report.

This change in the condition of the villages may not come for a pretty long time. Even according to the report it cannot be earlier than decade.

There is one more aspect of the scheme of rural universities which deserves very careful consideration. I think that it is necessary to provide proper machinery of contact and close and intimate connection between the two types of universities, urban and rural, as recommended in the report, so that both of them stand on equal footing and the alumni of both have equal opportunities in life to make themselves useful to the Indian Union or its States. Every element in the scheme must be carefully scrutinized, mainly with the object of finding out whether it is likely to generate a sense in the Government and the public that the product of one type is intellectually or culturally superior to that of the other. Such an impression will have very unfortunate consequences. Great vigilance and foresight can succeed in preventing the growth of this undesirable tendency. Cultured men and women coming from both these types of universities must feel that they are all, in the eyes of the State and the general public, brothers and equals. Distinction between urban and rural must appear to them as one made to provide facilities for turning out educated and cultured citizens of equal status and standing in the urban and rural areas of the State. These new facilities for higher education must be made to bridge the gulf between town and village and not to widen it. It will be admitted on all hands that the success of democracy requires not only the spread of education among the masses but annihilation of distinction between the cultured people of the towns and the villages.

Another noteworthy feature of this report is that it has devoted a special chapter to discuss the problem of religious education. You all know that the education imparted in the schools and colleges at present makes no provision for religious education. There has been a stubborn opposition to the introduction of religious education in the high schools and colleges. Every Commission appointed from 1882 to 1919 rejected the idea of introducing religious education, mainly on the ground of the religious neutrality of the State. The Commission of 1902 conceded the "inadequacy of a purely secular education, and yet it found itself unable to suggest any definite measures for improvement." In spite of this repeated rejection by the Commissions, the problem of religious education was again and again being raised by those who took keen interest in the development and growth of the youths of the country. The effects of irreligious education were being felt by the society more clearly in the attitude of the youths, which showed a lamentable lack of discipline, self-restraint and respect for their elders, their religion and ancient culture.

Our youths are being brought up in the tradition of veiled contempt for religion and everything religious. Spiritualists and religious devotees are the laughing-stock of the educated youths. And as the general masses are religious-minded and have great respect and reverence for such devotees and spiritualists, they feel generally disgusted with the attitude of the educated class and have no regard for them as a class. The educated class has also no feeling of affection for the masses whose ways of life are mostly moulded and determined by religious ideas.

The result is that the educated classes have not been able to produce in sufficient numbers servants to work for the amelioration of the masses in a real missionary spirit. This love for those who are suffering is the outward expression of a true spirit of religiousness and faith in God as the common Father of all. A student drawn away from home for the sake of education at an early age and brought up in a wholly irreligious atmosphere of secular school and college, begins, within a few months of his admission, to unlearn whatever little elementary religious training he may have had at home. Religious practices, such as morning and evening prayers, seem to him idle and meaningless formalities and he ceases to observe them. There is none to correct him or explain to him the deeper meaning of these prayers. But there are many, on the other hand, to appreciate this anti-religious attitude. The result is that he soon becomes an unbeliever. His mind becomes a blank book. Neither ethics nor religion make any impression there. He runs after the mirage of rationalism and very often falls under the influence of some dangerous doctrines.

We very often talk of the sacred relations between the pupil and the preceptor that had existed in the schools of learning in ancient India, and not a few express a sense of profound regret and disappointment at their absence in our present-day schools and colleges.

In my opinion, the main reason for this is absence of religious education in the universities. That was the silken tie that bound the teachers and the taught and later on the educated people and the public.

The need for religious education is fully realized now-a-days by some very eminent educationists. In the memorandum on the post-war educational development in India a strong plea for religious education is made in the following passage:—

"Religion in the widest sense should inspire all education, and a curriculum devoid of all ethical basis will prove barren in the end."

But, strange to say, a committee appointed to devise means to give effect to it recommended:

"While recognizing the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building up of character, the provision for such teaching, except in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular education, should be the responsibility of the home and the community to which the pupil belongs."

I have already shown above that the student is removed from home influence at an early age. He can therefore have no chance of getting any training at home. Secondly, the growth of communal education is obviously detrimental to the healthy development of the spirit of nationalism. We have had a few notorious examples demonstrating the evil effects of running educational institutions on purely communal lines.

The authors of the Radhakrishnan Commission Report have taken strong exception to the above finding of the Committee. They say:

"If we are not prepared to leave the scientific and the literary training of pupils to the home and the community, we cannot leave religious training to these. The child is robbed of its full development if it receives no guidance in early years towards a recognition of the religious aspects of life. If this guidance is left to homes and communities, the chances are that communal bigotry, intolerance and selfishness may increase."

I hope that these words of wisdom will carry due weight with the university authorities in India and they will soon take up the problem of providing religious education on lines recommended in paragraph 36 of Chapter VIII at page 303 of their report. Let them give effect without delay to the first recommendation, which states that all educational institutions start work with a few minutes of silent meditation. The remaining three recommendations, *viz.*, teaching lives of great religious teachers like Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ, Shankaracharya, etc., reading selections of a universalist character from the writings of great writers, and explaining central problems of philosophy of religion, may perhaps require preparation of proper text-books. But that also should be taken up as early as possible. The very idea that religion is considered worthy of study and practice at the university and that steps are being taken to introduce that education will bring about a very salutary change in the academic atmosphere of the country and the general outlook of the professors and their students also.

No education, whether it be secular or religious, can be an integral part of a student's intellectual and emotional life, which ultimately regulates his active life, unless he can frequently refresh it and pursue its study throughout his life. One of the most important means of refreshing religious lessons learnt in school and college is by constant reading of well-known books. We have in the Sanskrit language a very rich treasure of such books. Vedas, the Upanishads, the Darshanas, Smritis, the great Epics and the Puranas, besides hundreds of classical works by renowned poets like Kalidas and others, and an inexhaustible collection of hymns called Stotras composed by devotees and scholars like Shankaracharya, Pushpa-dunta, Jugannath Pundit and others, have to teach mankind the highest lessons in ethics, religion and metaphysics. I think that the students of Indian universities should be provided with a fairly good knowledge of Sanskrit and sufficiently introduced to the invaluable literature in that language before they come out of the university as cultured persons ready to play their parts in the affairs of the world. It is unnecessary to speak at length on the importance of the study of the Sanskrit language for Indians. One cannot adequately understand present India unless one knows and sees it in the light of the past. The daily life of the 35 crores of Hindus of India is permeated through and through by the teachings of the Rishis. The new thinker who may dream of creating a Utopia of his own will have at least to understand the materials of which he wants to make a new paradise. Sanskrit literature and religious and philosophical thought in that language have created the patterns of Indian culture. Its influence is visibly seen in its fine arts and methods and manners of life. Most of the languages spoken by the people in the country are direct lineal descendants of Sanskrit, and the important languages of the Dravidian stock can, by the great contribution made by Sanskrit to their development and literary enrichment, be safely described as its adopted daughters who have been assimilated with the family of Sanskrit stock. Sanskrit is not a dead language in India, though for the last 100 years and more it was treated and taught in the Indian universities as a dead language.

The Commission's report did not take note of the fact that there are lacs of young men outside the universities of India who have been studying Sanskrit language and the Vedic literature to equip themselves as Pundits, Pouraniks and Purohits. They constitute a very respectable element in the population. The report on Indian University Education is incomplete in so far as it has entirely left out of account this large field of literary activities in its survey and without any suggestions whatsoever for its improvement.

I venture to suggest that a scheme to combine the ancient learning imparted in the Sanskrit *pathshalas* and the modern teaching of Sanskrit in the universities should be prepared. Modern methods of research and the profound study of Darshanas (schools of philosophy) pursued in the old-style institutions must be harmoniously blended.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Notwithstanding our rich heritage of culture, I am fully conscious of the fact that India has to learn much from Europe and America, who have made tremendous advance in scientific knowledge. Our universities are being now equipped with laboratories and other necessary contrivances to give the students efficient education in those sciences.

An ancient Indian educationist says that there are only three methods open to an individual to acquire knowledge of any special subject from another individual :

गुरुशुश्रूषया विद्या पुष्कलेन धनेन वा
अथवा विद्यया विद्या चतुर्थी नोपपद्यते

" One way is to respect the other person as a teacher and serve him to his satisfaction.

The second way is to purchase it by offering handsome price.

The third method is by exchanging your own special knowledge, if you have any, for his special knowledge."

When one nation has to get anything from another nation, it is generally by exchange. International trade of worldly commodities is mainly carried on by means of exchange. You promise to export something and expect to import what you want. It is a recognized method of trade. The law can hold good even in exchange of intellectual commodities. We can send teachers to America and Europe to teach our mystic philosophy and get from these countries professors and scholars to teach us their sciences. This will be a fair bargain to strike. What is necessary is that we have to know what is most precious in our sacred books and literature written in Sanskrit. The reception which Swami Vivekanand got in America and the demand for the literature of Shri Aurobindo Ghosh and the honour which Dr. Radhakrishnan is getting from various universities of Europe are clear indications that there is a demand in Europe and America for the sacred spiritual knowledge contained in our ancient literature. It is our duty to explore our rich undeveloped resources in the Sanskrit language for this purpose and prepare qualified scholars to take up this great work. If we succeed in doing that, we shall surely restore Mother India to the glorious position of eminence which Manu says she occupied in his days. Manu observes :

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥

" All persons on earth can come and learn their own codes of rights and duties from the leading learned men of this Nation (Bharat Varsha)."

I conclude with a fervent prayer to the Almighty to give us all the intellectual and moral strength needed to make a strong effort to hasten the advent of the golden age in our Motherland when Sanskrit shall be Vishva-Bharati (international language) and India shall be one of the biggest seats of spiritual learning, attracting devoted scholars from all parts of the world. Then we can, in a true spirit of fraternity, begin and end our lessons and discourses, as the ancient Rishis had done, with the recitation of the well-known Shanti Mantra—

सह नाववतु सह नौ भुनक्तु सह वीर्यं करवावहै
तेजस्वि नावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषावहै
ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

" Let us protect each other. Let us eat together and perform heroic feats together. Let our learning be fresh and powerful. Let us not hate each other."

Peace! Peace! Peace!

Vande Mataram!

Appendix III

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY DR. K. N. KATJU

Governor of West Bengal and Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

May I first of all express our deep gratitude to His Excellency Sri Aney for his elevating and thought-provoking and instructive address. It will be wholly improper for me to dwell at any length upon his scholarship or erudidion. That is now well recognised all over India. He is one of the great exponents of what is best in our philosophy and culture and traditional mode of living, and his invaluable counsel should make a strong appeal to the graduates of the University. He has taken all this trouble of coming over from Patna to give us the benefit of his ripe wisdom and long experience of men and affairs, and we are greatly indebted to him.

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have in your address presented, if I may say so, a report on the state of the University, and told us what progress we have made during the last two years in the pursuit of knowledge and what prospects we face today in the realm of finance. This prospect may appear superficially to be gloomy, but I do not suffer from any great burden of anxiety on this score. The University of Calcutta is the premier University of India. For many years it carried the torch of knowledge throughout Northern India, from the east to the west, from Calcutta to Peshawar, and though its present territorial jurisdiction may have shrunk considerably, the almost century-old traditions lying behind it are ennobling and inspiring. So long as we keep this torch of knowledge burning and we prove ourselves worthy of our past heritage, I am confident that the people of this State of West Bengal will see to it that the University of Calcutta does not lack the resources to fulfil its great mission of imparting the highest education in different branches of knowledge, Arts and Science, not lagging behind any other seat of learning in the world. Every generation is the inheritor as well as a progenitor, and it must do its duty to be equal to the coming generations in the future. This University, apart from being a ronowned seat of learning, has become an enormous and complicated administrative machine, and I have no doubt that as a result of the labours of the various committees to which you have referred, this administrative machine will now run more smoothly and efficiently.

The topic of education is of the highest national importance, and it is no wonder that ever since the achievement of Independence stress has been repeatedly laid by political leaders and eminent educationists on a thorough examination of our entire educational structure. The Central and State Governments have devoted great attention to such an examination in the field of primary and secondary education, and the Radhakrishnan Universities Commission Report has dealt exhaustively with the whole subject of University education in India. And then again, there have been most valuable suggestions and ideas presented to the country in the various Convocation Addresses made before the different Universities of India by distinguished individuals in the past three years. There is unanimity of opinion that the system requires a thorough overhaul. It was conceived in an order which has now completely vanished. Beginning with Macaulay the British rulers planned our education on distinct policies, keeping always in view what would be most convenient to them in their administration of the country. Nevertheless, this system has yielded results which, I suspect, were never dreamt of by its authors. It is no use raking up old controversies. It is now for us to plan anew and remodel or rebuild as we think fit.

There has been much emphasis laid upon one aspect which is fairly obvious. The present system looks too much towards the West, and though learned Indian scholars and statesmen, when they began to have a voice in the management of their own affairs, endeavoured to remedy the basic defect as much as they could, yet it was difficult to get rid of the foundations on which Macaulay built. He was of the opinion —and this was you will remember, in the years 1835-40—that our ancient heritage was worthless, our traditions; our faith, our philosophy a bundle of superstitions, and our ancient literature in the greatest language perfected by the ingenuity of man was so much trash fit to be destroyed or thrown away. In that atmosphere and that background the present system grew up for decades and the educated Indians who were in the earlier years the products of this system looked upon everything Indian with contempt and ridicule. By the blessing of God the last fifty years have witnessed a remarkable change, but the old fault still lingers and that defect has to be removed completely. At this late hour and after His Excellency's address it is wholly unnecessary for me to make any lengthy discourse of mine. But I cannot forbear making two observations. We hear these days very much about our Indian culture. It may be indefinable with exactitude, but it definitely exists. People, however, emphasise the necessity of a synthesis of culture. It is said that in India flow many cultural streams and we must make an effort to blend them, mix them all together. I quite agree with the desirability of the object in view. The only point that I wish to make is that you cannot produce such a synthesis to order. A radical alteration in culture and outlook on life may be possible where the country is under the heels of a dictator or a despot, or a particular community rules over other communities. For instance, the English language has become so prevalent in India not because the Indians had a great natural love for it, but because it was the language of the rulers of the country and a passport to their favours, and through our familiarity with the English language we acquired our liking for English institutions and modes of thought and ways of living. Examples of this description can be multiplied. People have now come into their own in India and we have established a great Republic on the basis of adult franchise. The use of compulsion in any way in the present order of things is out of the question. If there is to be a synthesis of different cultures that must come out of people's free choice and volition and cannot be imposed upon them either by legislative process or by executive authority. This synthesis, therefore, requires not only the education of the very few at the top but of the hundreds of millions at the bottom. And then our people have a very curious habit of going in these matters their own way while avowing great admiration and reverence for their leaders for their sacrifice and service in the cause of national liberation. The past history of India shows that there was absorption and blending, but it was a process spread over long terms of years and it proved to be lasting only when it was entirely voluntary. Just as you cannot make people moral by legislation, so you cannot bring about a change in their ancient culture by indulging in wishful thinking or trying to coerce them in any way against their will.

The other topic which I should like to touch upon is that of restoring contact of our young men and women who now flock to the Universities with real India which lives in the villages. The question is nowadays discussed under the nomenclature of rural Universities. The underlying objective, every one will agree, is admirable, but difficulties inherent in the situation caused by the present advancement of knowledge are apt to be overlooked. Advanced instruction in Science, in Technology, in Medicine, in Engineering, in Mining and hosts of other subjects require extensive and well-equipped laboratories, workshops, class rooms and other facilities for imparting instruction. Our Ashrams of old were comparatively simple affairs. But now knowledge is much more complicated and need for advanced research is great. Location of Universities in congested urban areas is definitely to be deprecated. But to talk of restoring contact with mother earth and agricultural pursuits may be going to the other extreme. Then again, if you were to have, let us say, a brand new University with 5,000 scholars on an enormous area of waste land far away from the existing cities, then the University campus—indeed a town—will have little resemblance to the rural Universities of the type many people have in mind. Well-conducted colleges situated outside big cities like Calcutta and Bombay may well be regarded in their own way as so many rural Universities. The mere fact that they submit to examinations conducted by central authorities need not take away their rural features if they are run on proper lines. I mention this matter because while the phrase "rural University" is attractive, it may be that when the matter is probed into deeply then not much difference will emerge between the Universities of today and these so-called rural Universities of tomorrow excepting in the matter of location. There is common agreement, however, that in so far as secondary education and even education up to the Intermediate standard is concerned, the more it is decentralised the better it will be for the people and also for the rising generation.

To my young friends who have today acquired their diplomas and degrees by hard and meritorious work I offer my warm congratulations. As I look upon myself still as a student, I do not presume to offer to them any words of advice. They are now leaving the sheltering care of their alma mater, and starting upon a great adventure because life is a great adventure. What they have learnt from their books and imbibed in their class rooms from their teachers and class-mates should serve them well and they will acquire more and more wisdom from experience as they proceed on this great journey of life. The quest in search of knowledge never ends. It ends only with life. So ears and eyes, mind and intellect must ever